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LITERARY SONG: POETRY, DRAMA AND ACOUSTIC PERFORMANCE IN EARLY MODERN ENGLAND

by

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Literary Song: Poetry, Drama and Acoustic Performance in Early Modern England

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This dissertation traces the development of verse with a musical dimension from Sidney and Shakespeare to Jonson and Milton, in genres ranging from prose romance and printed songbooks to outdoor pageantry and professional theater. Song was an essential part of the early modern literary canon, and it circulated ubiquitously in written format. Yet it was also highly performative, inseparable from the rhythmic, vocal and instrumental conditions of its recital. As such, song brings out the extensive interaction between writing and sound in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century literary culture. Drawing on media theory, I argue that song reveals a continual struggle to define literature, from Sidney's emphasis on the musical properties of writing in *The Defence of Poesie* to Milton's conception of the printed book as a profoundly performative medium in *Areopagitica*. I use song to rethink Shakespeare's Ophelia, whom I see as a disruptive, non-scriptive versifier whose mad songs amount to an extreme type of poetry. And I follow song to less familiar territory, including the pageants that paraded music and verse through the streets of London, mixing the belletristic writings of England's leading poets with the cacophonous disorder of popular crowds. Focusing on song's place at the threshold of script and acoustic performance, I theorize literature as a process of mediation – an intersection of technologies, performers, formats and authors in which writing was an important but by no means exclusive component.

For my parents

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Introduction

I am two fools, I know,
For loving, and for saying so
In whining poetry;
But where's that wiseman, that would not be I,
If she would not deny?
Then as th'earth's inward narrow crooked lanes
Do purge sea water's fretful salt away,
I thought, if I could draw my pains
Through rhyme's vexation, I should them allay.
Grief brought to numbers cannot be so fierce,
For, he tames it, that fetters it in verse.

But when I have done so,
Some man, his art and voice to show,
Doth set and sing my pain,
And, by delighting many, frees again
Grief, which verse did restrain.
To love and grief tribute of verse belongs,
But not of such as pleases when 'tis read,
Both are increased by such songs:
For both their triumphs so are published.
And I, which was two fools, do grow three;
Who are a little wise, the best fools be.[1]

Donne's "The Triple Fool" finds humor in the mediation of a sentiment through its environment. The speaker is a fool for loving – for allowing the calm pools of his subjectivity to flow to the sea, setting himself up for rejection by another. He is a fool for composing verses – for exposing his love to others, which transforms it to whining and "grief." And he is a fool for allowing his pain to be sung – for admitting his sentiments into a larger sphere of interpretation and performance where they are "increased" into diverse meanings and experiences. The speaker is foolish because he fails to grasp the complex process involved in the circulation of poetic meaning through early modern England. "The Triple Fool" stages a negotiation over who and what controls and determines that meaning as it circulates through technologies and bodies ranging from manuscripts to vocalists. Poetic thoughts, writings, revisions and performances develop significance only insofar as they travel through this environment, so that meaning is refashioned even – or especially – after it has been transmitted. Donne is playful about the degree to which a poet is able assert or assert control over his or her verse: if there is genuine concern in "The Triple Fool" about the re- or mis-adaptation of a poem in musical culture, there is also a sly sense of confidence that a skillful poet can "tame" or "fetter" sensibilities in writing. Yet the poem acknowledges the shaping influence of the process by which a poet's "invention" or "fore-conceit" (terms that Sidney employs in the *Defence of Poesie*) is set down in verse, performed, altered or misinterpreted by any number of readers, singers, instrumentalists and auditors.[2]

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[1] Donne, *The Complete English Poems*, 81.

What is more, "The Triple Fool" raises the question of whether literature is governed by a stable invention in the first place. It is one thing to claim that literature involves a hierarchical progression from authorial invention to worldly manifestation. Philosophers of mimesis from Plato to Girolamo Fracastoro acknowledge that art is deeply altered, transformed or impoverished by its means of expression. The Platonic Socrates argues, famously, that poetry is "a corruption of understanding for hearers who do not have, as an antidote, knowledge of what things happen to be in themselves."[3] More broadly, philosophical traditions of mimesis sometimes suggest that art defers to a conceptual, natural or mythological realm or ideal, and other times suggest that art has an internal consistency of its own.[4] Aristotle's works, as Stephen Halliwell puts it, "accentuate the need for poetry to exhibit rather than describe the world of human action"; philosophies of mimesis in the Aristotelian tradition are "enactive" and "world-creating" rather than "depictive" and "world-reflecting."[5] Nevertheless, even theories of mimesis in an Aristotelian tradition posit an essential *muthos* or formally coherent plot-structure at the core of an artwork, sharing the basic presumption that art has, or produces, a definitive identity. Traditional philosophies of mimesis tend to stabilize art precisely by acknowledging its derivative qualities: they are continually implying an ontology or source in the background of art's worldly manifestations.

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[2] The word "invention," which was commonly used to refer to poetic making in early modern England, derives mainly but not exclusively from *inventio*, traditionally the first part or stage of rhetoric. Whereas *inventio* referred to the finding out of the subject of oratory and could also be translated as the "discovery" of topics that already existed, the English term "invention" more strongly connoted the fable or fiction contrived or devised by an author; see the *Oxford English Dictionary Online* (accessed February 2012). For a helpful account of early modern terminology for poetic invention, see D. J. Gordon, "The Poet as Architect."

In "The Triple Fool," there is little reason to think that poetry and song are determined or defined by a stable source. The speaker writes his poem less to "imitate" life or reality (the love he feels for his mistress) than to “allay” his grief. His verses accrue meanings foreign to his original sentiment, “delighting” audiences and serving as fodder for a singer’s virtuosity. And, in the final lines, the speaker tells us that his initial love and grief are “increased” through their performance – that the meaning of the poem, as it is sung, changes not only for the auditors but for the poet himself. A poem, it would seem, is in no way confined to its maker’s brain: it may fail to be “restrained” in written verse that is fixed in a permanent archive or bibliographic format, and it may be reshaped and remade at every point in its movement through the lived world. Even a poet so skillful as Donne, able to absorb readers in a web of writing that feels like a world unto itself, finds himself participating in a performative culture that does not so much *imitate* a sentiment as *redefine* it.

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[3] Plato, *The Republic*, 595b.

[4] What exactly it is that art imitates has received a variety of answers in the philosophical tradition. Art is often understood to imitate "life" or "reality," but it can also imitate some aspect of the natural world, some organizationally coherent form or plot-structure, or some other kind of abstraction. We tend to conceive of mimesis in a somewhat narrower sense; Joseph Roach, for example, describes mimesis as "the venerable doctrine that art imitates life" in "Performance," 1078. A broader spectrum of mimetic theories and practices has long been available, however, including the notion that art imitates a conceptual or mythological ideal. On the breadth of philosophies of mimesis beginning with Plato and Aristotle, see Halliwell, *The Aesthetics of Mimesis*. On Renaissance theories of literary imitation, see Hathaway, *The Age of Criticism*; and for an account of the English tradition, see Heninger, *Sidney and Spenser*.

[5] Halliwell, 168.

Early modern song is not necessarily non-mimetic; it would be more accurate to describe the transmission and re-imagination of poetry and music in “The Triple Fool,” or (as we shall see) in Ophelia’s reproduction of popular ballads within *Hamlet*, as *hyper*-mimetic. Tunes, performances, verses and phrases are continually imitated; this is how they circulate and recur. But song queries dominant, mimetic theories of art insofar as it forces audiences to confront the process by which poetic meaning shifts and adapts in relation to its environment. There is rarely any sense of a previously existing, original version of a song – early modern song culture is not composed of permanent idealities or even definitive versions. In a period predating audio recording technology, when musical notation tended to be more of a loose guide than a comprehensive representation, song was the product of a continual series of performances and migrations, embedded in a constant process of reshaping and renewal.[6] This process cannot be reduced to a particular media format: songbooks are one strand of song culture; singers' voices, actors' bodies and musical instruments are strands of their own. Nor can song culture be reduced to a vague realm of signification such as "discourse," since this ultimately fails to explain the profound influence of embodied moments and events upon song culture. Song is always already discursive, and it is always already nonlinguistic; it is rooted simultaneously in the experience of sound and the significance of words.

Despite these unsettling tendencies, song was an essential part of the early modern literary canon. The most prominent poets of early modern England, from Sidney to Milton, were songwriters, and song circulated ubiquitously in written format. Music was central to the production of lyric poetry; it had a presence in nearly all Renaissance plays; the epic and romance works of the period were punctuated with the sounds of singing and versifying. Yet song was also inseparable from the rhythmic, vocal and instrumental conditions of its recital. Song shared many characteristics with vernacular lyric poetry, but it was not reducible to script; it was rooted it in the visceral environment of its performance. Song continually draws attention to the *noisy* qualities of the early modern literary field: it reminds us that what we call literature involves much more than books, writing, or even language.

From its position at the threshold of writing and music, song offers an opportunity to rethink our assumptions about historical theories and practices of literary form. Song reveals that singers' voices, actors' bodies and even musical instruments frequently come to be defined during the Renaissance as "literary," and that the category of "literature" itself continues to reproduce anachronistic assumptions about early modern poetry and drama. The etymological link between literature and the Latin *littera* (letter) has helped enable a widespread conflation between the medium of a work and its cultural significance. During the early modern period and before, the term literature could refer to any kind of written participation in polite society: Ranulf Higdon's *Polychronicon*, a tome of history and theology, would have been more "literary" than *Beowulf*, since the Anglo-Saxon poem has its origins in oral culture. It was only in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries that literature began to denote imaginative or creative artwork in a national tradition.[7] And yet, despite innumerable and well-known counterexamples – Homer never picked up a stylus; Milton was blind when he dictated *Paradise Lost*; Bob Dylan has been nominated for the Nobel Prize in Literature – "literature" continues to conflate poetry, drama and fiction with writing.

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[6] In general, "art song," or music in a courtly idiom, was more frequently and more elaborately notated than popular and theatrical song. Notation for theatrical song was not necessarily used at all for musicians accustomed to the repertoire, and it is frequently nonextant.

We can see this problem at work in the ongoing scholarly debate over whether, and how, Shakespeare was "literary." In recent years this conversation has moved from a generalized notion of literature as a discursive field or practice – as in Robert Knapp's suggestion that Shakespeare's plays become "fully literary" by "participating in an enduring chain of influence, institutionally sustained reading, and recurrent commentary" – to an account of literature that is more closely tied to written formats.[8] For Lukas Erne, Shakespeare is a "literary dramatist" whose playbooks were beginning to gather "legitimacy" as early as the mid-1590s, and who was interested in the "artistic ambition" of respectability and immortality, specifically because his plays are designed for books.[9]

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[7] See the *Oxford English Dictionary* definition of "literature," (accessed May 2011); and see Williams, "Literature."

[8] Knapp, *Shakespeare: The Theater and the Book*, 4.

[9] Erne, *Shakespeare as Literary Dramatist*, 11, 5.

Peter Stallybrass and Zachary Lesser, meanwhile, claim that the first quarto of *Hamlet* (Q1) is not simply or straightforwardly a performance text (as scholars had long maintained) but Shakespeare's first "literary" play, because it is situated in a milieu of printing, reading and commonplacing.[10] Like Erne, Stallybrass and Lesser define the "literary" as a function of the history of bibliographic production and consumption: Q1 *Hamlet* is literary "in the sense defined by the commonplace tradition," which is to say, in the sense that its sententiae were designated as worthy to be copied into commonplace books and read the way classical texts were read.

The danger in these deployments of the term "literary" is that too much about the convergence of media and cultural meaning is assumed in advance. There is no question that literary form is continually shaped and influenced by media and their cultural associations: a text's written, theatrical or musical circumstances of production and circulation are extremely important factors in how poets and audiences interpret and define it. But from this it does not follow that any medium is *prima facie* literary. On the contrary, it is only through longstanding, repeated cultural work that ideas of respectability, authority, artfulness, fame or permanence come to be associated with (for example) dramatic writing. To return to the example of Q1 *Hamlet*, this text's participation in a humanist system of reading was in fact (as Lesser and Stallybrass show) rather anomalous and even unlikely, the product of considerable labor on the part of John Bodenham and his circle to dress up a vernacular play for readers in a print marketplace. For all the importance that writing assumed in humanist culture, poetry retained an important acoustic dimension, and oratory and music were routinely idealized (recall that neither David nor Orpheus, the twin paragons of Renaissance poetry, ever picks up a pen). Circulation in written media was only one means of participating in learned, artistic and humanist cultures, and the category of "literature" should not be employed as a back-formation on the Renaissance, as though the period had already seen the rise of a monolithic bibliographic culture, the institutionalization of literature in print, or modern academic disciplinary divisions.

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[10] Lesser and Stallybrass, "The First Literary *Hamlet* and the Commonplacing of Professional Plays."

* * *

This dissertation begins with Philip Sidney's introduction of musico-poetic ideas into England during the 1570s and 80s, and continues through John Milton's fascination with music in the 1630s and 40s. These diachronic bookends mark a period of musical humanism in England – that is, an idealization of the classical union of music and verse, instituted by Marsilio Ficino and others, taken literally by Jean-Antoine de Baïf's musical academy in Paris and later by the Florentine Camerata, and re-imagined by Philip Sidney and other English poets. Musical humanism refers less to a uniform artistic agenda than to an affinity among the scholars and poets who cultivated this movement, including Baïf, Giordano Bruno and other important Neoplatonists; Hubert Languet and other influential Protestants; the Sidney Circle and later English authors.[11] It is a hermeneutic term for one period (among others) in which music and writing were closely related – and its effects neither appear without precedent nor disappear with the Restoration.

Scholars have long recognized the important ties between music and literature during the English Renaissance. Perhaps the most influential study of the topic is John

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[11] As Erik Ryding suggests, there is a danger of using the term "musical humanism" carelessly "since it suggests a unified musico-philosophical movement that never existed," *In Harmony Framed*, 10.

Hollander's 1961 *The Untuning of the Sky: Ideas of Music in English Poetry, 1500-1700*, though (as his subtitle suggests) Hollander is chiefy concerned with "speculative" ideas and metaphors of music, as opposed to "practical" or literal sound. Like much scholarship on the topic, Hollander takes for granted that music and poetry are essentially different artforms, so that "the identification of music and poetry in literary language must be construed not so much as a figure of language as a kind of esthetic ideal."[12] Even those studies that have engaged closely with acoustic music tend to treat it as a stylistic influence upon English verse rather than as a fully collaborative enterprise.[13] In the process of detailing Philip Sidney's ties to musical culture, for example, John Stevens suggests that Sidney was "contributing his bit to the search for a proper voice for English poetry, which meant most importantly, though not exclusively, a proper 'music', i.e. a proper speech-melody for it": for Stevens, poetry is by and large a "self-sufficient art" that differs from "actual" music.[14] This notion of the self-sufficiency of literary culture is common, and musicologists have, in general, allowed it to go unchallenged. By focusing on melodic and rhythmic structures and conventions of expression as evidenced in musical notation, and less often on the ways in which music inflects and determines literary culture itself, musicologists have (like literary scholars) left much more work to be done on early modern song culture.[15]

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[12] Hollander, 143. Other studies in this tradition include Pattison, *Music and Poetry of the English Renaissance*; Wells, *Elizabethan Mythologies*; and McColley, *Poetry and Music in Seventeenth-Century England*.

[13] Examples include Stevens, *Music and Poetry in the Early Tudor Court*; Finney, *Musical Backgrounds for English Literature*; Chan, *Music in the Theatre of Ben Jonson*; Jorgens, *The Well-Tun'd Word*; Schleiner, *The Living Lyre in English Verse*; Maynard, *Elizabethan Lyric Poetry and Its Music*; and Doughtie, *English Renaissance Song*.

[14] Stevens, "Sir Philip Sidney and 'Versified Music': Melodies for Courtly Songs," 155, 156.

[15] I am influenced by works of musicology including Austern, *Music in the Children's Drama of the Later Renaissance*; Spink, *English Song: Dowland to Purcell*; Winkler, *O Let Us Howle Some Heavy Note*; and Wulstan, *Tudor Music*.

Where we have seen fuller engagement with the phenomenology of sound and its relationship to writing is in performance studies. Scholars are well accustomed to thinking about the interplay between writing and performance in the Renaissance theater, where the sounds of players and minstrels – what Christopher Marlowe calls "jygging vaines of riming mother wits" – interacted in a volatile way with the "high astounding tearms" of humanist reading and writing.[16] Scholars have demonstrated how drama constantly rubs up against, and is deeply informed by, the performative, embodied practices of acting, jesting and music.[17] Recent work in sound studies, furthermore, has developed and expanded performance studies by drawing out the perceptual world in which early modern literature was embedded. Scholarship on early modern acoustic experience, the sound of the theater, and the materiality of the voice by Bruce Smith, Kenneth Gross, Wes Folkerth, Gina Bloom and others have helped inspire this project.[18] I aim to continue work in this area with increased focus on the musical culture of the Sidney Circle, the ayre movement of the early-seventeenth century, collaborations between Milton and Henry Lawes, the professional theater, and the occasional entertainment tradition.

Where my project differs from previous scholarship in sound and performance studies is in its emphasis on literary form. Recent work has drawn attention to influences upon literature ranging from the early modern English soundscape, to the concrete and palpable materiality of written, spoken, printed and other endeavors, to the impact of early modern practices and experiences from mathematics and cartography to war and New World settlement.[19] Literary scholars have continued to unsettle preconceptions about the boundaries of the field, expanding the working definition of literature so as to include almost all written formats, from diaries to newspapers to graffiti. Yet scholars frequently take for granted that literature itself comes down to dramatic scripts, printed books and other written matter. Even as scholars have demonstrated the breadth and diversity of early modern practices of writing and brought out the performative surroundings of literature, they have reproduced the assumption that the literary canon is defined by writing.

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[16] Marlowe, *Tamburlaine the Great, Part I*, 6.

[17] See, for example, Weimann, *Shakespeare and the Popular Tradition of the Theater*; Yachnin and Badir, eds., *Shakespeare and the Cultures of Performance*; Hodgdon and Worthen, eds., *A Companion to Shakespeare and Performance*; and Turner, ed. *Early Modern Theatricality*.

[18] Smith, *The Acoustic World of Early Modern England*; Gross, *Shakespeare's Noise*; Folkerth, *The Sound of Shakespeare*; Bloom, *Voice in Motion*.

The history of the book serves as a good example. I am strongly influenced by recent accounts of the discontinuous, piecemeal, and even haphazard process that (we have learned) characterized the production of early modern books. My reading of "The Triple Fool," for example, borrows from the insight that poetry is inevitably distributed through all kinds of bibliographic formats, processes and environments. As Peter Stallybrass and Margreta de Grazia have argued, there is no fundamental "work" or "privileged 'original'" in early modern print culture, but, instead, "old typefaces and spellings, irregular line and scene divisions, title pages and other paratextual matter, and textual cruxes."[20] Accordingly, historians of the book have advocated for closer attention to the "materiality of the text" – the concrete particulars that emerge from archival study of manuscript and printed books. In this way, book history provides a model for tracing song through the verse and prose narratives, the manuscript and printed songbooks, and the loose sheets of paper in which it circulated through early modern culture.

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[19] Relevant examples include Masten, Stallybrass, and Vickers, eds. *Language Machines*; Gouk, *Music, Science, and Natural Magic in Seventeenth-Century England*; and Fleming, *Graffiti and the Writing Arts of Early Modern England*.

[20] De Grazia and Stallybrass, "The Materiality of the Shakespearean Text," 257, 256.

Yet it will be clear from the outset that song cannot be explained solely through a history of inscription. Song occurred in habits and routines of performance, in transmission from tutor to pupil, in aural remembrance, and in ephemeral vocal recital – none of which remain *visible* in the scholarly archive. In what follows I examine manuscript annotations of Sidney's *Arcadia*, early extant editions of *Hamlet*, the bibliographic format of early-seventeenth-century lute songbooks, and the livery company account books that meticulously record payments toward seventeenth-century pageantry. But I study this archive for hints of ephemeral and even immaterial histories that cannot be pinned down in scriptive artifacts, and I acknowledge a whole world of acoustic moments and events that have left no trace in the scholarly archive at all.

With a mind to rethinking the boundaries of the early modern literary field, then, this dissertation tracks the books, writings, musical recitals, dramatic gestures and performative practices through which early modern song was *mediated*. I aim to provide a history not only of the book, but of the broader range of activity involved the transmission of song, so that "medium" denotes everything from printed book to singer's larynx to actor's body. In what follows, "mediation" refers to the entire ecology through which meaning unfolds – including the aural recitations, written recordings, theatrical infrastructures, bodily affects, environmental landscapes, visual affordances, and musical adaptations that facilitate art's transmission and shape its significance.[21] By taking seriously this broad spectrum of technologies, habits, events and ideas, I hope to offer a fuller account of song than the history of the book *or* performance theory, on their own, could provide.

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[21] My use of the term "ecology" to describe a broad field of environmental and social activity is informed by the work of Tim Ingold; for example, see "The Temporality of the Landscape," in *The Perception of the Environment*, 189–208: "To bring the perspectives of archaeology and anthropology into unison through a focus on the temporality of the landscape . . . might enable us to move beyond the sterile opposition

To put it another way, I aim to demonstrate an overlap between performative and bibliographic histories so extensive as to eschew methodological preoccupations with only one type of medium. By attending to all relevant practices and technologies of transmission and circulation that shape the social experience and significance of early modern song, I contribute to a recognition that performance studies and book history should not be separate endeavors. Scholars including Robert Weimann and W. B. Worthen have, to some extent, take up this point in the context of performance studies – though even here, as Worthen acknowledges, "Performance criticism has often taken a relatively untheorized and unjustifiably dualistic view of its foundational terms – text, performance – and of the aims and methods of the critical heuristic they support."[22] Scholarship on poetry, prose and the book, meanwhile, tends to speak about the "performative" as though it is outside, or in excess of, the literary text as such.[23] What

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between the naturalistic view of the landscape as a neutral, external backdrop to human activities, and the culturalistic view that every landscape is a particular cognitive or symbolic ordering of space" (189).

[22] Worthen, "Intoxicating Rhythms: Or, Shakespeare, Literary Drama, and Performance (Studies)," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 62, no. 3: 309-39, esp. 313. See also Weimann and Bruster, *Shakespeare and the Power of Performance*, 9: "[In the early modern theater,] boundaries between the verbal signs of language and the visible signs of the body became as porous as they were contingent. For Shakespeare, therefore, the familiar opposition of 'performance versus text' (or vice versa) would be entirely unhelpful. The pressure of such opposition would have been punctured in the heat of the battle over the following question: how can a performer exert authority, let alone sovereignty in his own right, when the dramatist's language itself has already assimilated the player's *gestus*, speech rhythm, and kinetic thrust prior to any subsequent embodiment? Verbal and visible signs come together in the literary as well as the material production, but also in the audiovisual response of auditors-spectators. All three are conjoined in a dramatic discourse that is an object of, as well as an agency in, the staging of the play."

[23] To take one of any number of examples, from Ann Hurley's 2005 *John Donne's Poetry and Early Modern Visual Culture*: "By placing the interruptive gesture of 'The Flea' in the context of the visual and performative, as opposed to the textual and literary, I am thus seeking to resituate Donne's verse in the social, political, and cultural milieu from which it emerged, while demonstrating that this milieu is not simply a detachable background for that verse but significantly constitutive of it" (80). This conception of the "performative" as something both enacted by literature and broadly present within its historical milieu

early modern song makes plain is that "texts" do not always begin, or end, with writing: poets were constantly working with a tune in mind, as a prompt for oral delivery, with the expectation of musical setting, or in collaboration with a composer.

Toward the end of combining the insights of performance theory with those of book history, I turn to media studies, broadly conceived. Given that, as I demonstrate below, musical ideas and practices profoundly inflect many types of early modern writing, and given that print and manuscript are frequently designed and transmitted so as to produce and inspire musical performance, I require a theory of mediation that is highly sensitive to phenomenological and ontological shifts in the materials, technologies and protocols of communication. Some of the most useful and rigorous theorization in this regard has been that of N. Katherine Hayles, Matthew Kirschenbaum and other scholars of "new" and online media, since the digital has the tendency to appear ubiquitous, mobile, evanescent and permanent all at once.[24] Like song, the digital is always at the threshold of different modes of experience and circulation; it is always slipping between the abstract and the concrete, the formal and the material – and it can be satisfactorily explained only through careful attunement to a radically diverse range of perceptions and circumlocutions. And, also like early modern song, the digital inspires considerable uncertainty surrounding the nature of literary form, associated as it is with everything from portable e-readers and online poetry to live readings and printed books.

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is familiar in New Historicist scholarship. Its shortcoming for my purposes is that, by gesturing rather vaguely toward a quality of all social relations in which literature is situated, it leads to imprecise descriptions of the literally performative qualities of literature, including the environments in which it was sung.

[24] See Hayles, *My Mother Was a Computer*; *Writing Machines*; and *Electronic Literature*; Kirschenbaum, *Mechanisms*; Kittler, *Gramophone, Film, Typewriter*; Hanson, *New Philosophy for New Media*; Munster, *Materializing New Media*; and Dyson, *Sounding New Media*.

In my use of media theory, I aim to be cognizant of the danger of trans-historical analogies or generalizations about mediation. Among the many differences between our own moment and the early modern period is the expectation that all mediation is mass mediation – that a media domain exists apart from local or immediate experience, and that this domain is highly or inevitably technological. The early modern literary field was characterized by its own types of mediation – theatrical, coterie, printed, courtly – many of them less centralized and more embodied (or, at least, embodied in a manner less obviously coextensive with technology) than postmodern experiences of mediation. I use the term "media," therefore, in a way that is distinct from its standard usage in contemporary media studies: for me, the term refers not only to technologies but to humans, habits, voices, gestures, melodies and more, so that anything that transmits meaning, information or experience is a "medium." It is important to underline this point, since (following Marshall McLuhan) mediation is generally taken to refer to the imposition of a work's technological structure upon its meaning.[25] My broader definition of mediation is an attempt to account for the fuller contexts and modes of early modern communication, where song traveled through diverse spaces and occasions, in many human and nonhuman valences, through printed books, written pages, theatrical performances and musical recitals – not all of which are part of the "mass communication" system that characterizes contemporary culture.

In this way, I aim to put the early age of print in dialogue with the so-called digital age so that that historical differences *and* continuities emerge more clearly. In the process of accounting for contemporary experiences of "mediatization," or oversaturation in digital and other mass media, scholars have uncovered insights about media that were true all along – including the confusion that "new" media have long inspired over the transmission, remembrance and inscription of meaning.[26] Our experiences of a postmodern, mediatized world have underscored how textual meaning is embedded in process, and how, rather than enduring artifacts or concretized meaning, there is only a constantly adapting media nexus. What we have sometimes failed to recognize is that we are not unique – that the early modern literary field was "mediatized" in its own way, and that literary form has always involved interaction, conflation and competition among media.

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[25] McLuhan's famous suggestion that "the medium is the message" first appears in *Understanding Media*.

My broadened conception of literary mediation leads, in turn, to a broadened conception of literary form. Form, in my usage, is a cultural principle, structure, pattern or consensus that organizes and defines categories such as "song," "literature," "drama" or "poetry."[27] Form includes, but is not strictly limited to, particular conflagrations of media: during the early modern period, for example, the ballad form becomes closely associated with printed broadsides designed to be sung, but ballads continued to exist in oral transmission and in manuscript culture as well. The notion of form makes it possible to identify practices and experiences of mediation that are involved or included within song as it is delimited amidst the extremely diverse media culture of early modern England. An adaptable and suppositional category, form describes what was already understood as song, and it also acts to determine what song does (and does not) come to include.

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[26] The media concept is predicated on that of communication, which emphasizes the transfer of informational content from sender to receiver without positing an external realm of origin or significance. As Jameson suggests in *Postmodernism*, "The traditional fine arts are *mediatized*" when they "come to consciousness of themselves as various media within a mediatic system in which their own internal production also constitutes a symbolic message and the taking of a position on the status of the medium in question" (162). The term "mediatize" is derived from Baudrillard, who uses it to describe the consolidation of mass media together under a single code in *For a Critique of the Political Economy of the Sign*, 175–76. See also Bolter and Grusin, *Remediation*; and Guillory "Genesis of the Media Concept." On the value of media studies for literary scholars of all periods, see Gitelman, *Always Already New*.

[27] My notion of form is inspired by the work of Bruno Latour, whose Actor-Network-Theory is relevant for literary study not least because its subtle, adaptable metaphysics are particularly resonant with the hybrid state of affairs that is literature. Like Latour's notion of the social, literature is never fully "human," composed as it is of paper, voices, ink, tunes and other non-living things, but it is never fully "non-human" either, at least insofar as it is continually determined and constituted by human agencies, ideas and bodies. Following Latour, it is necessary to trace a social formation like literature through any number of elements and environments in order to provide an accurate account of its properties and boundaries. See Latour, *We Have Never Been Modern*; *Aramis*; and *Reassembling the Social*. On the ways in which Latour can be used to rethink literary form and see Turner, "Lessons from Literature for the Historian of Science (and Vice Versa): Reflections on 'Form'"; and see Turner's discussion of dramatic character as a form of artificial life in "Life Science: Rude Mechanicals, Human Mortals, Posthuman Shakespeare."

I understand form, therefore, as a dynamic category that is determined by and within historical process. One of the dangers of the term form is that it continues to be taken as a static ideality – a leftover from an outmoded notion of a permanent and inflexible realm of ideals, whether Platonic or semiotic. I define forms, on the contrary, as shifting and impermanent categories which must continually monitor and shore up their boundaries: for me, forms exist *only* within history. Some forms, to be sure, are more coherent or consistent or enduring than others – the sonnet has proven to be a relatively robust or trans-historical form, while the country house poem has not. Other forms – for example, the entire literary canon – are politically charged and controversial, and must be continually re-articulated, policed, expanded and refined.

As we continue to acknowledge the discontinuity and fragmentation that characterized the history of the book, and as we account more fully for the embodied and ephemeral history of performance, it becomes increasingly necessary to attend to form. The scholarly focus of late has been less on theories of form than on theories of materiality, which have become innovative and capacious, motivated not least by renewed interest in the palpable evidence of cultural history that resides in the archive.[28]

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[28] In particular, see Harris, who shows how materiality in Shakespeare amounts to a "polytemporal" process in *Untimely Matter in the Time of Shakespeare*; and Witmore, who suggests that "finding our way to a truly Shakespearean metaphysics . . . should not be an exercise in transcendence, but an attempt to

Given the expansive and indeterminate media nexus in which song was implicated, however, close attention to the material history of archival artifacts is not enough. It is necessary to find a way of accounting for vanished and lost experiences of mediation, and of articulating how diverse media interacted in song culture. Form helps to describe ecologies of literary circulation in greater detail – including those that are no longer visible to us. To trope on Roland Barthes, a little media history (a history of the book, perhaps) turns one away from form, but a lot turns one back to it – and, accordingly, turns one back to history.[29]

In keeping with a diachronic and historicized notion of form, I choose to *avoid* the term "literature" itself – which, again, denoted nearly any kind of writing during the early modern period, and which reproduces a bias toward the letter in its very etymology. Because literary form is a contingent category, one that demands careful sensitivity to historical change, I prefer to use the early moderns' own term for the tradition they traced from Homer and Sappho to Virgil and Ovid, namely *poesie*. Derived from the ancient Greek *poïesis* and used to refer to imaginative "making" across a variety of media, poesie is a more neutral term for describing the range of endeavors in which early modern poets were implicated, from writing and versifying to oratory and song. Poesie does, to be sure, introduce its own series of assumptions – it hints at idealizations of classical verse and oratory, links poetic endeavors to inscriptions in jewels and other hard surfaces (since that was one of its early modern meanings), and implies that literary endeavors are

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unearth a new and different kind of materialism, one that is grounded in bodies but emphatic in asserting the reality of their dynamic interrelations," in *Shakespearean Metaphysics*, 2.

[29] Barthes, *Mythologies*: "To parody a well-known saying, I shall say that a little formalism turns one away from History, but that a lot brings one back to it" (112).

somehow organic or natural, since the term also denoted gatherings of flowers.[30] What "poesie" does not do is imply a necessary predilection toward script, or impose an anachronistic conflation between media format and cultural significance: it is an early modern term, and its assumptions derive from its historical period.

Which endeavors come under the umbrella of poesie is a long story. Poesie was a contested, changeable category – the product of an ongoing and repeated process of negotiation in which writing is nearly always an important, but by no means exclusive, criterion. The period is full of debate over what activities can be associated with or attributed to poesie, and texts including Sidney's *Defence of Poesie* (ca. 1582) and George Puttenham's *Art of English Poesy* (1589) operate not least as prescriptive mitigations of what the category does and does not include. Song is by no means invariably understood to be poetic, and certain types of song – such as popular balladry – are often pointedly disassociated from the proper and customary activities of poets.[31] Song is sometimes relegated to the outskirts of "poesie" for other, more practical reasons; as Tiffany Stern has shown, songs for early modern plays generally circulated on loose sheets of paper (and not in the playtext) so that they could be sent separately to composers for setting, so that they could be rehearsed separately from the rest of the play, and because they often came from a source other than the playwright(s), such as a theater library or a composer.[32] The result was the physical dislocation of songs from the rest of a dramatic enterprise, so that "songs did not always belong as powerfully to a single play as did other aspects of the text: their potential to wander was inherent within their relationship to plays."[33] And yet song is often understood to be highly poetic in theatrical and other contexts, sometimes pointedly and self-consciously so. Thomas Campion – with his nostalgia for an Elizabethan period of prosperity among poets and composers, his idealization of classical and Continental traditions of musico-poetics, and his unique professional status as both composer and poet – continually attempts to claim song within the category of poesie.

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[30] *Oxford English Dictionary Online* (accessed February 2012).
[31] On the ways in which balladeers "were heavily disparaged by their self-appointed literary superiors," see Marsh, *Music and Society in Early Modern England*, 229.
[32] Stern, *Documents of Performance*, 120-173.

In short, song's literariness is up for grabs – subject to a variable process involving a host of vested interests. Sidney channels and adapts a Continental version of musical humanism into his works, expressing the desire that musical performance will help justify poesie – standing in for or replacing wider spheres of ethical action. Yet Sidney also introduces concern about an author's control over his media: detailing an elaborate series or restrictions on the genres and styles that poesie should take, distinguishing between media categories ("Methinks I deserve to be pounded for straying from poetry to oratory"), and supplying pre-historical lyricists with pens ("Orpheus, Linus, and some other are named, who, having been the first of that country that made pens deliverers of their knowledge to posterity").[34] In *Areopagitica*, meanwhile, Milton outlines so expansive a conception of the literary field that that "whatever thing we hear or see, sitting, walking, travelling, or conversing may be fitly call'd our book" – outlining a vast world of bodies, materials, sensations and ideas through which literature circulates, including music, which Milton loved and of which he knew a great deal.[35] Yet music is also, for Milton, a register through which the poetic voice is inflected – something that might be appropriated into books, channeled into metaphor, and made his own. Across the early modern period, that is, texts and authors open up a capacious ecology of voices, books, musical instruments and other media through which poesie circulates, and also – sometimes simultaneously – work to narrow, consolidate, or pin down the media that are allowed to constitute literary form.

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[33] Stern, 134.

[34] Sidney, *The Defence of Poesie*, 247, 213. Note that Duncan-Jones's edition erroneously reads "poetry or oratory" (both 1595 printed editions of the *Defence* read "poetry to oratory").

[35] Milton, *Areopagitica*, 528.

In line 20 of “The Triple Fool,” Donne’s speaker describes the process of circulation, adaptation and redefinition of his poem with the term “published.” The speaker’s poem travels through its culture in varying and nuanced shades of publicity – a concept that is complex enough here without even referring to a world of print. The poem does not simply appear in public; it is made public in (we presume) a manuscript coterie, then, in a completely different context, through the re-imagination of a vocalist and his delighted audience, and finally, in a movement that is both public and private, through the speaker’s experience, when he is ashamed of the new life his love and grief have taken. In this way, Donne attunes us to the fact that it is not only the codex format that is “published” in early modern England, and, in turn, that it is not only writing that is literary. Print, script, theater, music and other types of mediation become “poesie” only through a process of selection, innovation and struggle; and singers, actors and instruments often assert their influence over the meaning of verse, in collaboration with, or in spite of, the desires of a poet. Accordingly, vocalists, composers and other champions of song have an important stake in early modern literary culture, and they reshape what comes to be defined, in early modern terms, as literary form.

Chapter 1

Philip Sidney and Acoustic Form

Few terms are more prevalent in Sidney's treatment of poetic form than music. In the *Defence of Poesy*, the poet "cometh to you with words set in delightful proportion, either accompanied with, or prepared for, the well enchanting skill of music," as though music solidifies or guarantees the central argument in the *Defence* that poesie moves its audience to "well-doing" (*DP* 227, 219).[1] Sidney summons up a long tradition linking musical "skill" – a word that suggests practical or literal acoustic performance – with a philosophical notion of harmony at every level, from balanced humors to well-ordered states to cosmic spheres. According to the *Defence*, all versification involves music: quantitative meter, measured by syllable length as it was in Western Antiquity, is "(no doubt) more fit for music," but accentual verse based on stress also "striketh a certain music to the ear" (248). Similarly, in the more involved debate on versification that comes in the eclogues of Sidney's *Old Arcadia*, "Dicus said that since verses had their chief ornament, if not end, in music, those which were just appropriated to music did best obtain their end, or at least were the most adorned" (*OA* 363).[2] Even Dicus's opponent Lalus admits that, although "Dicus did much abuse the dignity of poetry to apply it to music, since rather music is a servant to poetry," "music must be implied" in accentual meter as well: the acoustic qualities of stress and rhyme are important "especially to common ears to which the poet doth most direct his studies" (*OA* 363-64).

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[1] I cite quotations of the *Defence* as *DP*, followed by the page number.

Music is fundamental to the "end" of Sidnean poesie not least because it moves both body and soul, helping to ensure that the maker's "*idea* or fore-conceit" leads to *praxis*, or worldly *doing* (*DP* 216). As in the *Defence*, where poetic making is justified by "this end, to teach and delight" (217), Dicus and Lalus are obsessed with the ends of poetry, to such an extent that they cannot seem to decide whether music helps poetry to its ends or whether musical poetry is an end unto itself. Music provides such an effective medium by which verses "best obtain their end" that it promises to become the goal to which the poet must "direct his studies." As a medium that precedes and enables ethical action, that is, music is a uniquely privileged literary end, potentially even poesie's "final end [which] is to lead and draw us to as high a perfection as our degenerate souls, made worse by their clayey lodgings, can be capable of" (*DP* 219). Music promises to link an abstract "*idea* or fore-conceit" (216) such as that of moral "high perfection" with the earthly action of which audiences are capable, the *praxis* that works "substantially" enough to bestow many morally upright "Cyruses" on the world (216-17). Both an abstract ideal and a palpable result, music draws poets and auditors into a community of common purpose, facilitating and even constituting *praxis*.

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[2] This episode comes at the end of the first eclogues in two extant manuscripts of the *Old Arcadia* and is printed in Appendix A of Duncan-Jones's edition, 363-64. The *Old Arcadia* is based on the first version of Sidney's romance, which circulated only in manuscript. The *New Arcadia* is based on the printed edition of 1590, which included Sidney's revisions of the first three books. Sidney's many revisions include name changes: Pyrocles when disguised as an Amazon, is called Cleophila in the *Old Arcadia* and Zelmane in the *New Arcadia*, for example. Unless otherwise noted I use the conventions of the *Old Arcadia*. I cite all quotations of the *Old Arcadia* and *New Arcadia* as *OA* and *NA*, followed by page numbers from Duncan-Jones, ed., *The Old Arcadia*; and Evans, ed., *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia*.

Music carries such potential to bridge the divide between *idea* and *praxis* in Sidney's works in part because of its cultural role as a metaphor for eloquence and harmony, a notion that was elaborated and reworked across Europe by musical humanists who emphasized music's power to move the soul. In England, music helped enable an Elizabethan justification of poetry as well-ordered and rhetorically effective; S. K. Heninger goes so far as to suggest that in the sixteenth century, the "respect accorded poetry derived in large part from its affinities to music."[3] But as Sidney's interest in the "substantial" function of music as a practical "skill" suggests, music implies not only an abstract or aesthetic metaphor, but literal sound. As we shall see, Sidney's emphasis on music suggests that "poesie" does not refer exclusively to graphic characters on a page – and, furthermore, that there may be little meaningful distinction between music and writing in the first place.

For Sidney the term "music" serves many purposes: it refers to a philosophy of well-ordered harmony, to instrumental and vocal melody, to accentual rhyme, oratory and speech – even to highly dissonant noise. This chapter considers Sidney's interest in instrumental and vocal music alongside his experimentation other kinds of acoustic performance, including quantitative and accentual meters. In the eclogues to the *Old Arcadia*, for example, Strephon and Klaius use the term music to shift rapidly between different types of sound:

> [*Klaius*.] I that was once the music of these valleys,
> So darkened am that all my day is evening,
> Heart-broken so, that molehills seem high mountains,

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[3] Heninger, *Sidney and Spenser*, 80.

> And fill the vales with cries instead of music.
> *Strephon*. Long since, alas, my deadly swannish music
> Hath made itself a crier of the morning . . .
> Meseems I hear (when I do hear sweet music)
> The dreadful cries of murdered men in forests.
> (*OA* 285-86)

Here, music provides a medium for lyrical self-expression in the pastoral "music of these valleys," a "deadly swannish" expression of dissonance and decay, as well as a dialogic counterpoint that incorporates the "dreadful cries" and dissonant voices of others. Klaius maintains that terrible cries in valleys are not music, but for Strephon the cries of murdered men replace and become his music, expanding the pastoral convention of musical self-expression so as to include foreign, *different* sounds. Strephon's turbulent state of mind finds suitable expression only in such horrific noise, and in order to regain his balanced humors and the "sweet" music of his lyric self, he looks for comfort in the cries and voices of larger communities that will resonate with his personal suffering.

Strephon and Klaius end their complaint with a desire to hear the grief of Sidney's persona Philisides, whom they entreat to sing a private song that will resonate with theirs and, hopefully, provide communal healing:

> [*Strephon*.] I joy in grief, and do detest all joys.
> But now an end, O Klaius, now an end,
> For e'en the herbs our hateful music stroys,
> And from our burning breath the trees do bend.
>
> When they had ended, with earnest entreaty they obtained of Philisides that he would impart some part of the sorrow his countenance so well witnessed unto them. And he (who by no entreaty of the duke would be brought unto it) in this doleful time was content thus to manifest himself.
> (290)

In what follows, Philisides "manifest[s] himself" in a self-conscious manner that Katherine Duncan-Jones has described as "the nearest Sidney ever came to autobiography."[4] Exploring the possibility of reconciling private contemplation with communal action, Philisides dreams about how "most private" poetic expression and "the benefits of a quiet mind" might lead to larger forms of "fastest concord" and "perfect peace" between Venus and Diana (293, 291, 294). This episode has an analogue in Sidney's immediate milieu of literary production: Sidney wrote the bulk of his poesie while at his sister Mary's estate of Wilton, a place of remove from wider political spheres, in the aftermath of his quarrel with the Earl of Oxford and his letter to the queen arguing against a marriage with the French Duke of Alençon. By this time Sidney and the Protestant "Philippists" (after Philip Melanchthon) who were his peers and confidants were forced to recognize the increasingly bleak outlook for Protestant diplomats and intellectuals on the Continent.[5] In his dream, Philisides is asked to judge a beauty contest intended to end a religious conflict between these goddesses in which churches are "defaced" and priests "displaced" – a situation that hints suggestively at Northern European politics, especially given that Diana, goddess of chastity, figures forth Queen Elizabeth. Like Paris, Philisides does not take the savviest political course, choosing the virgin handmaid Mira over Venus and Diana (294). Associated with feminine modesty, "the pleasure of [the] mind," a will "close[d] up in secret knot," and (as scholars including Duncan-Jones have pointed out) Mary Sidney, Mira figures forth a personal, domestic imaginary over and against larger political and religious contexts (293).[6]

The fourth eclogues thus offer Philisides an opportunity to dramatize a series of inter-subjective relations that extend from the lyric persona or self, to the family and coterie (including Mary Sidney and her circle), to the nation (the dream is set in "Samothea," a word for Ancient Britain) and beyond (the removal of "priests from priesthood" implies an international religious conflict (294)). And, as in Strephon and Klaius's sestina, the best hope of harmonizing this radical diversity of social groupings is music. Diana's and Venus's strife, which "with hugest noise (such noise a tower makes / When it blown up with a mine a fall of ruin takes; / Or such noise it was as highest thunders send, / Or cannons thunder-like, all shot together, lend), / The moon asunder rent" is so vexed and noisy that only Philisides's "music sweet to one in careful musing placed" seems to offer any possibility of resolution (292, 291). The idea that Philisides might be able to resolve such thunderous conflict and "ruin" with a bit of music is, in part, a signal of his failure to intervene more directly in the religious conflict at hand: after all, he retreats to an intimate, contemplative space after he has been overwhelmed by a wider "ruinous want of government" (294). Given the climate of insecurity and disenchantment about Philippist political ideals following the expulsion of Protestant leaders from Wittenberg in 1574, Philisides's turn to music is part of Sidney's reevaluation of the potential for poesie to lead to religious and political *praxis*. The *Arcadia* registers a sense of apprehension about the relationship between poesie and *praxis* by invoking the cachet of musical humanism that extended from fifteenth-century Florence to and sixteenth-century Paris – using music as means of justifying its ethical project.[7]

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[4] Duncan-Jones, ed., *Sir Philip Sidney: The Major Works*, 353 (endnote to page 120).

[5] As Stillman points out, 1574 saw the beginning of a crisis for Sidney's Protestant allies on the Continent that only worsened in the remaining years of Sidney's life. See *Philip Sidney and the Poetics of Renaissance Cosmopolitanism*, 53-62.

[6] On the autobiographical dimensions of the Mira dream see Duncan-Jones, "Sidney in Samothea."

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[7] On the Sidney circle's variety of ties to musicians, see Alexander, "The Musical Sidneys." On Sidney and music more generally, see Maynard, *Elizabethan Lyric Poetry and Its Music*, 77-89; Pattison, *Music and Poetry of the English Renaissance*, 62-64; Hollander, *The Untuning of the Sky*, 126-27, 141-43; Fabry, "Sidney's Poetry and the Italian Song Form"; and Stevens, "Sir Philip Sidney and 'Versified Music.'"

Yet the expanded notion of *praxis* that emerges in Sidney's poesie is not solely a means of self-justification; it is also an opportunity for experimentation with the ways in which personal, local, and imaginative ethical actions can be joined and connected to larger scales of religious and political "well-doing." For Sidney, music becomes a means of demonstrating how all levels and forms of inter-subjectivity must be harmonized before any ethical action is possible. The transition from Strephon and Klaius's "strange exclaiming music" to the attempt to resolve "discord" in Philisides's dream helps to indicate the breadth of relationships that music promises to reconcile (*OA* 286, 294). Philisides alerts us to the ways in which the desire for *praxis* in Sidney's works is, at its core, a desire for a connection between the poet his or her surroundings, so that an audience can accomplish "well-doing" even in an activity so apparently "idle" as poesie. With its capacity to bring together diverse voices, music offers to Sidney the potential to shape collectives of many scales, beginning with his own literary circle. Working to enliven and shape common spheres of production, circulation, and interpretation, Sidney produces a theory and practice of poesie that is not only written, but musical. Music becomes a way of forming literary collectives, justifying what they *do* and perhaps even constituting a form of *praxis* in itself.

* * *

Sidney's fondness for musical "doing" emerges particularly clearly in the *Defence*. *Praxis* has a range of meanings for Sidney – in a letter to Hubert Languet, Sidney describes the proper end of knowledge as "public benefit," while a letter to his brother Robert Sidney suggests that knowledge should be "servicable" in a slightly broader sense which seems to include personal advancement.[8] In the *Arcadia*, "doing" is not always "ethical" except insofar as ethics refers to all relations among humans (as it does in Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*, which outlines an extremely broad spectrum of relationships and activities). But the *Defence* hews to a more specific definition of "well-doing," arguing that unlike the philosopher, whose "knowledge standeth so upon the abstract and the general, that happy is that man who may understand him, and more happy that can apply what he doth understand," the "true lively knowledge" figured forth by the poet is able to produce "virtuous action" in a public arena (*DP* 221, 220). The *Defence* prioritizes virtuous action above all else, deferring to the classical ideal of *architektoniké* in which knowledge leads to "well-doing and not of well-knowing only" (219). In this way, poesie is able to "possess the sight of the soul" so effectively that the entire "Albion nation" will "set their hearts' delight upon action": "For, as Aristotle saith, it is not *gnosis* but *praxis* must be the fruit" (222, 237, 226).

Sidney's insistence that knowledge lead to publicly efficacious deeds is strongly inflected by what he and his colleagues in England and abroad understood as the "active life."[9] Best known less as a poet than as a significant player in an international political and religious theater, Sidney was the nephew of the powerful Earl of Leicester and an intimate friend of Languet, the influential Huguenot diplomat and intellectual. His close associations with these and other prominent Protestants helped shape his unstable relationship with the English court as well as his ties to Continental humanism. The expectations surrounding Sidney's career as well as his own ethical preoccupations emerge in Sonnet 30 of *Astrophil and Stella*, which lists what would have been the most pressing international dilemmas from Sidney's perspective. Sidney's persona tells us that "busy wits to me do frame" foreign crises including the precarious situation for Protestants in Holland, the cause for which Sidney was fighting when he received his fatal thigh wound in 1586, and the disastrous English venture in Ireland ("How Ulster likes of that same golden bit / Wherewith my father once made it half tame" refers to Sidney's father Henry's post as Lord Governor).[10] The "busy wits" spurring Astrophil to action presumably include Languet and Leicester as well as a circle of like-minded humanists and Philippists who determined what Robert Stillman calls Sidney's "relation to the public domain."[11] Central to this "relation" is the vigorous exchange of ideas; members of this community busied themselves by discussing and contemplating the most effective methods for achieving ends including an international Protestant league.[12] Sidney's notion of ethical action does not invariably defer to a narrow conception of public benefit even in the *Defence*. But he is undoubtedly influenced by a Philippist agenda that defined *praxis* as the shaping of communities to perform politically efficacious ends.

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[8] *Sir Philip Sidney: The Major Works*, 282, 284-87.

[9] Sidney mocks moral philosophers for debating "whether the contemplative or the active life do excel" in the *Defence*, 227. On Sidney's life, see Osborn, *Young Philip Sidney*; and Stewart, *Philip Sidney*.

Accordingly, the *Defence* is less intent on defining or describing late-sixteenth-century English poetry than in criticizing and reshaping the community that produces it. Sidney takes exception to the vast majority of poets working around him, detailing their habits largely in order to manage and adjust contemporary poetic practice. His rhetorical style opens up a great variety of poetic forms and possibilities only to narrow and refine them with increasing stringency. This process begins with an expansion of the scope of poetic production that can be justified, including the media available to poets. Sidney departs from a tradition of defenders of poetry who had worked to establish an "objectively fixed metaphysical foundation" for artistic representation by reconciling or adapting classical and medieval theories of mimesis to early modern practice.[13] In early modern English, the word "poet" was synonymous with "Artificer," and as Sidney points out, "The Greeks called him a 'poet', which name . . . cometh of this word *poiein*, which is, to make" (*DP* 215). The well-known passage from Jonson's *Discoveries* which translates *poieten* as "A Maker or a fainer" helps to indicate the sense of fabrication and artifice that early modern humanists heard in the word for poet.[14] Nevertheless, the *Defence* reflects some of the most radical tendencies of artistic theory in England and abroad by emphasizing that poetry need not justify itself based on its fidelity to "the narrow warrant of [Nature's] gifts" (216) or even to metaphysical unities.

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[10] Sidney, *Astrophil and Stella*, 164.

[11] Stillman, *Philip Sidney and the Poetics of Renaissance Cosmopolitanism*, 29.

[12] See Stillman, ibid., on Sidney's role in "waging war among the muses" (30).

Medieval and humanist thinkers from Boccaccio to Tasso seized upon the notion of *eikastike* mimesis that emerges in Plato's *Sophist* in order to suggest that art offers a unique knowledge of permanent truths.[15] Unlike *phantastike* mimesis, which the class of sophists, "conjurers" and "jugglers" use to portray fleeting and subjective appearances, *eikastike* mimesis is produced "by following the proportions of the original."[16] When the *Defence* refers to this distinction, it adjusts the mimetic categories of the *Sophist* by mapping them onto virtuous and corrupt action: "man's wit may make poesy, which should be *eikastiké* (which some learned have defined: figuring forth good things), to be *phantastiké* (which doth, contrariwise, infect the fancy with unworthy objects)" (236).

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[13] Levao, *Renaissance Minds and Their Fictions*, 111.
[14] Jonson, *Timber*, 444.
[15] On the relationship between Sidney's *Defence* and early modern Italian theories of poetics, see Levao, 99-156, and Hathaway, *The Age of Criticism*.
[16] Plato, *The Sophist*, 235A-236C.

While figures including Jacopo Mazzoni and later Torquato Tasso take up the *Sophist*'s distinction in order to discuss the poet's relationship to transcendental absolutes, Sidney's parenthetical definitions focus solely on the "good" or "unworthy" aspects of mimesis.[17] This is not to say that the *Defence* is anti-Platonic: the goal of "figuring forth good things," fundamental to Plato, was not lost on Christian Platonists, and Sidney's notion of the poet's "*idea*" that delivers a "golden world" (215) is informed by a Neoplatonic tradition associating poetic inspiration with permanent and divine unities.[18] When Sidney ignores original and unchanging truths even as he alludes to the *Sophist*'s account of mimesis, however, he reveals a significant departure from tradition. Justifying representation solely in terms of ethics, Sidney refuses to insist that poetry imitate original or permanent proportions, just as he has earlier refused to require that it depict the "natural" or observable world.

Sidney outlines flexible metaphysical terms for poesie even when he responds directly to the objection that it is "the mother of lies," the one of the three "most important imputations laid to the poor poets" (*DP* 234).[19] This objection refers to a broad concern about the fictive nature of poetic making that derives ultimately from Plato, particularly *The Republic*'s attack on poetry as a secondary mode of representation.[20] Sidney's famous response is to claim that the poet "nothing affirms, and therefore never lieth," which he follows with a touch of *sprezzatura*: "though he recount things not true, yet because he telleth them not for true, he lieth not" (235). Sidney addresses the lingering concern that poesie lacks a foundation in truth by turning to ethics, admitting that poesie is "not affirmatively but allegorically and figuratively written" and suggesting that it is an "imaginative ground-plot of a profitable invention" (235). He then begins a lengthy rebuttal of the imputation that poetry is a "nurse of abuse" (234), alluding explicitly to Plato and implicitly to accusations of degeneracy from Stephen Gosson and others. Despite Sidney's suggestion that his "burden is great" to answer so formidable an opponent as Plato, the banishment of poetry from the Republic offers an opportunity for Sidney to reframe the terms of the debate (238). In effect, Sidney separates out Plato's ethical objection to imitation so that poesie's adherence to unchanging truths is beside the point.

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[17] See Hathaway, *The Age of Criticism*, 122-24, and Patterson, "Tasso and Neoplatonism."

[18] Sidney's relationship to Plato is complex, not least because of the influence of later antiquity and the Middle Ages on Platonic lines of thought. Heninger provides a discussion of Sidney's relationship to Platonism (and Neoplatonism, through which Plato was inevitably mediated), in "*The Defence of Poesie:* Language and Imitation," in *Sidney and Spenser*, 223-306. See also Partee, who emphasizes Sidney's affinity with Platonism, in "Sir Philip Sidney and the Renaissance Knowledge of Plato"; and McIntyre, who argues that "Whatever Sidney has borrowed from Aristotle and Horace he has transposed into the hierarchical universe of the Christian Platonists," in "Sidney's 'Golden World,'" 363. There remains considerable scholarly disagreement on this subject, however; Trimpi argues that the *Defence* specifically "reject[s] Neoplatonic attitudes towards poetry" in "Sir Philip Sidney's *An Apologie for Poetry*," 187.

[19] The others are that poesie is an idle occupation and that it acts as a "nurse of abuse." On the antifeminist language at work in all three of the imputations against poetry as Sidney describes them, see Lamb, "Apologizing for Pleasure in Sidney's *Apology for Poetry*." For an alternative view see Lenhof, "Profeminism in Philip Sidney's *Apologie for Poetrie*."

Indeed, the *Defence* is so invested in the ethical response and action of the audience that *any* rhetorically effective medium potentially qualifies as poesie. Not only "verse," in which "the greatest part of poets have apparelled their poetical inventions" (218), but folk tales, fables, theater, prose fiction, pagan devotion, Christian prayer, ancient and modern song: all are included in Sidney's litany of poetic forms. Even historians, astronomers and philosophers can be poetical; Sidney's comment "whether they properly be poets or no let grammarians dispute" (218) indicates his reluctance to narrow the domain. This position allows Sidney to maintain that it would be imprudent to dismiss or banish all of the many arts that he identifies as poetic, though it opens him up to allegations that some types of poesie act harmfully. In fact, Sidney's admission of an extremely wide range of poetic forms is one of the affinities that the *Defence* shares with Gosson's *Schoole of Abuse*.[21] Apart from the difference in tone, the following passage, in which Gosson describes poetry's contiguity with a broad spectrum of performative traditions, is interestingly consistent with the *Defence*. After the ancient cultures of the Italian peninsula began to stray from the noble "playnsong" of their ancestors and discovered the "lewdnesse" of "descant . . . daunsing and skipping,"

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[20] Plato, *The Republic*, 595a-608c. I borrow the term "secondary representation" from Halliwell, who uses it to refer to the principal form of mimesis that emerges in Plato's writings; see *The Aesthetics of Mimesis*, 37-71.

> Neither staied these abuses in the compasse of that countrey: but like vnto yll weedes in time spread so far, that they choked the good grayne in euery place. For as Poetrie and Piping are Cosen germans: so piping, and playing are of great affinity, and all three chayned in linkes of abuse.[22]

What Gosson sees as a contagion of abuse Sidney describes as a "sweet charming force [which] can do more hurt than any other army of words" (*DP* 236): in both metaphors, poesie's potential forms are manifold, indeterminate and dangerous.

Of course, the *Defence* aims to mitigate against Gosson's accusation that poesie is a contagion of abuse, and Sidney's definitional criteria grow increasingly complex and restrictive as he attempts to carve out decorous and upright forms of poetic making. He does so by introducing mechanisms for adjusting and refining the breadth of poetic possibilities that characterizes the earlier sections of the text. For example, it is not "to be deemed too saucy" to compare poets to God, since they are free "to borrow nothing of what is, hath been, or shall be; but range, only reined with learned discretion, into the divine consideration of what may be and should be" (218) – but even this version of the poet's "freely ranging" *idea* includes the qualifying phrase "reined with learned discretion." The notion of "discretion" helps to signal the turn toward stylistic rules and guidelines upon poesie that characterize the *refutatio* and *digressio* sections of the text. Sidney's concern that songs and sonnets must convey sincerity, his insistence on the unities of time and place, and his distaste for the "tedious prattling" of flowery language all work to impose "reins" on an enterprise that is more unrestrained earlier in the work (247). On some issues Sidney appears to reverse his position completely: according to the *confirmatio*, "the conjunction [of comedy and tragedy] cannot be hurtful" – but in the *digressio* the "mingling of kings and clowns" in "mongrel tragi-comedy" has "neither decency nor discretion" (229, 244).

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[21] On the congruities between Sidney and Gosson, see Kinney, "Parody and Its Implications in Sydney's *Defense of Poesy*."

[22] Gosson, *The Schoole of Abuse*, B2v-B3r.

Some scholars have suggested that such modulations undermine the philosophical importance of the *Defence*. Joel Spingarn's account of Sidney's web of allusions to his humanist predecessors argues that the text is derivative, lacking "an essential principle . . . which cannot be traced back to some Italian treatise on the poetic art."[23] Influenced by Kenneth Myrick's study of the elaborate oratorical design of the work, O.B. Hardison and others have argued that the *Defence* is a virtuosic spectacle that does not elaborate a consistent philosophical position.[24] More recently, scholars have emphasized the ways in which cultural history – particularly Protestant politics – helps to explain Sidney's philosophical twists and turns.[25] As Margaret Ferguson has shown, however, the rhetorical maneuverings of the *Defence* actually work to make it "more cogent as a theoretical statement," by filling out the "predicament of relation" between literary production and interpretation.[26] For Ferguson, Sidney's expansion and then narrowing of literary possibilities is part of a process of "both establishing and transgressing a language of play and a language of power" in the relationship between author and reader.[27] If it is a key "problem, for Sidney . . . that the oratorical notion of the auditor is threatened by the fact that a written medium implies a reader who perhaps cannot (or will not) understand his words at all," there is the potential for reconcilement when the reader becomes "a kind of co-creator" through the process of interpretation.[28] The reader's own inventive act, that is, allows and enables an authorial agenda to be manifested.[29] I will return to the problem of author-audience relations when I come to the *Arcadia*, but for now it will help to underscore Ferguson's point that authorship and readership emerge as deeply ambiguous and overlapping categories in the *Defence*.

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[23] Spingarn, *A History of Literary Criticism in the Renaissance*, 257-58.

[24] Myrick, *Sir Philip Sidney as a Literary Craftsman*, 46-83; Hardison, "The Two Voices of Sidney's *Apology for Poetry*." See also Hamilton, who suggests that the *Defence* "is deeply and powerfully persuasive throughout, not because its argument immediately convinces us, but because Sidney convinces us that we should believe *him*," in *Sir Philip Sidney: A Study of His Life and Works*, 110. On the self-expressive and poetical qualities of the *Defence*, see also Berry, "The Poet as Warrior in Sidney's *Defence of Poetry*."

What Ferguson and other scholars leave largely unexplored is the role of mediation in the *Defence*'s "predicament of relation" between author and reader. Ferguson's suggestion that literature entails a "written medium" is in keeping with the tendency to assume that Sidney mobilizes acoustic, oratorical traditions in the service of a fundamentally written endeavor. Scholars retain this assumption even as they acknowledge Sidney's interest in the unique potential of oratory to convince and move, and despite their acknowledgement that the *Defence* itself is framed *as* an oration. This tendency to equate literature with writing has emerged despite a tradition of scholarship focusing on the interplay between writing and sound by scholars including Walter Ong.[30] Yet Ong himself has contributed to the problem of a bibliographic bias in literary study by reinforcing the idea that writing is a highly mediated "technology" while orality is a "fully natural" phenomenon – insisting upon a categorical difference between sound and the letter even as he emphasizes their ongoing interaction.[31]

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[25] See for example Sinfield, "Sidney's *Defence* and the Collective-Farm Chairman: Puritan Humanism and the Cultural Apparatus." For a discussion of how Sidney's arguments reflect an attempt to reconcile activist Protestantism with English courtliness, see Matz, *Defending Literature in Early Modern England*, 56-87.

[26] Ferguson, *Trials of Desire: Renaissance Defenses of Poetry*, 138, 151. Ferguson understands this "predicament of relation" (Freud's phrase) in psychoanalytic terms, characterized by the ego's struggle for mastery over both "a self which speaks and a self which responds critically to that speech" (151).

[27] Ferguson, 140.

[28] Ferguson, 151, 156.

[29] For example, in the phrase "of all the writers under the sun the poet is the least liar, and, though he would, as a poet can scarcely be a liar," Sidney's qualifying phrase "though [the poet] would" effectively makes the poet's will contingent upon the reader's interpretation (146).

Given the indeterminacy in the processes of production and interpretation at stake in the *Defence*, we should not be so quick to understand Sidnean poesie as influenced by oratorical and musical traditions but inevitably bibliographic in itself. Poesie *acts* and *exists* in a variety of media in the course of the *Defence*; as the description of poesie as a "speaking picture" implies, poesie is composed of both aural and visual components, often in uncertain combinations (221). This is not to imply that Sidney conflates poesie with oratory – when he cites the proverb "*orator fit, poeta nascitur*" (orators are made, poets are born), and when he suggests "I deserve to be pounded for straying from poetry to oratory," he implies a distinction between them (242, 247). The *digressio* on the contemporary climate of English poesie saves its praise for a predominantly bibliographic tradition – Chaucer, the *Mirror for Magistrates*, the Earl of Surrey's lyric poems,

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[30] See Ong, *Orality and Literacy*. And see Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture in England, 1500-1700*, who updates Ong by emphasizing "there was no necessary antithesis between oral and literate forms of communication and preservation" in early modern England (5).

[31] Ong, 80-82. The perceived binary between oratory and writing has persisted despite Derrida's (and others') robust critiques of the ostensible "presence" of the voice: see for example Derrida, "The Theater of Cruelty and the Closure of Representation."

Spenser's *Shepheardes Calender* (all of which Sidney would have known as printed books) – and critiques the inter-media theater more disparagingly than any other type of poesie (241-43). And Sidney's statement that the archetypical aural and musical poets Orpheus and Linus were "the first [Greeks] that made pens deliverers of their knowledge to the posterity" hints at the power of the written medium to determine meaning on a long and durable scale (213).

Nevertheless, Sidney's interest in the agency of the pen runs alongside the special emphasis throughout the *Defence* that music is a crucial component of poesie. The psalms are "merely poetical" not only because they are "fully written in metre," but because they are "nothing but songs," made by "awaking [David's] musical instruments" (215). Ancient poets and philosophers are poetical because they "sing songs" and perform verse, and the best examples of powerful and persuasive "poetical invention[s]" are the oratorical performances of Menenius Agrippa and Nathan (214-15, 227-28). Bards and balladeeers from Wales to Hungary are poets as well; when Sidney hears an "old song" or traditional ballad "sung but by some blind crowder, with no rougher voice than rude style," he finds that his heart is "moved more than with a trumpet," an instrument that nobly signifies "brave courage" (231). Poetry is uniquely delightful and persuasive when it is "either accompanied with, or prepared for, the well-enchanting skill of music," and versification is praiseworthy because it is "the only fit speech for music (music, I say, the most divine striker of the senses)" (227, 233). And, as we have seen, both accentual and quantitative versification "striketh a certain music to the ear" (248), so that the "planet-like music *of* poetry" (my emphasis) is defined by acoustic properties even when it is not literally set to music (*DP* 250).

The idea that accentual meter produces a music of its own helps to demonstrate that Sidney's musical language goes beyond the commonplace metaphor that derived from the tradition of the music of the spheres, in which music could refer to something entirely conceptual. Sidney argues that "it is not rhyming and versing that maketh a poet . . . But it is that feigning notable images of virtues, vices, or what else, with that delightful teaching, which must be the right describing note to know a poet by" (218-19), preserving the extreme autonomy of the maker's *idea*. It is no coincidence that the "senate of poets hath chosen verse as their fittest raiment," however, since acoustic forms and styles are a crucial aspect of what allows poesie to accomplish its "delightful teaching" (219). In a period where teaching and moving retained aural connotations and orality closely interacted with writing, sound was understood to have a unique power to facilitate *praxis* – and it is in keeping with this set of ideas that, when Sidney marks out the difference between history, philosophy and poesie, he uses the metaphor of a songbook. Ventriloquizing the historian "laden with old mouse-eaten records," Sidney writes: "If [the philosopher] make the songbook, I [the historian] put the learner's hand to the lute; and if he be the guide, I am the light" (220). That is, history and philosophy facilitate the conditions for song, but they are unable to provide the actual musical performance: this, we are to understand, only the poet can provide. At Sidney's historical moment, and in his artistic and political context, musical media accrue a unique potential to address the impasse throughout Sidney's work between inventive *idea* and worldly action, outlining the possibility of a performative *network* that is active in and of itself.

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My notion of a poetic and musical network that emerges in Sidney's work is related to what Bruce Smith calls a "speech community," a term that derives from anthropology and includes "all 'channels' of communication: writing, song, even 'speech-derived whistling, drumming, horn calling, and the like.'"[32] Whereas Smith uses the idea of a speech community to map the entire "soundscape" or acoustic field that surrounded early modern drama, I focus on the media that seem to Sidney best equipped for ethical action ranging from international politics to community formation – including the pens that he valorizes and the idealizations of speculative music that he reproduces. I use the term network to describe the intersection of people and things that connect in Sidnean poesie, first, because a poetic network is more rarified than a speech community: Sidney draws from a great variety of literary modes and media forms but identifies select few of them as morally efficacious and justifiable. Second, the term network helps to emphasize the importance of mediation in Sidney's poetic theory and practice: just as a computer network includes human users as well as software interfaces and wireless transmissions, Sidney's literary network combines his peers and interpreters with the bibliographic pages and acoustic pitches that bring them together. And finally, a network is a helpful term for describing what becomes an attenuated form of literature: for all of Sidney's interest in an immediate "circle" or coterie of like-minded interpreters, works including the *Arcadia* branch and extend beyond local soundscapes, including through scribal publication during Sidney's lifetime and through numerous printings and reprintings after his death. Describing Sidnean poesie as a network provides a way of linking these wider spheres of textual circulation with the immediate, performative soundscapes that gather so much emphasis in his work.[33]

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[32] Smith, *The Acoustic World of Early Modern England*, 24-25. Smith quotes from Hymes, "Models of Interaction of Language and Social Life."

To show why sound and music remain fundamental to a poetic practice that included such widespread written distribution, I turn now to the intellectual and cultural history that surrounded Sidney's musical ideas about poesie. As discussed above, the early modern term for poetic making connoted a diversity of visual, acoustic, and even tactile forms, including collections of flowers. Juliet Fleming has used "the term *posy* to refer to all forms of poetry (portable or not) that understand themselves to be written *on* something," including inscriptions on walls, furniture, jewelry, and embroidery with writing instruments including chalk, charcoal, and marking stone.[34] But poesie is not limited to inscription; for Sidney, it appears just as easily to include the dissonant noises of shepherds and the sweet melodies of lutes.

One role that the concept of music plays for Sidney is as a means of ensuring the "learned discretion" (218) and refinement of poesie in a manner related to what George Puttenham describes as "decorum" in *The Art of English Poesy* (1589).[35] For Puttenham, all questions over whether poesie is upright and acceptable are decided by decorum – it is a stop-gap measure that clears up stylistic ambiguities by appealing to the "natural" inclinations of a courtly elite. As Derek Attridge has suggested, Puttenham's decorum "comes 'naturally' not to all humanity but to an elite"; it is a "principle of plenitude" that promises by means of poetic artifice to "*produce* the oneness and self-sufficiency of nature" for that courtly elite.[36] Sidney also appeals to the exclusionary "discretion" of the privileged to narrow the potential spectrum of poesie and redefine it as natural, and one of his words for refined and orderly poesie is "music." Summoning up common ideas of musical harmony as a metaphor for order, the *Defence* singles out some forms of poesie as musical and categorizes others as a "confused mass" of "tingling sound" (*DP* 243). This process of redefinition and exclusion is like Puttenham's except that, for Sidney, the privileged group able to recognize musico-poetic harmony is less a courtly aristocracy than a literary collective focused on producing "well-doing," and poesie itself is less the product or proof of this "doing" than the means of facilitating it.

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[33] I am influenced here by Bruno Latour's Actor-Network Theory; see *Reassembling the Social*, particularly its discussion of "action" as "a node, a knot, and a conglomerate of many surprising sets of agencies that have to be slowly disentangled" (44). See also "A Collective of Humans and Nonhumans," in *Pandora's Hope*, 174-215, which shows how "action is a property of associated entities" including things (182).

[34] Fleming, *Graffiti and the Writing Arts of Early Modern England*, 20-21.

[35] Puttenham defines (or, rather, refuses to define) decorum in *The Art of English Poesy*, 238-39.

In its later sections the *Defence* turns to the specifics of mediation in order to determine the conditions that will best facilitate *praxis* in a poetic network. Early in the *digressio*, Sidney suggests that no poet or "high-flying wit" can succeed without a "Daedelus to guide him" that has "three wings to bear itself up into the air of due commendation: that is, art, imitation, and exercise" (242). The poet's wit and *idea* are not enough; "artificial rules" and "imitative patterns" including versification are necessary to move the audience (242). Poesie is not simply an object on which a maker is able to impose meanings and fore-conceits; poets require sufficient "exercise" in the genres, modes and styles of English custom and habit. The problem with English poets is that they exercise "fore-backwardly: for where we should exercise to know, we exercise as having known, and so is our brain delivered of much matter which never was begotten by knowledge" (242). Despite the earlier assertion that verse is "an ornament and no cause to poetry, since there have been many most excellent poets that never versified" (218), poets require both "knowledge" of and "exercise" in the particular poetic styles best suited to the English vernacular. The *Defence* goes on to survey the contemporary literary scene in England, concluding with a discussion of the ways in which both quantitative and accentual versification are “fit for music” (248). Aiming to alter the current climate in which poetic ideas are “never marshall[ed] into any assured rank, that almost readers cannot tell where to find themselves” (242), the *Defence* situates the “high-flying” wit of the poet in the local “air of due commendation” so that he can move the audience most effectively.

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[36] Attridge, "Nature, Art, and the Supplement in Renaissance Literary Theory," 33, 38.

Sidney’s aerial metaphors for the tenuous process of broaching the divide between *idea* and *praxis* connect to early modern beliefs about the air as a staging ground for sensation, imagination, and interpretation. It is no coincidence that while the French Pléiade and Baïf’s *Académie de poésie et de musique* were innovating a musical *air* that would incorporate classical quantity, Sidney was experimenting with the acoustic dimensions of poesie in a manner that would influence the *ayres* of Thomas Campion and John Dowland. *Air* enjoyed a unique position in early modern physics and physiology as the means by which souls interact and also the medium through which sound travels. When he notes that “delivering forth also is not wholly imaginative, as we are wont to say by them that build castles in the air” (216), Sidney alludes to the physical substance supposed to carry forth oratory, interacting with the senses of the auditor and moving him or her to action. As we know from Shakespeare’s *The Tempest*, the air was also understood in early modern England to be “thin,” a realm where spirits reside and the “baseless fabric” of an artistic “vision” readily appears and disappears.[37] For Sidney, the phrase “castles in the air” refers primarily to the poet’s “wholly imaginative” and dangerously insubstantial “*idea* or fore-conceit” (216), but it doubles as an implicit challenge and invitation to form a *substantial* community in that nebulous and impalpable, yet immediate and physical element.

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[37] Shakespeare, *The Tempest*, 4.1.150-51.

The disciplines of rhetoric, ethics, psychology, and physiology – particularly as they were formulated in an Aristotelian tradition – all contributed to the idea that air could provide the substance of art. Sidney's notion that poesie originates in a maker "freely ranging only within the zodiac of his own wit" (*DP* 216) is informed not only by Neoplatonism but by classical rhetoric, which tends to conceive of auditors and the means through which they are persuaded as secondary to the orator's original invention. Both Greek notion of *poiesis* and the Latin *ars* or artful skill came to be associated with rhetorical *inventio*, emphasizing the stage of conception and intention in artistic production. The idea that poesie originates in the maker's fore-conceit also has a key precedent in Aristotle, who argues in the *Nicomachean Ethics* that for arts including poetry, the "origin is in the maker and not in the thing made; for art is concerned neither with things that are, or come into being, by necessity, nor with things that do so in accordance with nature (since these have their origin in themselves)."[38] If the *Ethics* reinforce Sidney's notion that poesie originates in the poet's invention, however, Aristotle's influential distinction between *poiesis* and *praxis* challenges Sidney's ideal of active poetic making. Aristotle's emphatic claim that "art must be a matter of making [*poiesis*], not of acting [*praxis*]" creates a problem for Sidney's argument that the end of poetic making is in the practical action and interpretation of the audience, not in the object of *poiesis* itself.[39] Aristotle's *Ethics* heightens the difficulty in establishing a means by which poesie may work "substantially" (*DP* 216), or, to expand upon Sidney's metaphor from the spatial arts, by which mediation might "ground" a poet's fore-conceit, so that poesie becomes "an imaginative ground-plot of a profitable invention" (234).[40]

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[38] Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, 1140a.11-15. The question of the Sidney's debt to Aristotle is a matter of considerable debate, complicated by the fact that Sidney was working before the *Poetics* were generally available in England. Kathy Eden emphasizes Sidney's Aristotelianism and suggests that there are "many explicit references in *An Apology for Poetry* to Aristotle's newly recovered *Poetics*" in *Poetic and Legal Fiction in the Aristotelian Tradition*, 112, 157-75. Hardison, meanwhile, argues that the *Defence* is part of a "pre-Aristotelian phase of Renaissance criticism" in "The Two Voices of Sidney's Apology for Poetry." Scholars tend to agree, however, that Aristotle's *Poetics* were much less influential than his other works in sixteenth-century England. And there is little doubt that Aristotle and Aristotelian traditions as they were reshaped by figures including Julius Caesar Scaliger are a central influence for Sidney's notion of poesie. The *Nicomachean Ethics*, furthermore, formed a fundamental part of sixteenth-century humanist curricula and were undoubtedly influential over Sidney, who singles them out as the principle work of Aristotle worthwhile for study in a letter to Edward Denny (Philip Sidney, "To my wellbeloved friend Mr Edward Denny," in *Sir Philip Sidney: The Major Works*, 288). On Aristotelian and neo-scholastic textbooks and the university curriculum, see Schmitt, *Aristotle and the Renaissance*; and *John Case and Aristotelianism in Renaissance*. On the ways in which Aristotelian epistemology shaped sixteenth-century English "productive arts," including poetry, see Turner, *The English Renaissance Stage*, 45-55. Note that the *Ethics* also provide a context for the metaphysical indeterminacy of Sidnean poesie discussed above: modes of knowing that correspond to literature are not *episteme*, which includes all metaphysical inquiry, but *poietike* or productive. The distinctions between these categories of knowledge emerge for example at the

As the adjective "imaginative" in this metaphor helps to indicate, an important avenue by which Sidney works to "ground" poesie's airy qualities and facilitate *praxis* is by appealing to another Aristotelian tradition, namely the faculty of the imagination.[41] Unlike Sidney's fore-conceit, for which perception and interpretation are secondary, Aristotle's theory of the image renders making and interpretation inseparable: imagination or *phantasia* "is held to be a movement and to be impossible without sensation, i.e. to occur in beings that are percipient and to have for its content what can be perceived."[42] The Aristotelian *phantasia* is a part of psychological "thinking" and connotes the sense of fictiveness that the term imagination does today – but it is also a

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opening sections of the *Posterior Analytics* (71a) and the *Metaphysics* (980a-982a), but their relation to artistic making is elaborated most fully in Book VI of the *Nicomachean Ethics* (1139a-1145a).

[39] Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, 1140a.16-17.

[40] On the relationship between the *Defence* and the mechanical and spatial arts, see Turner, *The English Renaissance Stage*, 82-113.

[41] The principle genealogy for early modern notion of the imagination was Aristotelian, though Aristotle does not explicitly relate the psychological and physiological writings of *On the Soul* to his theory of *poiesis*. As Eden has argued, however, *On the Soul* had a pervasive influence over medieval and Renaissance literary theorists who "look to [*De Anima*] to explain the psychological processes involved in the production of images," in *Poetic and Legal Fiction in the Aristotelian Tradition*, 63.

[42] Aristotle, *On the Soul*, 428b.11-13.

faculty of physiological perception and sensation. Imagination links soul and body, matter and form: images are conceptual phenomena produced by intellection and judgment, yet they "remain in the organs of sense and resemble sensations."[43] It is only through the faculty of the imagination – "a movement resulting from an actual exercise of a power of sense," which involves both intellection and sensation – that it is possible for the rational soul to think, desire and act.[44] This is why the *phantasm* and its incorporation into Scholastic theories of the image are so influential over the *Defence*, where – as Kathy Eden suggests – the image "activates the desire necessary to movement" as well as ethical action.[45]

Later theorists of the imagination increasingly emphasize the material properties of the spirit or *anima* and, in turn, of the images that activate it. In Galenic medicine, *anima* refers literally to the physical substances or humors that flow throughout and regulate the body.[46] Augustine's discussion of the Christian soul and its relationship to the *imago* also emphasizes the role of physical sensation in the imaginative process, since it is through the felt response to Christ's image – which, as the word of God made flesh, is simultaneously spiritual and physical – that a sinner can achieve salvation.[47] The Galenic *anima* and Augustinian *imago* remained influential for fifteenth- and sixteenth-century humanists; Marsilio Ficino developed his notion of the *spiritus*, his term for the imaginative faculties that link the soul with the world, through a combination of Aristotelian, medicinal and Christian principles. Ficino's notion of the *spiritus* as an

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[43] Aristotle, *On the Soul*, 429a.4-5.

[44] Aristotle, *On the Soul*, 429a.1-2.

[45] Eden, 171.

[46] On the influence of Galenic medicine on sixteenth-century English psychology, see Schoenfeldt, *Bodies and Selves in Early Modern England*, 1-39.

[47] See in particular *On the Trinty*, 11.4.7. Eden discusses of the *imago* in Augustine's later works in *Poetic and Legal Fiction in the Aristotelian Tradition*, 124-41.

"instrument . . . for the exercise of the interior as well as the exterior senses" is particularly notable for our purposes because of his emphasis on the power of the acoustic image to affect the spirit and move its hearer through the medium of the air.[48] As D. P. Walker says of Ficino's theory of the relationship between *spiritus* and music: "the peculiar power of music is due to a similarity between the material medium in which it is transmitted, air, and the human spirit, to the fact that both are living kinds of air, moving in an highly organized way, and that both, through the text of the song, can carry an intellectual content."[49]

Both Plato and Aristotle dwell on importance of the visual perception of images, but there was a strong emphasis on the musical imagination in late-sixteenth-century England, which stemmed in part from Ficino. Though it retained a strong reputation for moving the body – it is no coincidence that singing and "melodious sound" dominate Spenser's Bower of Bliss – "music" comes to describe the subset of acoustic performances that act upon, move, and harmonize the soul.[50] Abraham Fraunce, for whom Sidney was a patron and mentor, indicates the commonplace esteem for musical harmony and rhythmical language when he argues in *The Arcadian Rhetoric* that the voice itself must resemble "the consent and harmonie of some well ordered song."[51] This discourse becomes even more recognizably Ficinean in the writing of Richard Wills, an Englishman who was trained as a Jesuit but seems to have converted to Protestantism while in Paris during the Bartholomew's Day Massacre (which he may have witnessed, like Sidney, from Sir Francis Walsingham's embassy).[52] In his 1572 treatise *De Re Poetica*, Wills provides a Neoplatonic account of poesie as a musical phenomenon that reverberates with the soul: "Since poetry is speech drawn together, as it were, by a fixed law of measure – in which there is not only a bond of feet, but also a rhythm and harmony – it comes about that there is a wonderful pleasure in the art. The ears of the audience are spellbound by this and their spirits are softened, because of the affinity which music has with the human soul."[53] Puttenham's *The Art of English Poesy*, meanwhile, conceives of poesie in fundamentally aural terms, arguing that it differs from everyday speech in that it appeals to the heart and mind "by impression of the ear."[54] Puttenham goes so far as to redefine the classical concept of *enargia*, or the ornamental vividness of a figure, so that it refers exclusively to hearing; *enargia* aims "to satisfy and delight the ear only by a goodly outward show set upon the matter with words and speeches smoothly and tunably running."[55]

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[48] Ficino, *Three Books on Life*, 111.

[49] Walker, *Spiritual and Demonic Magic from Ficino to Campanella*, 6. Ficino describes the process by which song affects its listeners as follows: "Song and sound arise from the consideration in the mind, the impulse of fantasy and the desire of the heart, and in disturbing the air and lending measure to it they vibrate the airy spirit of the listener, which is they link between body and soul. Thus sound and song easily arouse the fantasy, affect the heart and reach the inmost recesses of the mind; they still, and also set in motion, the humours and the limbs of the body," Letter to Antonio Canigiani, 142. See also Walker, "Ficino's Spiritus and Music." Another influential figure to emphasize the importance of *air* in musical humanist discourse was Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa, who writes, "Singing can do more than the sound of an Instrument, in as much as it arising by an Harmonial consent, from the conceit of the minde, and imperious affection of the phantasie and heart, easily penetrateth by motion, with the refracted and well tempered Air, the aerious spirit of the hearer, which is the bond of soul and body," *Three books of occult philosophy*, S1r.

[50] Spenser, *The Faerie Queene*, II.xii.70.

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[51] Fraunce, *The Arcadian Rhetoric*, book 2, chapter 1, H7r. On the acoustic dimensions of the rhetorical tradition in early modern England, see Rebhorn, *The Emperor of Men's Minds*, 151-52.

[52] On Wills's life and literary career, see Fowler, Introduction to *De Re Poetica*. Wills was a Jesuit early in his career, but seems to have changed his devotional views around the time that he saw what he called the "*Gallicanos neces*" or French carnage in 1572. That he was acquainted with Walsingham is clear from their correspondence of 1574, in which Wills sets forth his "detestations of popery" (Fowler, 9-10).

[53] Wills, *De Re Poetica*, 89.

[54] Puttenham, *The Art of English Poesy*, 98. See also Whigham and Rebhorn, "Poetics in the *Art*," in the introduction to this edition, 43-49, which argues, "In conceiving of poetry thus in aural terms, Puttenham reinforces the rhetorical nature of the art" (45). I agree with this assessment, though I would add that Puttenham is influenced not only by rhetorical and oratorical traditions, but by Aristotelian traditions of philosophy on the *anima* and the imagination.

[55] Puttenham, 227.

Even as early modern anatomists were uncovering the process by which bones in the ear transmit sound waves, music retained its reputation for moving the "spirits" more effectively than any other endeavor. Francis Bacon maintains this attitude in 1626, explaining, "The *Cause* is, for that the *Sense of Hearing* striketh the *Spirits* more immediatly, than the other *Senses*; And more incorporeally than the *Smelling*: For the *Sight, Taste,* and *Feeling*, haue their Organs, not of so present and immediate Accesse to the *Spirits*, as the *Hearing* hath."[56] For Bacon and the other writers quoted above, the term "spirits" is not identical to higher reason or the Christian soul: it is closer to a broad notion of the *anima* that could mean anything from the physical humors within the body to the physiological faculties of perception. In general, sight remained the most direct pathway to the intellectual faculties, but sound was unique in sharing the physical composition of the *phantasia*, the imaginative spirits indispensible for generating action. Song is an ideal form of ethical communication since it seamlessly combines acoustic with verbal or textual elements, which is why Ficino classifies song exactly in the middle of the hierarchy ranging from the lower faculties of the *phantasia* to the higher rational faculties.[57] While a song's words appeal to the intellect, persuading the auditor to act rationally, its music moves the active, bodily *phantasia*. Music offers a poet or musician the opportunity to interact at an intimate, material level with the particles that compose the imagination, moving the auditor physically and simultaneously imposing intellectual meaning.[58]

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[56] Bacon, *Sylva Sylvarum*, F2v; and see Smith's discussion of Bacon's attitude towards sound in *The Acoustic World of Early Modern England*, 104-06.

[57] See Walker, *Spiritual and Demonic Magic from Ficino to Campanella*, 21.

[58] As Ficino argues, "musical sound, more than anything else perceived by the senses, conveys, as if animated, the emotions and thoughts of the singer's or player's soul to the listener's soul: thus it preeminently corresponds with the soul," translated by Walker in *Spiritual and Demonic Magic from Ficino to Campanella*, 9.

Alongside this more general series of ideas about the technological, cultural and physiological components of acoustic mediation ran an increasing interest in musical humanism. As D. P. Walker suggests, the most "exact and ruthless" expression of musical humanist ideas comes in Jean-Antoine de Baïf's *Académie de poésie et de musique*, established in Paris in 1570.[59] Aiming to reproduce the classical union of music and poetry, Baïf's Academy not only demanded that all verse be measured according to syllabic quantity, but that quantitative verse have a strict instantiation in music.[60] *Musique mesurée* clearly and audibly dictates syllable length through musical rhythm, expanding upon the more general Ficinean idea that instrumental accompaniment of the voice resulted in powerful ethical effects. The consensus that the metrical pattern of quantitative verse ought to be audible, through music or even through the spoken voice, was by no means universal. Derek Attridge has argued that, in England, quantitative meter "was not felt as something immediately apprehensible in the pronunciation of the word," but, instead, amounted to a conceptual system learned through the study of Latin in grammar school.[61] What this idea threatens to obscure, however, is that Sidney was familiar with the arguments of Ramus that quantity in classical Rome had been fully audible,[62] and that he had a variety of suggestive links to the French Neoplatonic tradition that insisted upon the literal combination of poetry and music. As Attridge himself suggests, "Sidney, of all the quantitative poets the one most in touch with Continental developments in scholarship and literature, was almost certainly influenced and encouraged by another French manifestation of the quantitative movement, the writing and performing of 'measured verse and music' by Baïf and his followers."[63]

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[59] Walker, "Musical Humanism in the 16th and Early 17th Centuries," 2.

[60] See Jorgens's discussion of French humanism, particularly Baïf's Académie, and its influence on English music and poetry in *The Well-Tun'd Word*, 84-126.

[61] Attridge, *Well-Weighed Syllables*, 66.

[62] Attridge, *Well-Weighed Syllables*, 174.

The influence of French Neoplatonism on Sidney's poetics has been overlooked to a surprising extent even as scholars have uncovered new evidence of Sidney's ties to the Continent.[64] Robert Stillman's work to contextualize Sidney within the Continental community of Protestants who fashioned themselves "Philippists," for example, should encourage us to look more closely at Sidney's ties to French Neoplatonism, especially because Sidney's friend Philippe Duplessis-Mornay and others were involved in both movements.[65] The same is true of the work of Roger Kuin and Anne Lake Prescott on Daniel Rogers, the English ambassador to France who knew the Sidneys and whose manuscript collection of verse entitled "Infantia" includes tributes to Sidney, Melanchthon, Hubert Languet, Duplessis-Mornay, as well as to Baïf, Ronsard, and other members of the Pléiade: "Infantia" amounts to a discursive network of an international, cosmopolitan elite.[66] Rogers's ardent Protestantism was by no means mutually exclusive with his cultivation of political allies across the devotional spectrum – on the contrary, a politics emphasizing the "moderation" of a learned, pan-Christian international community was a political strategy fundamental to Philippists including Rogers and Sidney.[67]

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[63] Attridge, *Well-Weighed Syllables*, 122.

[64] I refer to recent scholarship: Sidney's affinities with the musical humanism of Ficino and of Baïf's *Académie* would have come as no surprise to Frances Yates, the longstanding authority on Neoplatonism and Hermetism in sixteenth-century France and England. See Yates, *The French Academies of the Sixteenth Century*; *Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition*; *The Occult Philosophy in the Elizabethan Age*; and *Ideas and Ideals in the North European Renaissance*. See also Winifred Maynard's brief discussion of Sidney's potential "sympathy" with *musique mesurée* in *Elizabethan Lyric Poetry and Its Music*, 87-89.

[65] Stillman, *Philip Sidney and the Poetics of Renaissance Cosmopolitanism*.

[66] See Kuin and Prescott, "Versifying Connections." Kuin and Prescott expand upon previous scholarship on the relationship between Sidney, Spenser, and Baïf's Academy that includes Phillips, "Daniel Rogers: A Neo-Latin Link Between the Pléiade and Sidney's 'Areopagus,'" and Van Dorsten, *Poets, Patrons, and Professors*, who notes that Sidney maintained a correspondence with the German court poet Melissus (who was well-acquainted with the Pléiade) (99).

There is good reason to believe that Neoplatonic traditions emphasizing Christian moderation and Ficinean song would have been familiar to Sidney. Sidney himself began a translation of Philippe Duplessis-Mornay's *De veritate*, a text that displays Mornay's commitment to moderation after all of the bloodshed he had witnessed as a French Protestant.[68] Scholars disagree over the extent to which *De veritate* can be classified as a Hermetic text, but it seems clear that Duplessis-Mornay is familiar with and interested in the ideals of Christian moderation in a manner that could not have escaped Sidney.[69] Sidney would likely have been familiar with the magical dimensions of Hermetism as well, given his ties to John Dee and his acquaintance with Giordano Bruno, the controversial magician of the occult who was sent to England by Henri III in 1583. Bruno, who singled out Sidney as a superior host to the Oxford "pedants" and dedicated three works to him, created quite a stir in England, first at a dinner with the Polish prince Albert Alasco (at which Sidney was present), and then during a disputation with scholars at Oxford.[70]

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[67] Stillman, *Philip Sidney and the Poetics of Renaissance Cosmopolitanism*, 127-28. Christian "moderation" is an important part of the assemblage of ideas that connected Sidney to musical humanist movements, since it gathered its philosophical justification from a fashionable form of Neoplatonism focused on Hermetic and Orphic texts as an inspiration for pan-Christian devotion. Supposedly inspired by God but written before Greek antiquity and passed on to Plato, these *prisci theologi* not only enabled Platonic texts to be incorporated into a Christian tradition but inspired a new Christian syncretism that appealed to Catholics and Protestants alike, and served as an important foundation for the ability of both faiths to participate freely in Baïf's Academy. Guy Lefèvre de la Boderie, who was secretary to François d'Anjou, Duke of Alençon during the period of apprehension among figures like Sidney over how Alençon would rule the Low Countries, serves as an example of how a Neoplatonic tradition inflected through Ficino (several of whose works he translated into French), and particularly through the *prisci theologi*, surfaced in diplomatic circles. La Boderie was a devoted Catholic who wrote hymns to counteract the effects of Protestant psalms, but his five-book poem *La Galliade* employs a Hermetic account of religious history in order to envision a harmonious reconciliation of divergent Christian views. The final two books are dominated by an insistence upon music as the essential means to bring the world together in worship, and upon the combination of poetry and music to spread divine laws and lead the faithful to God. La Boderie's teleological account of musico-poetic history culminates in contemporary France with the Pléiade and their successors, and nothing on the same scale appeared in England, notwithstanding allusions in the correspondence of Spenser and Gabriel Harvey to an English "Areopagus" based on the French Academies, of which there is no substantial evidence. See Yates, *Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition*, 169-89; Walker, "The Prisca Theologia in France" and "Orpheus the Theologian and Renaissance Platonists"; and Hornik, "Guy Lefèrve de la Boderie's La Galliade and Renaissance Syncretism."

[68] On Mornay's *De veritate* and his relationship to Sidney, see Stillman, 127-40.

[69] On Mornay's Hermetism, see Yates, *Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition*, 176-79. Yates points out that Mornay's Hermetism is "quite free from magic," while Stillman argues that Yates (and also D. P. Walker) are "unpersuasive" in aligning *De veritate* with the revival of the *prisca theologica*, since they fail to account for Mornay's emphasis on Christian sin.

Dee, the influential Elizabethan magus and mathematician who had a "lifelong intimacy" with the Sidney circle, provides a more direct link between Sidney and Hermetic theory, both through Sidney's access to Dee's extensive library and through Dee's tutoring of Sidney.[71] Peter French has suggested that Dee taught Sidney much more than chemistry, drawing attention (for example) to a horoscope designed for Sidney's personal reading, and uncovering elements of Dee's writing and thinking that resonate with Sidney's *Defence*, including a Ficinean passage from Dee's "Mathematicall Preface."[72] Like Bruno, Dee was more occupied with the occult aspects of sixteenth-century Neoplatonism than with musical humanism, but these were by no means distinctive endeavors, and few figures were more thoroughly steeped in all shades of Neoplatonism than Dee.[73] Neoplatonism was one of many traditions that informed Sidney's theories and practices of poesie, and Sidney makes something unique out of the various strands of thought available to him. Nevertheless, the confluence of intellectual trends that surrounded Sidney make it difficult to imagine that he was not familiar with, and influenced by, Ficino and Baïf's Academy.

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[70] Yates, *Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition*, 178, 219. The dedications are in *Spaccio della bestia trionfante* (1584), *La cena de la ceneri* (1584), and *De gli eroici furiori* (1585). Bruno's visit to Oxford, which may be in the background of the foreign magician's appearance in Robert Greene's *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay*, receive an amusing treatment in a 1604 anti-Catholic text by George Abbot: "When that Italian Didapper, who intituled himselfe, Philotheus lordanus Brunus Nolanus, magis elaborata Theologia Doctor, &c. with a name longer then his body, had in the traine of Alasco the Polish Duke, seene our Vniversity in the yeare 1583, his hart was on fire, to make himselfe by some worthy exploite, to become famous in that celebrious place . . . . When he had read his first Lecture, a graue man, & both then and now of good place in that Vniversity, seemed to himselfe, some where to haue read those things which the Doctor propounded; but silencing his conceit till he heard him the second time, remembred himselfe then, and repayring to his study, found both the former and later Lecture, taken almost *verbatim* out of the workes of *Marsilius Ficinus*," Abbot, *The reasons which Doctour Hill hath brought*, F4v. The reference was discovered by McNulty in "Bruno at Oxford," and discussed by Yates in *Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition*, 207-11. Abbot's account of the events demonstrates not only the degree to which Bruno's visit had become the stuff of legends at Oxford, but that Ficino's works were on the tip of the tongue for at least one Oxford scholar and present in the libraries where Sidney studied.

[71] See French, *John Dee*, 126-57.

[72] "And what is the cause of the apt bonde, and frendly felowship, of the Intellectual and Mentall part of us, with our grosse & corruptible body: but a certaine Meane, and *Harmonious Spiritualitie, with both participatying & of both (in a maner resultyng? In the Tune of Mans voyce, and also the sound of Instrument*, what might be sayd, of *Harmonie*: No common Musicien would lightly beleve." Quoted in French, *John Dee*, 138. French goes on to speculate that the presence of Zarlino and Glareanus in Dee's

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Early modern attitudes toward the acoustic *air* and Sidney's relationship to musical humanist traditions on the Continent help to contextualize poetic experiments including Sidney's collaboration with his sister Mary on a metrical version of the Psalms.[74] As Anne Lake Prescott has shown, few literary endeavors were more musical than Davidic imitation – an endeavor where occult theories about the spiritual and material power of music met the noblest of Christian devotional endeavors.[75] Psalm paraphrase was also a central endeavor of Baïf's Academy and a project on which Baïf himself spent the bulk of his career, a fact that helps to draw out the contiguities between Sidney and the French culture of measured musico-poetics.[76] Psalm paraphrase was

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library, "together with his superb collection of classical poets, indicates that Dee had more than a passing interest in measured verse himself" (139).

[73] French stretches the available evidence when he suggests that the English Areopagus was an identifiable group or that, influenced by the *prisci theologi*, Sidney "hopes that a universal religion could be established," in *John Dee*, 158.

[74] Sidney appears to have translated the first forty-three Psalms, while Mary completed the final one hundred and seven.

[75] Prescott, "Forms of Joy and Art."

[76] Yates, *The French Academies of the Sixteenth Century*, 62-76.

privileged in virtually all varieties of early modern Christian poetry, but Baïf and the Sidneys share a much less common interest in quantitative Psalm verse. The Sidney Psalms use a different verse form for every Psalm – Mary Sidney experiments with nine quantitative meters – and employ a wide range of aural devices ranging from elaborate repetitions of vowel sounds to complex fabrics of internal rhyme.[77] Furthermore, nineteen out of the forty-three Psalms that Philip translated before his death are *contrafacta* lyrics (verse that fits the tune of previously existing music) based on tunes in the French Huguenot Psalter.[78]

Contrafacta lyrics are not necessarily suitable for musical performance themselves, and there are no extant musical settings of the Sidney Psalms. But the fact that nearly half of Philip's Psalmic verse forms derive from French Huguenot music helps to demonstrate that musical culture is a key aspect of the Psalms' aspiration to political *praxis*. Seth Weiner has argued that the "musical humanistic theories that guided the writing of quantitative poetry find their logical fulfillment in psalm translation" due to the perceived power of Davidic translation to achieve spiritual and political ends.[79] John Donne, one of many later poets who singled out the Sidney Psalms as particularly important, writes they "show us Islanders our joy, our King, / They tell us why, and teach us how to sing," facilitating both communal worship and nationalist sentiment.[80] Mary and Philip likely understood the *praxis* enabled by their endeavor in a more international context; Richard Todd has demonstrated the extent to which the

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[77] See "Table of Verse Forms," in *The Collected Works of Mary Sidney Herbert, Countess of Pembroke*, Vol. II, 469-83.

[78] Weiner, "The Quantitative Poems and the Psalm Translations," 209.

[79] Weiner, 214.

[80] Donne, "Upon the translation of the Psalms by Sir Philip Sidney, and the Countess of Pembroke his sister," in *The Complete English Poems*, 332-34. On the relationship between the Sidney Psalter and other English Psalms, see Hamlin, *Psalm Culture and Early Modern English Literature*, 111-144.

Sidney Psalms are thoroughly immersed in a poetics of metrical psalm translation that extended throughout the Continent, including Clément Marot's and Théodor Beza's Psalters.[81] Nevertheless, for Donne, Philip, and Mary alike, the Sidney Psalms' extreme diversity of visual and aural forms promise to work to active, ethical ends.

As with the Psalms, it is difficult to ascertain the extent to which Sidney's secular verse was set to music, though scholars who have touched on the subject tend to agree with John Stevens's observation: "I suspect far more [of Sidney's poems] were in fact sung than we know about."[82] Sidney composed a number of secular *contrafacta* lyrics, including the eighth song of *Astrophil and Stella* and nine of the thirty-two "Certain Sonnets" that were appended to printed editions of the *Arcadia*.[83] Some of the songs of *Astrophil and Stella* were set to music during Sidney's lifetime, and the earliest printing of any verse from *Astrophil and Stella* was in William Byrd's 1588 and 1589 musical settings of Sidney's sixth and tenth songs.[84] Sidney's probable acquaintance with the ideas of Baïf's Academy makes it more likely that his discussions of what is "fit for music" allude in part to the musical setting of his own verse.[85] H. R. Woodhuysen has shown that some of the families and coteries with the closest ties to the manuscript culture of Sidney's poems also displayed an interest in collecting music, including

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[81] Todd, "Humanist Prosodic Theory, Dutch Synods, and the Poetics of the Sidney-Pembroke Psalter."
[82] Stevens, "Sir Philip Sidney and 'Versified Music,'" 169. On Sidney's relationship to contemporary English composers, see also Alexander, "The Musical Sidneys"; *Writing After Sidney*, 197; and Maynard, *Elizabethan Lyric Poetry and Its Music*, 87-89.
[83] On the eighth song of *Astrophil and Stella*, see Alexander, "The Elizabethan Lyric as Contrafactum." Sidney is probably referring to *Certain Sonnets* when he mentions "my songs" in the letter to Edward Denny dated 22 May 1580; see *Young Philip Sidney*, 540.
[84] Byrd, "O that you heare," in *Psalmes, sonets, & songs of sadnes and pietie,* D3v; and "O deare life," in *Songs of sundrie natures*, F4v. See Woudhuysen, *Sir Philip Sidney and the Circulation of Manuscripts 1558-1640*, 249-54.
[85] Attridge summarizes his views on this subject in *Well-Weighed Syllables*, 175n. He begins by suggesting "Though what we have of Sidney's theory of quantitative verse is much concerned with music, we have no evidence that this manifested itself in any practical way," but goes on to note that Sidney's involvement in attempts at sung quantitative verse would help to explain Sidney's two poems that achieve coincidence between accentual stress and quantity.

Edward Paston (who may have served as a link between Sidney and Byrd) and the Tollemache family of East Anglia.[86] There is no doubt that Sidney's poems, including the songs of *Astrophil and Stella*, were frequently set to music after his death by composers including Campion and Dowland.[87] Gavin Alexander has detailed the musical interests of Sidney's relatives, particularly Robert and Lady Mary Wroth, both of whom had close connections to lute song culture.[88] Sidney indicates his interest in musical training when he advises his brother Robert to "keep and increase your music; you will not believe what a want I find of it in my melancholy times," and one of Sidney's most suggestive comments on the musical performance of his verse comes in a letter to Edward Denny, where he entreats "that you remember with your good voice to sing my songs, for they will one well become another."[89]

All of these preoccupations with performed sound query the received wisdom that Sidney understood poeise as an exclusively bibliographic artform. And yet John Hollander, for example, uses Sidney's career to make the suggestion that Sidney's "concern over prosodical matters and his interest in the music-poetry analogue stem from a common source in his larger attempt to accommodate some of the esthetic standards and models of antiquity to the exigencies of what he already saw as a national literature in a national language."[90] Begging the question of a "national literature" upward of a century too early, Hollander assumes the dominance of a written literary culture in a period when poesie remained profoundly inter-mediated (not to mention international). Insofar as Sidney's work has clear "esthetic standards" at all, they are better understood in the pre-Romantic, Aristotelian sense of *aesthesis*, or that which was perceptible to the senses.[91] Sidney's experimentation with the means by which a poet can participate in the process of perception, imagination, and action – including its auditory dimensions – implicates his work in this latter form of *aesthesis*.

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[86] Woudhuysen also mentions the musical interests of the Oxford physician Matthew Gwinne, who collaborated with Fulke Greville in the attempt to print the *Old Aradia*, noting, "I believe it is possible . . . to build up a picture of a group of men and women interested in Sidney's work, eager to obtain copies of his poems and to hear them set to music." *Sir Philip Sidney and the Circulation of Manuscripts 1558-1640*, 220. See also Pattison's discussion of Sidney's possible connections to the musical culture of Salisbury and to the French lutenist Charles Tessier, in *Music and Poetry of the English Renaissance*, 62-64.
[87] William A. Ringler, Jr. provides a list of musical settings of Sidney's verse in *The Poems of Philip Sidney*, 566-68.
[88] Alexander, "The Musical Sidneys."
[89] Sidney, *The Major Works*, 293, 290.
[90] Hollander, *The Untuning of the Sky*, 142.

Quantitative verse, with its analogue in French musical humanism, offers an important avenue for guaranteeing an embodied response in its audience, and, in the *Defence* and the *Arcadia*, accentual English rhyme offers its own "music" that "striketh" the ear. When scholars discuss the quantitative movement in English, they generally indicate that it never caught on, implying or stating directly that it simply evaporated as a self-evidently misguided attempt to impose quantitative rules on an accentual language.[92] Attridge, whose 1974 study remains the definitive treatment of quantitative experiments in English, notes that Sidney "did not really escape from the common conception of quantity as something separate from the sound of the words, over which the poet – or at least the first poet – has some degree of control; though at the same time he no doubt believed, like many others, that he was dealing with real phonetic quality."[93] As Kristin Hanson argues in her more recent phonological and metrical analysis of Sidney's quantitative experiments, however:

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[91] I borrow this notion of *aesthesis* from Mary Carruthers; on the philology of the modern term "aesthetic" from the *aesthesis* of Aristotle's treatise "peri Aistheseos kai Aistheton," see Carruthers, "On Affliction and Reading, Weeping and Argument," endnote 26 (17-18).

[92] See for example Jorgens, *The Well-Tun'd Word*, 23-27 and 84-126, who discusses the "inconsistency of artificially imposing a [quantitative] metric system that did not work with the natural rhythms of the language" (94) in relation to musical setting.

[93] Attridge, *Well-Weighed Syllables*, 179.

> Attridge's analysis still attributes to Sidney considerable arbitrariness, inconsistency, and dependency on spelling, and ultimately takes the fact that verse which remained so unnatural in these ways could have been produced and admired by such poets as Sidney and his contemporaries as testimony to the strength of the Renaissance ideals of artifice, scholarship and the preeminence of written over spoken language . . . I want to show here that this conclusion, however true to the general cultural context, does not do sufficient justice to the phonological discoveries about quantitative meter in English that Sidney's practice also manifests.[94]

According to Hanson, Sidney's "phonologically motivated" quantitative experiments are characterized by a subtle interaction with aural practices and the material properties of the voice.[95] What is perhaps Sidney's most ambitious and "artificial" system of literary humanism – one that has seemed "donnish" and "pedantic" to some – is shown to be grounded to a significant extent in acoustic practice.[96]

Quantitative verse is best seen, that is, less as an abstract system of literary artifice than as one of many tools through which a poet interacts with the acoustic mediation of his or her verse. Scholarship in the history of the book has demonstrated how poetic *ideas* are mediated by the material instruments and technologies of early modern writing: the phonological context that Hanson provides helps to indicate how a singer's or orator's larynx was an instrument of mediation as well. What is more, just as the history of the book has drawn attention to a complex host of agents that influence the dissemination and meaning of books – from compositors to publishers to booksellers – the mediation of poesie through quantitative verse brings out the poet's *marginalization* in the process of poetic production and circulation. What Attridge assumes to be a poet's "control" over the sound of syllabic quantity is, in fact quite tentative, subject (for example) to the "rules observed in these measured [or quantitative] verses" that Sidney discusses in a "Nota" to the *Old Arcadia*.[97] These rules include Sidney's analogy for the means by which foreign words enter the vernacular: "For the words derived out of Latin and other languages, they are measured as they are denizened in English and not as before they came over sea . . . so our language hath a special gift in altering them by making them our own."[98] Even in quantitative verse experiments, words are not "measured" by poets alone but made "our own" through a process that Sidney compares to a collective reshaping of the natural world.[99] While Sidney's quantitative experiments aim to assert the poet's inventive autonomy and prerogative over meaning, that is, they are tempered by and mediated through the physical properties of the voice and the acoustic culture that surrounds it. Sidnean "music" – including his quantitative experiments – turns out to be a site of negotiation and exchange between poet, auditor and environment in which a complex series of inter-subjective and ecological relationships must be painstakingly worked through.

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[94] Hanson, "Quantitative Meter in English," 43. Hanson goes on to summarize her findings as follows: "Attridge's analysis is limited by the descriptions of English syllable structure and of metrical structure available at the time of his study. Since then, phonological theory has shown that syllable weight in English depends not just on the kinds of linear sequences of segments which figure in the prescriptive rules for the meter, but on complex interactions with stress (section 3). Metrical theory has shown that a meter is not defined by an array of possible syllable types, but by a set of constraints closely related to phonological structure, and in the case of dactylic hexameter, specifically to stress (section 2). When these developments are taken into account, Sidney's practice can be seen to have come to be in large measure both systematic and phonologically motivated."

[95] Hanson, 43.

[96] See John Stevens: "Thanks to Derek Attridge's judicious survey of Elizabethan quantitative verse, *Well-weighed Syllables* (1974), it is no longer necessary to apologize for what used to seem a pedantic abberation of a few rather donnish Elizabethans," in "Sir Philip Sidney and 'Versified Music,'" 154.

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[97] Sidney, *The Old Arcadia*, ed. Katherine Duncan-Jones, 71. The *Nota* appears only in the St John's College, Cambridge manuscript of the *Old Arcadia* and (in a modified form) in the Ottley manuscript of Sidney's poetry in the National Library of Wales: see Duncan-Jones's note on page 373.

[98] *The Old Arcadia*, 72.

[99] "Denizen," which had only recently become a verb, had strong connotations of natural history, so that the only sixteenth-century instance of its meaning "to naturalize" listed in the *Oxford English Dictionary* is Barnaby Googe's comment about introducing foreign plants into England: "They [trees, etc.] may in short time be so denisend and made acquainted with our soile, as they will prosper." See also the *Oxford English Dictionary* entry for "denizen" as a noun. Denotation 2c, which refers to the word's relationship to discourses of plantation and natural history, provides a fuller context for Googe's comment: "A plant or animal believed to have been originally introduced by human agency into a country or district, but which now maintains itself there as if native, without the direct aid of man" (accessed February 2010).

* * *

Sidney’s fullest account of the social and environmental mediations of poesie comes in the *Arcadia*, set (fittingly) in a region of southern Greece famous for its musicians.[100] With their thoroughly dialogic mode and broad range of verse forms, the Arcadian eclogues that conclude each book, in particular, amount to Sidney’s most dynamic effort to enlist acoustic performance in poetic practice. In addition to Sidney’s most extensive accounts of the relationship between music and versification – namely the “Nota” on quantitative meter and the “controversy” between Dicus and Lalus over accent and quantity in the *Old Arcadia* (*OA* 71, 363-64) – the eclogues include Sidney’s most elaborate experiments in quantitative meter. As we have seen in Strephon and Klaius’s sestina, shepherds to use the term “music” flexibly enough to include the abstract harmony of “sweet music” as well as the dissonant, sensual particulars of sounds that drive them “mad with music” (286). Up for grabs in such experimentation with music, measure, and rhyme is poesie’s very definition: how poesie is mediated through bodies, auditors and interpreters; how it relates to melody, rhythm and measure; and how it includes, but is not limited to, writing.

The Arcadian eclogues’ experimentation in acoustic form begins with their treatment of the relationship between poet and audience. Describing the outdoor “pastoral exercise” that Duke Basilius instigates and oversees, the narrator of the *Old*

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[100] John Case singles out Arcadians as uniquely musical in *The Praise of Musicke*: “And although it is for poore men to recken their cattel, because rich men’s store groweth out of number, & for yonglings to account their yeares, because antiquities wax out of mind (wherupon the *Arcadians* least they might come in question of iuniority which any other country would needs be elder than the moone) yet the casting of her natiuity can in no wise preiudice so ancient a science, whose continuance is great but not defined, her birth day ancient but not dated” (A2v).

Arcadia introduces the relationship between writing and performance in the eclogues as follows:

> And when [the shepherds] had practiced the goodness of their wit in such sports, then was it their manner ever to have one who should write up the substance of that they said; whose pen, having more leisure than their tongues, might perchance polish a little the rudeness of an unthought-on song.
> (50)

This assertion stakes out a teleological relationship between acoustic culture and writing that (interestingly) inverts the formula of the opening sections of the *Defence*, where the poet's fore-conceit and authorial meaning is what precedes the polishing of a pen. The passage is ostensibly an assertion of the controlling power of the pen, but what it actually suggests is a lack of authorial control even before a poem is produced. We are then quickly reminded of the limited influence of the author *during* poesie's production and transmission since, immediately after claiming that writing provides a locus of polished "substance," the narrator finds himself delving into the multiplicity of "tongues," "song[s]" and dialogic voices that pervade the eclogues.

Sidney's persona Philisides engages in a related meditation on an author's difficulty in controlling meaning when he sings in quantitative hexameter verse "an eclogue betwixt himself and the echo, framing his voice so in those desert places as what words he would have the echo reply unto, those he would sing higher than the rest, and do kindly framed a disputation betwixt himself and it" (*OA* 140). Dismissive of the shepherds and skeptical about their ability to understand, let alone soothe, his pain, Philisides uses verse form to fashion a closed circle of authorial production in which he might not only control his own verse but eliminate the possibility of dialogue. Even as Philisides attempts to exercise the narcissistic desire to maintain control over the poetic utterance in addition to its *idea*, however, he frames his echo in such a way as to accentuate its strangeness and otherness. Sound provides an implicit "reply" and "disputation" even at the height of poetic narcissism, though its strangeness does not satisfy Philisides, who highlights the problem of making speech, words, and art effective:

> Art? What can be that art which thou dost mean by thy speech?   Speech.
> What be the fruits of speaking art? What grows by the words?   Words.
> (142)

This expression of the circularity and fruitlessness of the verbal arts undermines Philisides's authorial autonomy and leaves him with a lonely and "desolate pensiveness" after he finishes his echo song.[101] As Pyrocles puts it while disguised as Cleophila in the Anacreonic quantitative verse that immediately follows Philisides, "Alas, it is no comfort / To speak without an answer" (143). Sound, it would seem, inevitably provides an "answer," facilitating an atmosphere of response and exchange even for those who do not desire it. Not least because it exists in the air – with its reputation for providing a unique amalgamation of spirits, souls and bodies – music is a communitarian medium through which poets and audiences meet.[102]

Acoustic form thus emerges as a uniquely promising means of forging inter-subjective and social relationships in both versions of the *Arcadia*. The early version of the work takes the overall genre of prose romance, but its frequent lyric interruptions, its continual trajectory toward the theatrical spaces of the eclogues, and its five-act comedic structure reminiscent of *Commedia dell'arte*, reveal a project implicated other modes as well, particularly performance. Sidney's elaborate revisions and expansions for the *New Arcadia* connect the domestic intrigue and love plot of the *Old Arcadia* to epic scenes of political conflict, but they nevertheless retain a pronounced tendency toward musical, lyrical performances. In both versions, versified music becomes the means by which local communities of poets and auditors are linked together in larger networks that range from familial connections to international politics. Musical mediations of poesie hold out the promise of bridging immediate, physical, acoustic environments of poetic production with much broader ends. Yet music also seems to replace ambitious ethical agendas with the "doing" of performance itself – a type of action that is not necessarily political at all.

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[101] On the ways in which the *Old Arcadia* raises concerns about "self-reflexive fantasy" separated from effective worldly action, to the extent that the romance is "trapped in an endless cycle of self-enclosed self-division," see Haber, *Pastoral and the Politics of Self-Contradiction*, 54, 77. On the Echo myth in early modern poetry, see Joseph Loewenstein, *Responsive Readings*.

[102] *Air* retains some of these connotations in postmodern discourse; Barthes describes the *air* of a photograph, for example, as the element that "*authenticates* the existence of a certain being . . . that exorbitant thing which induces from body to soul," in *Camera Lucida*, 109. For Sidney, acoustic movement in the air provides an opportunity for a type of authentication that is at once more literal and more ethical than Barthes's category of the photographic *air*, since Sidney uses the term air to describe both a physical substance that moves the body and an artistic idea that moves the rational faculties to action. Nevertheless, Barthes helps to highlight the ways in which the problem of moving and inducing can turn on the problem of connection and affection – and to hint at why music offers to Sidney a distinctive poetic form that fosters amity and community.

Like the *Defence*, the *Arcadia* tends to emphasize poetic "well-doing" and insist that poesie amount to an end of some kind. But Sidney's romance tends not to insist that these ends be politically efficacious: often, the most characters can hope for is to participate in a free and open exchange that they hope will serve as a foundation for collective action in the future. In his narcissistic laments, for example, Philisides desires little more than to share his grief, a type of "doing" that does not demand broader "virtuous action" (*DP* 220). In this sense, the *Arcadia* is expressive of the disenchanted political climate of the late 1570s and early 1580s, when Protestant Philippists had little reason for optimism, and when Sidney wrote his major poetic works. Continually enacting a removal to pastoral spaces where political action is vexed or impossible, the *Arcadia* creates situations where it is necessary to redefine *praxis* in more versatile terms.

A review of the major plot elements of the *Old Arcadia* helps to indicate some of the ways in which Sidney broadens the category of ethics so as to include fanciful and even immoral action. Responding to the prophecy of an oracle, Duke Basilius neglects his princely obligations and withdraws to a pastoral world where he calls for the nightly entertainment of "shepherdish pastimes" or eclogues (*OA* 41). Basilius's trusted counselor Philanax suggests that the Duke "deprive[s him]self of governing" and "abandons himself" because of a "soothsaying sorceries" that are "nothing but fancies" (6-7). Meanwhile, the heroes Pyrocles and Musidorus fall in love with Basilius's daughters Philoclea and Pamela, neglecting their quests for fame and their political responsibilities as princes. The heroes resort to deceit in order to seduce the daughters, who are full of desire themselves, while Basilius and his duchess Gynecia both attempt to commit adultery with Pyrocles (who has cross-dressed as an Amazon). All of these trajectories from the active life to spaces of pastoral fancy and poesie raise the problem of misguided and licentious behavior, and question how poetic *otium* can be productive or fruitful. They also force the reader to recognize that large-scale princely and political *praxis* is dependent upon and grounded by more local forms of virtue, including within private and domestic contexts.

Concerns about the scales of *praxis* emerge prominently during Philisides's appearance in the third eclogues, where he recalls his reunion with Hubert Languet. Disrupting the veil of fiction, Philisides refers explicitly to Sidney's friend and mentor, from whom he claims to have learned the song that he is now performing:

> The song I sang old Languet had me taught,
> Languet, the shepherd best swift Ister knew . . .
> He said that music best thilke [heavenly] powers pleased
> Was jump concord between our wit and will,

> Where highest notes to godliness are raised,
> And lowest sink not down to jot of ill.
> With old true tales he wont mine ears to fill:
> How shepherds did of yore, how now, they thrive,
> Spoiling their flock, or while twixt them they strive.
> (*OA* 222)

Philisides is recalling Sidney's trips to Vienna in 1573 and 1574, when Languet took Sidney under his wing and put him in contact with influential diplomats and rulers including the Maxmillian II, the learned Holy Roman Emperor who was inclined to pan-Christian moderation.[103] Yet Philisides is at pains to emphasize the marginality and fruitlessness of this most hopeful moment in Sidney's diplomatic career. The song is twice removed from the environment where it may have been topical – Philisides says that he learned it from Languet, then sang it to his sheep, and now performs it again – and its language is antiquated in the Spenserian style that Sidney chastises in the *Defence*, with stars "Ycleped" "groats" in the "welkin" (*OA* 221). Furthermore, Languet's "tale" takes the form of a beast fable about man's corruption of the natural world, which has no clear relevance to the Arcadian eclogues. For their part, the shepherds erupt into conflicting interpretations and "diverse judgements" after hearing the song, noting the "strangeness of the tale, and scanning what he should mean by it" (225).

The "Ister Bank" song draws attention to the disconnect between larger ambitions of religious and political *praxis*, and immediate, topical concerns in the performative *air*. Here, the failure to connect all levels of well-doing is treated humorously: Philisides's inscrutable fable comes amidst the shepherds' innuendos at the manifold sexual couplings that have just occurred in the main narrative. Where Philisides is entirely tone-deaf, Sidney is enjoying a joke with his readers in the style of another song by Philisides that comes several pages earlier. This song, which "came into [Pyrocles's] mind" during his spectacular sex scene with Philoclea (207), alludes to the tendency for poesie to mask and even facilitate erotic idleness. Love – and love poetry – takes much of the blame for such fruitlessness, as it does in Musidorus discussion of the degeneration of Pyrocles's "mind well trained and long exercised in virtue" (*OA* 12):

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[103] Osborn, *Young Philip Sidney*, 96-104.

> you subject yourself to solitariness, the sly enemy that doth most separate a man from well doing . . . you feed sometimes your solitariness with the conceits of the poets whose liberal pens can as easily travel over mountains as molehills, and so (like well disposed men) set up everything to the highest note – especially when they put such words in the mouth of one of these fantastical mind-infected people that children and musicians call lovers . . . And let us see what power is the author of all these troubles: forsooth, love; love, a passion, and the basest and fruitlessest of all passions.
>
> (*OA* 13, 15-16, 18)

For Musidorus, love is the most extreme form of self-absorption, a disease that "separate[s] a man from well doing" because it is anti-social and "fantastical," and above all because it is fruitless, having no end other than itself. It is also, as in Philisides's song that covers for Pyrocles's sexual deed, linked to the "fantastical" activity of poesie, leaving its victim "freely ranging only within the zodiac of his own wit" (*DP* 216) in a pejorative twist on the meaning of that phrase in the *Defence*.

Love is not the only force of isolation that prevents the accomplishment of political agendas, however. Musidorus's argument that love is to blame is undermined by the fact that he also suffers from a failure to effect useful deeds, not only in the sense that he will shortly fall in love himself, but also in the sense that the ethical principles in his counsel to Pyrocles are shown to be even more fruitless than Pyrocles's love. Musidorus's speech represents a clear and carefully reasoned moral ideal which goes entirely unheeded. As Pyrocles's dismissive response suggests, Musidorus's advice is ill-suited to the contingencies that surround it: "Pyrocles' mind was all this while so fixed upon another devotion that he no more attentively marked his friend's discourse than the child that hath leave to play marks the last part of his lesson" (*OA* 19). The *Arcadia* returns to the problem of moral solipsism in many places: the narrator frequently ridicules Philanax's tedious warnings to Basilius, for example, and the "Ister Bank" song mocks didactic forms of poesie that fail to take shape in relation to their performative environment. Indeed, the *Arcadia* is sometimes quite scathing about empty and high-minded moralizing. When Pyrocles's father Euarchus arrives to act as a judge over the princes in the final book of the *Old Arcadia*, he comes across as dangerously narrow-minded. Adhering to the law so inflexibly as to refuse the possibility of redemption and knowingly condemn his son and foster son to death, Euarchus is portrayed as a reactionary patriarch whose moral strictures verge on tyranny. His attempt to impose moral principles without equity creates an intractable dilemma that results in what readers have long described as a sense of frustration and dissatisfaction with the conclusion of the romance.[104]

Sidney's appeal to communal action and, ultimately, to music, offers one means of moving beyond such stale, one-dimensional versions of *praxis*. The *Arcadia* highlights the need for an ethics that extends to every social sphere, and it does so not least by insisting in a meta-poetic way that its own literary endeavors be grounded in their immediate environment of circulation and production. The *Arcadia* alludes to a contemporary English and Continental political landscape, displaced in time and space – a pastoral world with characters that often seem to figure forth Sidney's contemporaries. But the most transparent and persistent of the *Arcadia's* allusions to contemporary England are to Sidney himself (in the form of Philisides) and to the coterie of readers at his sister's estate at Wilton.[105] The entire *Arcadia* is framed by Philip's relationship to Mary, the principle source for "Mira" in Philisides's dream vision, as well as the custodian and "possessor" of the romance who mediated between the text and its audiences both before and after Philip's death.[106] Mary is also the addressee of the *Arcadia*'s opening epistle, included in its later printed format, where she serves though a series of birthing metaphors to "deliver" Philip's text to the world (*OA* 3). By comparing "this idle work of mine" to a spider's web, troping elaborately on his sister's body, Philip uses this epistle to foreground his work in the primary milieu of its production.

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[104] On the sense of dissatisfaction that the conclusion has inspired, see Haber, *Pastoral and the Politics of Self-Contradiction*, 89ff. In *Poetry and Politics in the English Renaissance*, Norbrook argues that "only the prince is empowered to dispense equity, and as a mere outsider called in by the Arcadians to exercise judgment [Euarchus] is extremely anxious not to do anything that might imply that he wants to usurp the ducal authority" (90). The fact remains, however, that Euarchus is inhibited from effective action despite his profound *gnosis*. The princes are saved only by the *deus ex machina* of Basilius's rise from the dead.

This milieu is what is generally called the "Sidney circle," a term that (in the context of the *Arcadia* at least) refers more to the predominantly female readership associated with Wilton, where the *Arcadia* was probably composed, than it does to Sidney's international community of Philippists. Mary Sidney was also an ardent Protestant invested in the idea that poesie must be productive in an active life that includes an international political theater, but the pervasive misogynistic discourse of female idleness and domesticity was inextricable from her and her brother's immediate conditions of poetic production.[107] This context becomes particularly clear in the *Old Arcadia*, which is preoccupied with "idle" poetic "pastime," and which continually addresses an interpretive community of "fair ladies," an allusion to the fact that the manuscript circulated "within a circle that was largely female."[108] Wilton was a difficult space for a culturally respectable form of *praxis* to emerge: not only was Sidney removed at least directly from the sphere of political influence at the English court; he lived and wrote at Wilton during a period of economic difficulty and probable disfavor with Elizabeth in light of his controversial letter against a marriage with Alençon. These facts, together with the gendered dimension of the Sidney circle, help to explain why Sidney's theme of poetical "pastime" is routinely accompanied by self-conscious discomfort.

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[105] "Coterie" can be a misleading term for spheres of scribal publication such as Wilton, from which the *Old Arcadia* was distributed quite widely. As the term "scribal publication" implies, manuscripts were copied and broadly distributed throughout the period; see Love, *The Culture and Commerce of Texts: Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-Century England*, 35-89. On the circulation of the *Old Arcadia*, see Woudhuysen, *Sir Philip Sidney and the Circulation of Manuscripts*, 299-355.

[106] Crawford derives the term "possessor" from the title *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia*; see "Sidney's Sapphics and the Role of Interpretive Communities," 982.

The drama throughout the *Arcadia* is over how – or *whether* – these intimate, effeminate or "idle" sites can be linked to broader spheres of ethical action. This concern is worked out through the complex web of familial, amorous, political, and friendship ties which (as is typical of the romance genre) animate the plot. Both versions of the *Arcadia* are narrations of family, from the international kinship bonds that link Pyrocles and Musidorus (foster brother to Pyrocles), to the marital drama surrounding the friends' loves of Philoclea and Pamela, to the political dynasty of Cecropia and Amphialus in which the *New Arcadia* is immersed. And both versions of the romance express longing for an inter-subjective ideal which the *Old Arcadia* describes as a "mutuality either of condoling or comforting" (*OA* 148) and the *New Arcadia* depicts as a state in which,

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[107] As Crawford points out, "Wilton was seen as something of a (female) refuge from the affairs of the realm and the duties of a courtier, a place where Sidney chose 'the delights in the world' over the 'tedious business' of state. Yet it was also a place which Mary Sidney self-consciously modeled on the Continental tradition of noblewomen's salons described in courtly and educational texts such as *The Courtier* (which centered on the figures of Elizabetta Gonzaga and Emilia Pia), and on actual court salons like that of Marguerite de Navarre in France" (988).
[108] Crawford, 983.

"between friends, all must be laid open, nothing being superfluous nor tedious" (*NA* 140). As Gavin Alexander has noticed, the *New Arcadia* "betrays a growing hesitancy towards consummation, a suspicion of reflective mutuality, tidy circles, and closed dialogue."[109] To my mind, this is already a problem in the *Old Arcadia*, where (for example) Pyrocles and Musidorus's meeting in the arbor of Book 3, when they "receive a sweet reflection of the same joy, and (as in a clear mirror of sincere goodwill) see a lively picture of his own gladness" (OA 148), already carries a whiff of what Tom MacFaul calls "mutual narcissism."[110] "Reflective mutuality" is particularly at issue in the untidy, dialogic scenes of interaction between shepherds: lyric and eclogue spaces consistently negotiate between larger communities and the inward or private states that fit (or refuse to fit) within them. After Basilius's seeming death, for example, the shepherds "did all desire Agelastus, one notably noted among them as well for his skill in poetry as for an austerely maintained sorrowfulness . . . to make an universal complaint for them in this universal mischief" (*OA* 246). The "sestine" that follows hopes that "inward grief seal up with outward wailing" the "public damage" and "damage public" of "this our theatre public" (246-47). But as Agelastus's grief becomes more explicit and intense, he comes to focus more and more intently on the consuming "private" sorrow that cannot be unloaded in a communal, performative space:

> No, no, our mischief grows in this vile fortune,
> That private pangs cannot breathe out in public
> The furious inward griefs with hellish wailing;
> But forced are to burden feeble nature
> With secret sense of our eternal damage,
> And sorrow feed, feeding our souls with sorrow.
> (247)

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[109] Alexander, *Writing after Sidney*, 27.
[110] MacFaul, "Friendship in Sidney's *Arcadia*s."

Even as the shepherds turn to Agelastus's verse in the "theatre public" for consolation in their "universal" grief, they find themselves locked within an uncannily solipsistic form of expression. The sestina form, which demands that the same six words end the lines of every stanza, helps to figure forth this interlocking maze of "inward griefs," landing in the final two lines of the stanza quoted above on repeated and chiasmatic "s" and "o" sounds that express the problematic desire to link "secret sense" between souls.

The eclogues themselves – the larger "theatre public" that Agelastus's sestina anticipates – amount to the *Arcadia*'s fullest expression of both the promise of amity and the pitfalls of solipsism. This is due at once to the general tendency of the lyric to meditate on the relationship between inwardness and community, and to the dialogic nature of the eclogue form. Imitating Virgilian *bucolica*, the *intermedii* of Continental Terentian comedies, and the entr'acte entertainments in early Elizabethan drama, the Arcadian eclogues are an intersection of lyrical, ostensibly inward meditations of characters including Philisides as well as responses, repartees and critiques of those meditations.[111] Like the dumb show of wild men at the beginning of *Gorboduc*, who break sticks individually that cannot be broken as a bundle in order to demonstrate the importance of a unified state, the Arcadian eclogues often purport to deliver a topical allegorical lesson that will unify the Arcadian community. Every time a precept of moral philosophy emerges, however, such as Geron's celebration of marriage in the third eclogues of the *Old Arcadia*, it is quickly undermined in the open debate that defines the eclogue form (in this case, by Histor's more cynical and antifeminist form of stoicism).[112]

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[111] On the eclogue form, see Stillman, *Sidney's Poetic Justice*, 89-9; and Mehl, *The Elizabethan Dumb Show*.

[112] Eclogues are traditionally dialogic, as in Virgil's *Eclogues*, and the word "eclogue" carried the meaning of a dialogue or debate, as for example when Basilius "had a sufficient eclogue in his own head betwixt

If, in Cleophila's words, "it is no comfort / To speak without an answer" (*OA* 143), it turns out to be equally uncomfortable to hear the many communal responses that arise from disconsolate private speech.

While eclogues occasion "hidden forms" that "utter such matters as otherwise were not fit for their delivery" (*OA* 50), then, such privacy exists in an atmosphere where "According to the nature of diverse ears, diverse judgements straight followed" (*OA* 225). This tendency to immerse deeply personal expression in noisy, public settings is complemented by irony as thick – and as destabilizing – as anywhere in Sidney's works, including jokes about the nominally subaltern shepherds who "pass their time . . . in such music as their rural education could afford them" (50). Furthermore, the eclogues' manifold allusions to Sidney's own life and political environment provide a means of wrenching secret or intimate feelings and political ideas into the open. The fourth eclogues of the *Old Arcadia*, which lament the death of the Duke who had always presided over their performances, turn into a particularly self-conscious and meta-poetic exploration of the relationship between private and communal modes of expression. Some shepherds "used this occasion to record their own private sorrows" (*OA* 284), and Philisides recounts his dream of Mira in the autobiographical episode discussed at the beginning of this chapter (290-91). The dream is folded within layers of privacy and removal: within the "pastime" of the eclogue, Philisides recites a poem that he once wrote to describe a mythological dream vision. Yet Philisides's allusions to Ancient Britain and to an international conflict full of "ruinous want of government" cannot be removed from wider spheres of action (*OA* 292, 294). The response to Philisides's blend

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honour, with the long experience he had of the world, on the one side, and this new assault of Cleophila's beauty on the other side" (*OA* 41).

of intimate and collective lamentation explicitly brings out the impulse of the eclogues to move between the "particular" and the "general": "Dicus desired [Philisides] he would for that time leave particular passions, and join in bewailing this general loss of that country which had been a nurse to strangers as well as a mother to Arcadians" (*OA* 299). In this metaphor, which resonates with the opening epistle fixated on Mary Sidney's female body, Arcadia becomes both mother and wet nurse, a familial poetic space that is host to "strangers."

In this way, the eclogues combine the *Acadia*'s theoretical and thematic models of community with experimentations in poetic form. The eclogues imagine "music" – which, as we have seen, is already a flexible term that can refer to instrumental and vocal melody, verse, oratory, speech, song, or abstract philosophical discourse – in a way that not only incorporates but amplifies noise and dissonance. If, for Pyrocles, "every echo [in Arcadia is] a perfect music" (*OA* 14) allusive to the harmony of the spheres, the eclogues introduce a much greater acoustic range, from highly individualized "plaining music," to "deadly swannish music," to "strange exclaiming music," and to a community of shepherds "mad with music" that includes "The dreadful cries of murdered men in forests" (285-86). "[P]articular howling musics" (247) of the sort that stem from the collective grief surrounding Basilius's death, and yet remain singular enough that Sidney creates a plural form of the word "music," extend well beyond the eclogues, throughout a romance where the noises of bears, lions and rebellion lurk around every corner. *The New Arcadia* heightens the stakes of this discord by taking it to wider and more violent contexts, placing Pyrocles and Musidorus within an international theater of warfare and internecine politics that motivates monumentally unfinished – and perhaps un-finishable – revisions.

As dissonant politics seep into the local Arcadian pastoral and become increasingly problematic and noisy, they become correspondingly difficult to harmonize into music. The Arcadian eclogues promise to reframe discord as music, but the irreconcilable political enmity of larger political circles – a growing problem in the *New Arcadia* – undermines the possibility of such resolution. In this regard, acoustic form provides new insight into the sense of endlessness in the *Arcadia*, which scholars have described as intrinsically incomplete.[113] The narrator of the *Old Arcadia* draws attention to the problem of completion in his concluding catalogue of loose ends and unfinished business:

> But the solemnities of these marriages, with the Arcadian pastorals full of many comical adventures happening to those rural lovers, the strange story of the fair queens Artaxia of Persia and Erona of Lydia, with the prince Plangus's wonderful chances, whom the latter had sent to Pyrocles, and the extreme affection Amasis, king of Egypt, bare unto the former, the shepherdish loves of Menalcas with Kalodoulus's daughter, and the poor hopes of the poor Philisides in the pursuit of his affections, the strange continuance of Klaius's and Strephon's desire, lastly the son of Pyrocles named Pyrophilus, and Melidora the fair daughter of Pamela by Musidorus, who even at their birth entered into admirable fortunes, may awake some other spirit to exercise his pen in that wherewith mine is already dulled. (361)

Inviting an enterprising spirit to pursue and "exercise" the framework he has constructed, the narrator once again draws attention to his *written* mediations. Employing the common pen-as-phallus metaphor, Sidney invokes the ostensible potency of writing while noting self-consciously what he has failed to complete. Beginning with an allusion to the Arcadian wedding "pastorals" which will not be recorded as have the previous four eclogues, Sidney implicitly acknowledges two things: first, that there are other eclogues to be performed, and second, that other spirits may discover, as he has already, the limitations of the pen in framing events and interpretations. We might even say that, by omitting an eclogue section to Book 5, Sidney frames future Arcadian continuations *as* eclogues – performative environments that stretch the power of the pen to its breaking point.

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[113] See Alexander, *Writing After Sidney*, 1-56.

As Sidney's narrator anticipates, a host of adaptations, emendations, "Continuation[s]" and "Supplement[s]" picked up the *Arcadia* where he left off.[114] More generally, Sidney's work inspired innumerable recreations and adaptations, including the 1602 *A Poetical Rapsody*, a tribute to and imitation of Sidnean poesie edited by Francis Davison. The following "Pastorall," which is accepted as Sidney's by all of his editors, appears at the outset of Davison's "Pastorals and Eclogues" section and precedes verse by poets including Campion, Ralegh, and Spenser:[115]

> *Vpon his meeting with his two worthy Friends*
> *and fellow-Poets, Sir Edward Dier,*
> *and Maister Fulke Greuill.*
>
> Joyne Mates in mirth to me,
> Graunt pleasure to our meeting:

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[114] The authors of these many adaptations include Sir William Alexander, Richard Bellings and James Johnstoun (who supplied narratives linking the *New Arcadia* to the *Old* in the early seventeenth century); as well as John Dickenson, Gervase Markham and Ann Weamys (all of whom "continued" or expanded upon the *Arcadia*'s fictional universe). Alexander discusses all of these Arcadian writings except Weamys's *Continuation* in *Writing After Sidney*, 262-82. *The Countess of Montgomery's Urania*, by Sidney's niece Mary Wroth, is less a continuation than a whole-scale re-imagination, but its thoroughly intertextual relationship to the *Arcadia* includes its title, which tropes on *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia* and alludes to the shepherdess Urania, who serves as the primary source of poetic inspiration at the outset of the *New Arcadia*. What is more, the invitation to revise and continue the *Arcadia* also seems to have been taken up by the early modern readers that encountered it in printed editions. Of the twenty-eight copies of the work printed before the Civil Wars that are owned by the Folger Shakespeare Library, almost every one is marked up with name inscriptions, underlining, corrections and manicules – seven of them with markings on nearly every page, and an additional eight that are palimpsests of extensive manuscript notes that include indexes, divisions, copying, verses troping on Sidney's text, jottings seemingly unrelated to the *Arcadia*, even ciphers to secret alphabets.

[115] See Alexander, *Writing After Sidney*, 32-34, which places this poem in the context of the "nostalgia and idealized pastoral companionship" among the exclusive community that collaborated on *A Poetical Rapsody*.

Let *Pan* our good God see,
How gratefull is our greeting
    Joyne hearts and hands, so let it be,
    Make but one Minde in Bodies three.

Ye Hymnes, and singing skill
Of God *Apolloe's* giving,
Be prest our reedes to fill,
With sound of musicke living.
    Joyne hearts and hands, so let it be,
    Make but one Minde in Bodies three.[116]

This call for musical performance facilitates a "meeting" that is reminiscent of the "singing skill" of the Arcadian eclogues (especially given that the poem itself is a "Pastoral" or "Eclogue") and that incorporates divergent voices and sounds into musical form. For Sidney, Dier and Greville, music facilitates a uniquely "living" sound that (as in Ficino) links minds and souls with hearts, hands, and "Bodies," and the poem goes on to reinforce such musical humanism, celebrating the ways in which "Sweete Orpheus Harpe" will "ioyne sweete friends beloued."[117] The fact that Sidney is dead when this poem is first printed in 1602 hints at how these embodied, musical communities could extend beyond the purview of the author – an tendency that is also at work in Fulke Greville's account of Sidney's dying moments:

> Here again this restless soul of his (changing only the aire, and not the cords of her harmony) cals for Musick; especially that song which himself had intitled, *La cuisse rompue* [or, The broken thigh]. Partly (as I conceive by the name) to shew that the glory of mortal flesh was shaken in him: and by that Musick it self, to fashion and enfranchise his heavenly soul into that everlasting harmony of Angels, whereof these Concords were a kinde of terrestriall *Echo*: And in this supreme, or middle Orb of Contemplations, he blessedly went on, within a circular motion, to the end of all flesh."[118]

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[116] Davison, *A poetical rapsody*, B1r.
[117] Davison, B1r-B2r.
[118] Greville, *The life of the renowned Sir Philip Sidney*, L7v-L8r. Greville's *Life* was written ca. 1610, though it may have been revised and expanded over a number of years; see Rees, *Fulke Greville, Lord Brooke, 1554-1628*, 57.

Even as Greville works to place Sidney's dying call for music into a discourse of neo-Pythagorean harmony that shakes off "mortal flesh," music serves as vivid "terrestriall *Echo*," a stubborn, physical reminder of Sidney's gangrenous thigh wound. What both of these posthumous examples help to show is that even after Sidney's death and even in written publication, the "music" of his poesie remains a fundamental part of his poetic network. If we define this network broadly enough to include not only the authorial fore-conceit but the entire range of media, agents and forces that connect to it, we can better appreciate the new forms of musico-poetic *praxis* that Sidney innovated.

Chapter 2

Performing the Book in the Seventeenth Century

As we have seen, Sidney's ideal community of musical and poetic *praxis* is highly inter-mediated.[1] Sidney values a mixture of music and writing in which neither medium is invariably prior or definitive – sometimes identifying the source of his verse in the "authority of his pen" (*DP* 225) and sometimes, as in his *contrafacta* lyrics, in performed music. In the *Defence* and in the *Arcadia*, verse readily moves and transforms between script and sound. Because Sidney's corpus is grounded in the cultures of coterie transmission and aristocratic music in which he lived and worked, however, it is marked by two main poles or footholds of mediation, namely acoustic performance and manuscript transmission. The contexts of these media range from the local to the international – the Sidney *Psalms*, for example, are best understood within an international literary and devotional milieu, while *The Lady of May* is specifically tied to the English queen. But Sidney's theory and practice of poesie is relatively circumscribed in the sense that it emerges within the manuscript and performative culture of his aristocratic peers at home and abroad.

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[1] Inter-mediation refers to the overlap, fusion or interaction among media; see Breder and Busse, eds., *Intermedia.*

During the unprecedentedly diverse profusion of English literary culture in the decades following Sidney's death – from *The Faerie Queene*, to the professional theater, to the Jacobean masque– poesie enters media ecologies that Sidney could not have imagined. Not only is Sidney's own work ushered into numerous printed editions and taken as an opportunity for continuation and augmentation by many other poets; the category of poesie itself enters a newly varied and open-ended phase. The endeavor that Sidney had justified in terms of ethical activity undertaken by a like-minded and discerning community of authors and auditors becomes something considerably more unwieldy and unpredictable. Sidney himself, venerated and celebrated as a paragon by a new generation of poets, remains highly influential, and the localized collectives in which he participated by no means disappear. Yet many of Sidney's successors pull out or detach from this notion of musical *praxis* an increasingly widespread and attenuated network of poetic collaboration and exchange. The concrete spaces of musical performance that Sidney associates with an elite literary community become much more widely distributed, open to a less predictable range of religious and political affiliations, and accessible to a broader spectrum of readers and performers.

Song, in particular, finds a special place in late-Elizabethan and early-Jacobean literary culture as a means of *instigating* literary culture in new locales. The elegies, tributes and appropriations of Sidney's legacy in the years following his death are frequently musical, from the numerous instrumentalists at his enormous funeral to the cosmopolitan songbooks that brought verse from *Astrophel and Stella* into print for the first time.[2] And although their influence over English poetic culture remains under-appreciated,[3] the thirty songbooks for lute and voice printed between 1597 and 1622 amount to a key shift in the range of endeavors that could be counted as poesie. These "books of ayres," which are strongly informed by Sidnean musico-poetic ideals, briefly took over from verse miscellanies as the dominant means by which lyric poetry circulated in print.[4] In this sense, they can be compared with the sonnet sequences printed during the 1590s, since both were fads or trends concentrated within fifteen years (books of ayres had all but died out by 1614, after which only two were printed) that adopt courtly forms with Continental origins.[5] The key difference is that books of ayres render the interaction between writing and musical performance unavoidable, making explicit the ways in which poesie is not reducible to the letter.

Songwriters continued to expand upon Sidney's musico-poetic precedent well into the seventeenth century. By the time of James I's accession, compositors had developed ways of printing musical notation more cheaply, and the market for printed music had expanded substantially.[6] Pedagogical publications helped make household musicianship increasingly common, and books of ayres facilitated performance in the domestic spaces for which they were designed. The relationship between writing and musical performance took an insular turn during the Caroline period, when the intimate collaboration between composers such as Henry Lawes and poets including John Suckling, Robert Herrick and John Milton remained confined to relatively closed circles. Yet the Interregnum saw another explosion of songbook publications, with elite music settings associated with the fallen court appearing in print en masse, alongside volumes of poetry that advertised their association with (and nostalgia for) the "King's Musick," Charles I's personal retinue of musicians.

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[2] Thomas Lant's images of Sidney's public funeral procession include thirteen musicians; see <http://terpconnect.umd.edu/~mquillig/Sidney_Project/index.html>, an online presentation of *Sequitur & pompa funebris*. William Byrd's settings of two songs from *Astrophel and Stella* appeared in *Psalmes, Sonets, & Songs of Sadness and Pietie* (1588) and *Songs of Sundrie Natures* (1589).

[3] Exceptions include Fischlin's book-length study of the ayre genre and its "miniaturist aesthetic," *In Small Proportions*; and Ryding, *In Harmony Framed*, which emphasizes the impact of French and Italian musico-poetic ideals upon Campion, Samuel Daniel and John Daniel. There has been more work specifically on Campion than on other ayre composers; see for example Wilson, *Words and Notes Coupled Lovingly Together*; and Lindley, *Thomas Campion*. See also Spink, *English Song*, 15-37.

[4] Doughtie argues that "the poems from the songbooks can be most profitably studied as part of the miscellany tradition" in his introduction to *Lyrics from English Airs*, 10ff.

[5] The sonnet is of course an Italian tradition, while the ayre borrows from both French and Italianate courtly styles.

[6] Price, *Patrons and Musicians of the English Renaissance*, 178-95; and Woodfill, *Musicians in English Society*, 201-39.

Over the course of the seventeenth century and across the political spectrum, that is, the printed book *remediated* musical performance, which is to say that it re-fashioned, rehabilitated or "updated" performative environments and experiences.[7] Print did not replace or negate oral, theatrical and musical media – nor was it simply "inter-mediated" with them, since it did considerably more than coexist or interact with other media. Instead, printed books of ayres redistributed performance in new and unexpected ways, making possible new kinds of musico-poetic endeavors, in diverse and often unwieldy contexts ranging from the court itself to aspiring bourgeois and provincial households without access to professional musicians or tutors. The poets and composers who took up Sidney's musical humanist legacy precipitated spheres of performance and interpretation beyond a closed or confined coterie at Wilton, fashioning musical communities that were not centralized around a single group or location. Milton – whose musical inclinations and associations familiarized him with song culture – was especially attentive to the continual interplay between voice, musical instrument, gesture, visual affordance, manuscript, codex and other media at stake in the period. In *Areopagitica* (1644), Milton goes so far as to argue that "what ever thing we hear or see, sitting, walking, travelling, or conversing may be fitly call'd our book" (528) – or, that *any* medium, *anywhere*, is potentially "literary," and that it is only through acts and processes of interpretation that "books" become good or ill.[8] That is, *Areopagitica* imagines the book as a living, organic process in which song is an irrepressible force; reveals the extent to which seventeenth-century poesie was embedded in the broadest of media ecologies; and articulates a theory of the remediation of literary form, in which print produces and inspires musical performance.

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[7] See Bolter and Grusin's discussion of remediation as "reform," in *Remediation*, 59-62: "It is not just that media merely reform the appearance of reality. Media hybrids (the affiliations of technical artifacts, rhetorical justifications, and social relationships) are as real as the objects of science. Media make reality over in the same way that all Western technologies have sought to reform reality" (61).

* * *

The lyric verse of Wyatt and Surrey which helped shape late-sixteenth-century poetic culture is often associated with music – and, indeed, there is little doubt that verse was routinely performed to music in the Henrician period and throughout the Middle Ages. As John Stevens has demonstrated, however, the lyrics of Wyatt and his peers were less thoroughly *united* with music than scholars had assumed.[9] Many of Wyatt's poems are suitable for music and were later set to music, but only one setting of a Wyatt poem during his lifetime survives (a carol called "A Robyn") – and even here, the differences between Wyatt's version and the musical setting suggest that the composer

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[8] Quotations of *Areopagitica* are cited by page number from the edition in Milton, *The Complete Prose Works*.

[9] As Stevens puts it in *Music & Poetry in the Early Tudor Court*: "So far, then, from music and poetry being bound together 'by tradition and social circumstance,' it is probably truer to say that the two arts, as *arts*, were separate in the early Tudor period, unless drawn together for a social occasion under the light yoke of practical necessity" (113). See also Maynard, "The Lyrics of Wyatt: Poems or Songs?"

William Cornish simply adapted Wyatt's poem for his own purposes. Furthermore, the Italianate verse forms that inspired Wyatt had already taken on a visual and scriptive life of their own, and Wyatt's references to music (in "My Lute Awake" or "Blame Not My Lute," for example) tend to be metaphorical or thematic, without necessarily implying performance. Music was thus an important influence over and complement to poetic culture for Wyatt and his contemporaries, but the ballad seems to have been the only verse form that could not be meaningfully understood apart from its tunes.

Richard Tottel's influential *Songes and Sonettes* (1557) pushes things further in this direction by offering English audiences the side of Wyatt and his peers least tied to music. *Songes and Sonettes* includes no hints or instructions about musical performance, as was typically the case for ballads; the ballad collection *A Handefull of pleasant delites* (first printed c. 1566), for example, identifies appropriate tunes that an audience would know, inviting recital "To the new tune of Greensleeues" and other melodies.[10] Furthermore, Tottel's editor does not even tend to select lyrics appropriate for musical setting. Only a handful of the poems included in the volume can be linked to musical recital, a much smaller proportion than the overall early Tudor canon: as Winifred Maynard notes, "of about fifty [of Wyatt's poems] that are apt for singing, only four are in Tottel."[11] This is not to say that poetry is an innately visual form in *Songes and Sonnetes*; on the contrary, Tottel's editor brings out the oratorical qualities of early Tudor verse by regularizing its accentual stress patterns. But Totel's miscellany is invested in the rubrics and structures of written and spoken verse – not (like books of ballads and part songs) in performed music.

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[10] Robinson, *A Handefull of pleasant delites*, B2r. Ward provides evidence of contemporary performance for all but one of the ballads in this miscellany, in "Music for *A Handefull of pleasant delites*."
[11] Maynard, *Elizabethan Lyric Poetry and Its Music*, 8.

During the 1570s and 1580s this tentative gap between music and poetry began to be bridged. Music printing was slower to develop in England than on the Continent, and, with the exception of psalters, few songbooks with musical notation were printed before William Byrd's four publications of 1588 and 1589.[12] But the success of *A Paradyse of daynty deuises*, a miscellany first published in 1576 and reprinted eight times within thirty years, signals a newfound vogue for literary song. *A Paradyse* does not include musical notation, nor does it suggest tunes to which its verse should be sung, and yet, as Maynard puts it, "Here was a perfect book of words for many an occasion of domestic music-making," since most of its poems are suited to specific tunes.[13] By this time – the period of Sidney's experiments in versification and his engagement with musical humanism on the Continent – English collaboration between poetic and musical cultures had entered a new phase. And the years of encomia following Sidney's death – which saw Byrd's settings of two songs from *Astrophel and Stella* in 1588 and 1589, his funeral songs for Sidney that conclude *Psalmes, Sonnets, & Songs of Sadness and Piety* (1588), and Thomas Watson's elegies for Sidney in *The first sett, of Italian madrigalls Englished* (1590) – were the closest that English musicians and poets came to the spirit of the Pléiade.[14]

Unlike Watson – whom Katherine Duncan-Jones has linked to Sidney rather early on – Byrd may have come to Sidney's manuscripts indirectly, and Byrd's well-known Catholic sympathies make it unlikely that he was intimate with the Sidney Circle.[15] Yet

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[12] Exceptions include *XX Songes* by various composers (1530), Thomas Whythorne's *Songes, for three, fower and fiue voyces* (1571), and William Byrd and Thomas Tallis's *Cantiones Sacrae* (1575).

[13] Maynard, *Elizabethan Verse and Its Music*, 23. See also Brett, *Consort Songs*, lxviii.

[14] See Jorgens, *The Well-Tun'd Word*, 84-126.

[15] As Duncan-Jones demonstrates in "Melancholie Times," Watson's writings indicate that he was in possession of early manuscripts of the *Old Arcadia* and *Astrophel and Stella* and that (despite Watson's

Byrd's Catholicism also makes it uncannily appropriate that he played so prominent a role in Sidney's musical legacy, since the *prisci theologi* and its ideals of pan-Christian moderation were so closely associated with the musical humanist ideas that were finally beginning to influence English poetry. Characterized by Latin titles and epigraphs as well as Italian verse and musical forms, Byrd's and Watson's songbooks herald their cosmopolitan credentials, and elegies including Watson's madrigal XIX make their ties to Sidney explicit: "Sweet Sydney liues in heauen, Therfore let our weeping, be turnd to hymns & songs of plesant greeting."[16] Such efforts are of course posthumous appropriations of Sidney (one of a variety of ways that his legacy was appropriated), and they pursue a course that is not always intuitive to the metrical and stylistic demands of English verse. The verse itself is often so richly developed in polyphony as to be incomprehensible to its auditors, creating an aesthetic that is not particularly conducive to Sidney's aim that poesie "teach and delight" (*DP* 217). Yet the polyphonic musical style that Byrd cultivated is nevertheless appropriate for Sidney's verse in the sense that its close and subtly textured exchange between vocal parts meant that all of the performers would have known the verse extremely well and been able to collaborate in its production – a situation that suits Sidney's emphasis on an elite community of musicians and poets.

What is more, polyphony, or at least multi-vocality, is already at work in the eleven songs of *Astrophel and Stella*, which are in many ways a release from the myopia of the sonnets. It is in the songs that Stella finally has the chance to speak back to Astrophel's elaborate self-explorations – as, for example, in the fourth song, with its

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connections to Sidney's foe, the Earl of Oxford) Sidney may have read his work as well.

[16] Watson, *The first sett, of Italian madrigalls Englished*, D2r. Additional examples include madrigal XXVII, in this volume: "Dianaes cheefest iewell, euen in a moment, with Astrophill was plac't aboue the firmament" (E2r); and Byrd's "funerall Songs of that honorable Gent. Syr Phillip Sidney, Knight," in Byrd, *Psalmes, sonets, & songs of sadnes and pietie*, G1r-G2r.

refrain “No, no, no, no, my dear, let be,” and the eighth song, when Stella expresses herself at greater length:

> ‘Astrophil,’ said she, ‘my love
> Cease in these effects to prove:
> Now be still; yet still believe me,
> Thy grief more than death would grieve me.’[17]

“O deare life,” which Byrd set in 1589, is the steamy inter-subjective climax of the entire sequence, and it is no wonder that Byrd provides only the first three stanzas, leaving out passages such as the following:

> Think of my most princely power,
>   When I, blessed, shall devour
>   With my greedy lickerous senses,
>   Beauty, music, sweetness, love,
>   While she doth against me prove
>   Her strong darts but weak defenses.[18]

Polyphony was suitable for this kind of verse since, alongside its Catholic undertones, it had a reputation for being dangerously sensual, as in Book I of the *Faerie Queene*, in which the “heauenly noise” of polyphonic singing renders each hearer “refte of his sences meet / And rauished with rare impression in his sprite.”[19] In the sense that polyphony was a way of bringing out experiences of sensory overload and the multiple voices that express them, that is, Byrd’s adaptation of “O deare life” and the song as it appears in *Astrophel and Stella* are both (in different ways) polyphonic.

Late-Elizabethan Italiante songbooks are far from the only direction that Sidney’s musical legacy took in early modern song culture. Scholars have long recognized the indirect influence of Continental music on the development of the English lyric; as John Stevens observes:

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[17] Sidney, *Astrophil and Stella*, 189; 197, ll. 73-76
[18] Sidney, *Astrophil and Stella*, 203, ll. 32-37
[19] Spenser, *The Faerie Queene*, I.xii.

> In Elizabethan England there was, I have suggested, an 'artificial reunion' between music and poetry; the experts then began to know and to care what the other experts were about. The reunion was certainly artificial in the sense that it was not the natural climax of co-operation between arts 'bound by tradition and social circumstance'; it was also artificial in the sense that it was encouraged by a small group of humanists under foreign influence.[20]

It was only in the 1980s that scholars including Elise Bickford Jorgens began to look more closely at the musical humanist genealogies of Elizabethan verse, however; and (as Stevens and Gavin Alexander have both observed) the musical inclinations of the Sidney Circle remain widely unappreciated.[21] Scholars have been even slower, furthermore, in exploring the broader impact of Sidney's musical priorities upon later movements, including the early-seventeenth-century lute songbook "boom." Books of ayres are far from straightforward imitations of Sidney – indeed, they are all the more intriguing for their departures from Sidney's more restricted and aristocratic notion of poesie's performative environment. Nevertheless, they are linked to Sidnean poetics through their cultivation of a nostalgic version of Elizabethan musical humanism, through their tendency to use the verse of Sidney and his contemporaries as song texts, and through the links of their chief composers to the Sidney Circle.

The ayre, or song with a clear and audible vocal line and a subtle instrumental accompaniment (usually lute or bass viol), derives its name from the French *air de cour* and borrows some of its musical tendencies from Italian styles emphasizing comprehensibility and expressivity.[22] Ayres resonate loosely with the ideals of Baïf's *musique mesurée* and also with the Florentine Camerata's innovation of the *recitative* style prioritizing naturalistic vocal declamation, since they have a dominant vocal line (or "cantus") and tend to emphasize the audibility of their verse.[23] Yet books of ayres fashion these different Continental conventions into a distinctively English genre. As Thomas Campion claims in the preface to his 1613 volume of ayres, "some there are who admit onely *French* or *Italian* Ayres, as if every Country had not his proper Ayre, which the people thereof naturally usurpe in their Musicke."[24] Scholars, too, have tended to downplay the influence of Continental music over the ayre; Jorgens, for example, suggests that "Since the texts of [English] airs de cour are not quantitative, whatever rhythmic or musical similarities the airs de cour have to musique mesurée are imitation of the musical style and have little to do with the philosophy behind the humanist songs."[25]

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[20] Stevens, *Music & Poetry in the Early Tudor Court*, 139.

[21] See Jorgens, *The Well Tun'd Word*; Maynard, *Elizabethan Lyric Poetry and Its Music*; and Ryding, *In Harmony Framed*. Stevens observes that Sidney's comments in the *Defense* on the "the well-enchanting skill of music" (227) make it "all the more surprising that [as of 1990] there is not to my knowledge any up-to-date, published study of the topic," in "Sir Philip Sidney and 'Versified Music,'" 153. And as Gavin Alexander observes in 2006, "the importance of music and musicians to the story of [the Sidney] family has still to be fully appreciated," in "The Musical Sidneys," 65.

I would suggest, on the contrary, that musical humanism continued to have an impact on later styles and priorities of poesie – less as a strict set of rules than as a point of departure, a tradition to be re-imagined and reshaped. Perhaps the most significant continuity between Sidney's quantitative experiments and Jacobean poetic culture comes in Campion, well-known for his aim "to couple my Words and Notes lovingly together, which will be much for him to doe that hath not power over both."[26] Campion – who would have experienced the culture of *musique mesurée* firsthand while attending medical school in France between 1602 and 1605 – retained an interest in quantitative verse longer than any other English poet, publishing *Observations in the Art of English Poesie*, in which he which argues that quantitative rules can be applied to English verse, as late as 1602. No one followed through on the specific requirements elaborated here, including Campion himself; only one of his ayres is in quantitative verse, in addition to his examples in the *Observations* and a song printed in 1591. The preface to Campion's 1601 volume, in which his sole quantitative ayre appears, helps to explain Campion's departure from quantitative meter: "The Lyricke Poets among the Greekes and Latines were first inventers of Ayres, tying themselves strictly to the number and value of their sillables, of which sort, you shall find here onely one song in Saphicke verse; the rest are after the fascion of the time, eare-pleasing rimes without Arte."[27] What this grumpy sentence about the decay of noble and artful poesie threatens to obscure is the extent to which the styles and ideas of musical humanism continue to impact even the "eare-pleasing rimes" of the seventeenth century.

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[22] The canon of books of ayres is represented in *Lyrics from English Airs*, ed. Doughtie, in combination with *The Works of Thomas Campion*, ed. Davis. Unless otherwise noted, I take quotations of songbooks from these two editions. I follow Doughtie's decision not to include Edward Filmer's translation *French court-aires, with their ditties Englished* (1629) in the canon, though it is closely related. But I would want to update the books that Doughtie cites in his introduction to *Lyrics from English Airs* by noting that George Handford's *Ayres* (1609) was not designed for print and is therefore subject to a slightly different set of concerns, and that Tobias Hume's *Captain Hume's Poeticall Musicke* (1607) is essentially an instrumental songbook (the title page indicates that it is "Principally made for two Basse-Viols," and only two of twelve songs include vocal parts). Furthermore, I would want to include Richard Alyson's *The Psalmes of Dauid in meter* (1599) and William Leighton's *The teares or lamentacions of a sorrowfull soule* (1614) in the canon: I presume that Doughtie does not include these volumes because of their exclusively devotional themes (they are musical paraphases of the penitential psalms), but both advertise themselves as ayres, and both share the essential format of the other songbooks.

[23] Books of ayres usually print one or more bass viol parts and often include additional vocal parts as well, but the cantus tends to be dominant. This distinguishes them from madrigals, Italianate songs with more complex vocal textures, which were popular during the late-sixteenth century but less so during the seventeenth. In modern usage, "ayre" is sometimes replaced by the modern term "art song," which musicologists continue to use to describe an elite, secular and monophonic style, though the term is sometimes (confusingly) used to describe polyphonic lute airs or Italianate madrigals. See Meconi, "Art Song Reworkings," 1; and Meister, *Art Song*.

[24] Campion, *Two Bookes of Ayres*, 55.

[25] Jorgens, 107.

Despite the shift toward accentual notions of meter in the final years of Elizabeth's reign and the growing consensus that classical and Continental quantitative meters are unsuitable for English poetry, that is, Campion's theories of prosody cannot be easily divided from his and other composers' forays into acoustically performed verse. As I suggested in the previous chapter, Sidney's quantitative experiments already included an interest in phonetic practice, unsettling the assumption that what Samuel Daniel and others call "rhyme" was the only acoustically sensitive system of prosody available to Renaissance poets. Campion brings out the audible properties of quantitative verse all the more emphatically, and his *Observations* should by no means be dismissed as an effort to replace the rhythms of spoken English with a purely artificial or abstract system. Suggesting that "any one that is either practis'd in singing, or hath a naturall eare able to time a song" will be able to judge quantity effectively, Campion argues that verse should "imitate our common talke" and emphasizes the importance of "common pronunciation" and audition:

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[26] Campion, *Two Bookes of Ayres*, 55.

[27] Campion and Rosseter, *A Booke of Ayres*, 15. Campion and Rosseter collaborated on this volume, and it is possible that either or both wrote its prefatory materials, but based on its style the note to the reader seems to me very likely to be Campion's.

> The eare is a rationall sence and a chiefe judge of proportion; but in our kind of riming what proportion is there kept, when there remaines such a confusd inequalitie of sillables . . . above all the accent of our words is diligently to be observ'd, for chiefly by the accent in any language the true value of the sillables is to be measured . . . because our English Orthography (as the French) differs from our common pronunciation, we must esteeme our sillables as we speake, not as we write, for the sound of them in a verse is to be valued, and not their letters.[28]

This focus on sound and accent leaves Campion vulnerable to Daniel's argument in *A Defence of Ryme* that the quantitative meters of the *Observations* are little more than traditional English forms "apparelled in forraine Titles."[29] But it also helps to show how late-Elizabethan developments in prosody owe much to the varied rhythms and economical phrasing of quantitative verse. A more nuanced view of Campion's *Obvservations*, that is, helps to reveal his aim to *reform* habits of poesie that have grown

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[28] Campion, *Observations in the Art of English Poesie*, 297, 301, 314.

[29] Samuel Daniel, *A Defence of Ryme*, qtd. in *The Works of Thomas Campion*, 289.

"vulgar and easie" through diverse methods, and it helps connect his theories of prosody to his ayres.[30] To put this another way, in his *Observations* and also in his ayres, Campion is participating in the articulation of what we now describe as accentual-syllabic meter – a poetic system that somewhat distantly incorporates the ideals and stylistic traditions of Classical prosody, but which is fundamentally grounded in accentual, phonetic practice.

In this way, Campion gestures back to an earlier moment in musico-poetic history in order to legitimize what are actually quite innovative poetic experiments. This is not to say that Campion's connections to musical humanist traditions are simply affected; Sidney seems to have been a formative influence over Campion, whose first published work in 1591 was a set of five songs appended to a surreptitious edition of *Astrophel and Stella* and characterized by an erudite classicism. Both of Campion's experiments in strictly quantitative verse – "Canto Secundo" from the 1591 songs and "Come, let us sound with melody," from *A Booke of Ayres* (1601) – take up meters that Sidney had established in the *Old Arcadia*.[31] A similar tendency can be found in other songbook composers: out of a total of twenty composers of books of ayres, four use poems by Sidney as their base texts (in a total of seven ayres), and, as Gavin Alexander suggests, five can be connected to the Sidney family.[32] Robert Jones's 1600 *The First Booke of Songes or Ayres* is dedicated to Sidney's brother Robert, an important musical patron, and Jones's 1610 *The Muses Gardin for Delights* is dedicated to another key patron of music, Robert Sidney's daughter Mary Wroth. The composer John Dowland appears to have begun a friendship with Robert Sidney while they were at the same college at Oxford, and Robert Sidney later became the godfather of Dowland's son (also named Robert). When Robert Dowland went on to compose his own book of ayres, *A Musicall Banquet* (1610), he dedicated it to his godfather. An idealization of an eclipsed era of international humanism and chivalry, *A Musicall Banquet* is the fullest expression of Sidnean musical humanism since the elegiac songbooks of the late 1580s.[33] The volume includes three "*Airs du Court*" in French plus additional ayres in Spanish and Italian, provides musical settings for three songs from *Astrophel and Stella*, and sets poems by the well-known Elizabethan courtiers Henry Lee and George Clifford, Earl of Cumberland. Most significantly, it alerts its audience that two of its poems are by Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex – who fashioned himself during the 1590s as the inheritor of Sidney's political and poetic agenda. References to Essex's volatile relationship with Elizabeth, including an ayre claiming "I loued her whom all the world admir'de. / I was refus'de of her that can loue none" are unavoidable.[34]

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[30] Campion, *Observations in the Art of English Poesie*, 293.

[31] "Canto Secundo" is in a rimed Asclepiadic meter that follows Sidney's "O sweet woods the delight of solitarines," while "Come, let us sound with melody" (a musical setting of Campion's 1591 "Canto primo") uses the "pure" Sapphic meter that Sidney had established in "If mine eyes can speake."

[32] Alexander, "The Musical Sidneys," 69ff.

In all of these examples, connections to the Sidney family and to musical humanist ideals serve practical and political, as well as stylistic, ends. For example, John Dowland's 1603 songbook alludes to Elizabeth's motto *Semper Eadem* in the line "All other things shall change, but shee remaines the same," includes a poem by Essex alluding to Elizabeth's association with the moon goddess, and combines both references in an ayre juxtaposing "some Goddesse or some Queen" with "the Moone / That euer in one change doth grow, / Yet still the same, and she is so."[35] Yet the significance of such references to Elizabeth, Essex and the Sidney family is not straightforward. These allusions, like those in *A Musicall Banquet*, can be partly explained as gestures toward the remnants of the Essex faction, which had developed inroads to the circle of Queen Anne: early in James I's reign, Robert Sidney became Queen Anne's Lord Chamberlain, Penelope Devereux (Essex's sister) also became associated with the Queen, and even Lucy Russell, Countess of Bedford (whose husband had ridden with Essex in the 1601 uprising) belonged to the Queen's Bed Chamber.[36] Songbook composers routinely dedicate their volumes to these and other influential patrons, some of whom had positions at court, in hopes for advancement.[37] But not one songbook is dedicated to a standing monarch: Elizabeth was dead by the time most of the songbook references to her were printed, and songbooks show little interest in flattering or even alluding to James. Of the thirty printed books of ayres, only five so much as mention royals in their dedications. Of these instances, four are addressed to Prince Henry, who was not yet in a position to dictate music at court (and never would be, given his sudden death in 1612), and one comes from a prisoner in royal disfavor, namely William Leighton, whose dedication to Prince Charles begs to be forgiven for treason and for defaulting on his debts.[38] Insofar as composers of books of ayres work to revive or develop Sidnean musical humanism, that is, they articulate little hope that they will be able to do so at the English court.

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[33] See Alexander's discussion of the volume, 81-86.
[34] Robert Dowland, *A Musicall Banquet*, 349.
[35] John Dowland, *The Third and Last Booke of Songs or Aires*, 170-72

The nostalgia for Sidney and for Continental musico-poetics that runs through the ayre movement can be contextualized in light of songbook composers' marginalization from court. The standard of professional achievement for a musician was a position at court, and of the twenty songbook composers, only Thomas Morley and Alfonso Ferrabosco held secure courtly positions at the time their books of ayres were printed. Even these counterexamples are telling, since both Morley and Ferrabosco were better known for composing madrigals and consort music than ayres; and it is no coincidence that the two most popular and influential composers of the movement, Dowland and Campion, had rather distant connections to the English court. Dowland, whose friend Henry Peacham described him as “despis’d, and vnregarded,” had his application to become one of the queen’s lutenists rejected in 1594, spent much of his career as a musician in foreign courts, and failed to secure a courtly appointment in England until age fifty.[39] Campion, for his part, was employed to write three courtly entertainments, but these commissions appear to have come through the influence of his chief patron Thomas Monson, who had risen rapidly under James. Campion’s situation is a good example of the ambiguous marginalization from the court that the patronage system could imply, since at the beginning of Campion’s career Monson’s energies were dedicated to provincial Lincolnshire politics, and by the end of it Monson had been imprisoned due to his implication in the infamous Thomas Overbury scandal.[40]

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[36] Alexander, 85-86; Barroll, "Queen Anna's English Court."

[37] In addition to dedications to Robert Sidney by Robert Jones in 1600 and by Robert Dowland in 1610, John Dowland dedicates his 1597 volume to Lucy Russell (before Essex's fall), Jones dedicates his 1610 volume to Mary Wroth, and William Corkine dedicates his 1612 volume to Penelope Devereux Rich's son, Robert Rich.

[38] Leighton, *The teares or lamentacions of a sorrowfull soule*. John Dowland addresses his 1604 *Lachrimae* to Queen Anne, and Tobias Hume includes a dedication to Queen Anne (among others) in his 1607 *Captaine Humes Poeticall Music*, but neither of these are books of ayres.

Left to search for alternative ways to achieve professional security and community, songbook composers cultivated connections to aristocrats such as Monson and Robert Sidney, and appealed to musical humanist ideals. Books of ayres often allude to the artistic milieu of the 1570s and 80s, and they consistently do so with a touch of nostalgia, idealizing a period of royal beneficence and musico-poetic community that

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[39] Peacham, *Minerua Britanna*, M1r.

[40] For a study of political fallout of the Overbury’s sensational murder in the Tower of London, see Bellany, *The Politics of Court Scandal in Early Modern England*.

(insofar as it existed at all) never existed for them. This tendency is particularly noticeable in Campion's songbooks, where sentiments such as "Blessed times were knowne of old" and "now those bright houres be fled, and never may returne" are common, as are evocations of retreats "From humane trace removed," including those associated with musical recreation: "To Musicke bent is my retyred minde."[41] Campion's nostalgia tends to be quite generalized; an allusion to Elizabeth in 1613, for example – "Once agen, *Astraea*, then, from heav'n to earth descend" – quickly becomes a broader interest in all "Dames of yore" who "contended more in goodnesse to exceede" than do those of "the newest fashion."[42] Similarly, the lost paragon of female eloquence in "Awake, thou spring of speaking grace" is never identified:

> Awake, thou spring of speaking grace, mute rest becomes not thee;
> The fayrest women, while they sleepe, and Pictures equall bee.
> O come and dwell in loves discourses,
> Old renuing, new creating.
> The words which thy rich tongue discourses
> Are not of the common rating.[43]

Here, at the same time that Campion calls up an amalgam of prominent female musical patrons including Queen Elizabeth and Mary Sidney, he longs for a female performer who "alone, without offending, / Hast obtain'd power of enchanting." By the second stanza, it becomes clear that hers is a specifically vocal and musical power: the slumbering woman's "voice is as an Eccho cleare which Musicke doth beget," and when it awakens in this domestic space it will be more eloquent than a static "Picture."

The musical and poetic idiom of books of ayres continues to borrow from courtly convention: expressions of withdrawal from court are themselves part of a traditional vocabulary for the exclusion and frustrated ambition of courtiers or would-be courtiers. But ayres find ways to heighten their sense of removal from the contemporary court by evoking pastoral, household or local environments. Ayres such as Dowland's 1597 "His golden locks time hath to siluer turnde," which follows its speaker "from court to cotage" and "homely Cell," and Robert Jones's "Happy he / who to sweet home retirde" are common.[44] And ayres including Campion's 1613 "Come away, arm'd with loves delights" establish a vivid sense of their immediate surroundings:

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[41] Campion, *Two Bookes of Ayres*, 69, 88, 94, 66.
[42] Campion, *The Third and Fourth Booke of Ayres*, 171.
[43] Campion, *The Third and Fourth Booke of Ayres*, 148

> Come away, arm'd with loves delights,
> Thy sprightfull graces bring with thee:
> When loves longing fights,
> They must the sticklers be.
> Come quickly, come, the promis'd houre is wel-nye spent,
> And pleasure, being too much deferr'd, looseth her best content.
>
> Is shee come? O, how neare is shee?
> How farre yet from this friendly place?
> How many steps from me?
> When shall I her imbrace?
> These armes Ile spred, which onely at her sight shall close,
> Attending as the starry flowre that the Suns noone-tide knowes.[45]

Through his insistently repeated questions about his spatial and temporal location, down to the number of steps that separate him from his would-be mistress, the speaker creates a visceral sense of his environment: in the final image he goes so far as to imagine himself in a vegetative state rooted in "this friendly place." He declares that he is waiting for the "sight" of his mistress, but the concern is less about deliberation or description than sensory perception, and the repetitions of deictic language ("*this* friendly place," "*These* armes") ground the ayre in the perspective of the performer. The effect is a special feeling of locality that is both thematic (a private and intimate place of remove) and performative (an attunement to the speaking and viewing position of the singer).

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[44] John Dowland, *The First Booke of Songs or Ayres*, 80-81; Jones, *Vltimum Vale*, 214-15.

[45] Campion, *Two Bookes of Ayres*, 108. There is an inconsistency in this ayre between the textual underlay and the poem as it is reproduced in stanzaic form below the Bassus part; the textual underlay reads "When love and longing fights."

This sense that an ayre is grounded in the perspective of the performer is common in the songbook movement; it is another means by which ayres voice their longing for community and purpose. John Dowland – the most influential composer of the movement, whose first songbook had been through five editions by 1613 – achieves a unique connection to performative events through the intensely melancholy ayres that are his trademark. In ayres of abject weeping such as those that open his 1600 songbook, particularly *Lacrime* ("Flow my teares fall from your springs, / Exilde for euer") and "Sorrow sorrow stay," Dowland exploits the melodramatic opportunities of musical performance, producing a space for singers to repeat, revel and indulge in melancholy:

> alas I am condempne'd, I am condempned euer,
> no hope, no help, ther doth remaine,
> but downe, down, down, down I fall,
> downe and arise I neuer shall.[46]

With their poignant and mournful settings, fixed in minor tonalities, Dowland's ayres of weeping dwell on and often repeat each painful syllable. Their musical notation frequently indicates more repetitions than are given in the verse alone: the line "but downe, down, down, down I fall," for example, would have been repeated four times in the course of a performance [FIGURE 1]. The result is a distinctive, innovative expression of musical humanism – one that traces its roots to Sidnean notions of poetic *praxis*, but that stands further removed from cosmopolitan elites than Sidnean poetics ever were. Alienated not only from the Jacobean court but even from a closed or intimate coterie of aristocratic musical patrons, books of ayres articulate an intimate, nostalgic

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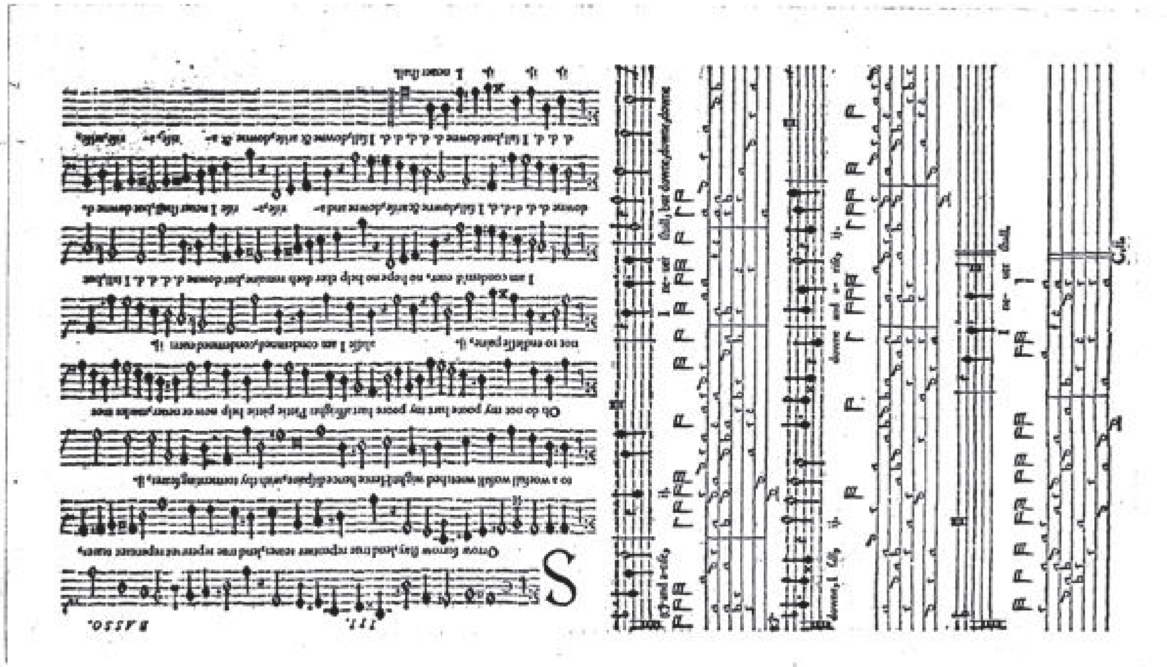
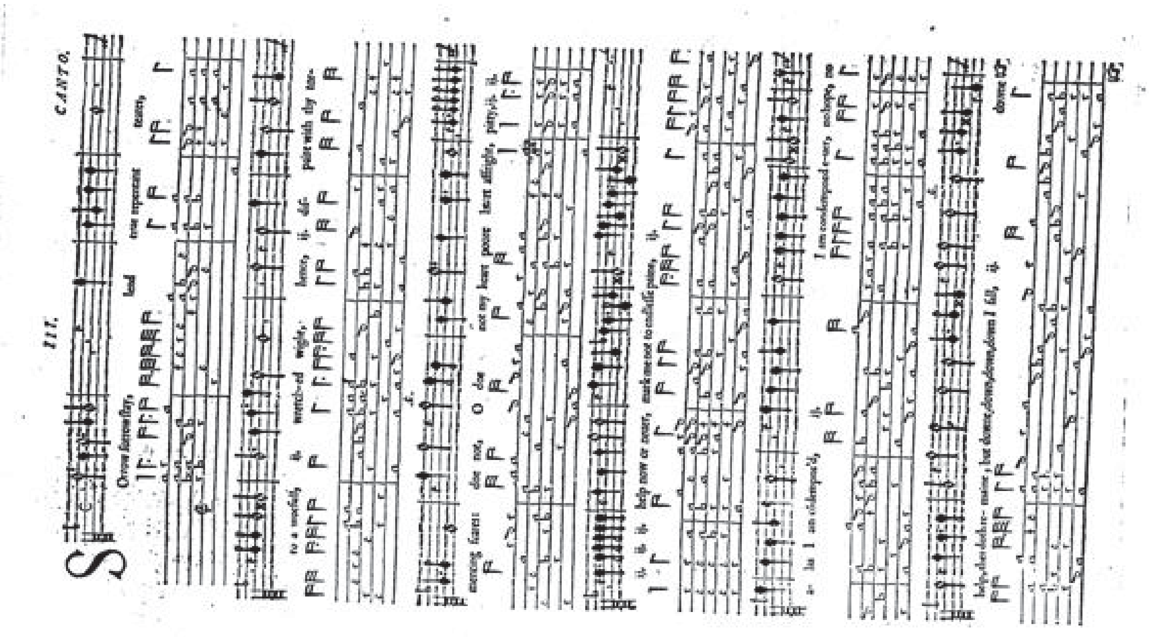
[46] John Dowland, *The Second Booke of Songes or Ayres*, 100-1.

FIGURE 1: John Dowland, “Sorrow sorrow stay,” in *The second booke of songs or ayres* (London, 1600), C1v-C2r. Huntington Library RB 59101.





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type of poesie whereby print enables the *distribution* of performance into local performance spaces.

* * *

This cultural context – the ayre movement's nostalgia for an earlier period of musico-poetic prosperity, which was motivated, to a significant extent, by its composers' marginalization from court – allows us to appreciate the innovative type of *remediation* that books of ayres introduced into early modern poetic culture. As we have seen, the manuscript coteries associated with Sidney's poetry and the performative milieu at Wilton were not enough to avoid the continual preoccupation with "idleness" that runs throughout Sidney's work. With songbook composers, anxiety surrounding an insubstantial, disesteemed or (worse) nonexistent vocational identity is even more extreme. Yet songbook composers were able to participate in a print culture that produced highly extended and distributed milieus of poetic performance – or, rather, they participated in a remediated culture that was always already acoustic *and* always already printed. Books of ayres created new performative trajectories *through* print, revealing the extent to which early modern "print culture" is more accurately described as a larger and fuller culture of remediation which included music and other types of performance.

Typically printed in "table book" format, in folio, with the main vocal part printed above tablature for lute accompaniment while other parts are printed upside down or sideways, lute songbooks invite an intimate gathering space around a single copy of a book [FIGURE 2]. The music is suitable for household performance by middle- and upper-class amateurs: it tends to be relatively straightforward and contained within a manageable vocal range. And the songbooks followed upon the publication of several influential pedagogical books for aspiring singers and lutenists, including Adrian Le Roy's *A Briefe and Plaine Instruction to Set All Musicke of Eight Diuers Tunes in Tableture for the Lute* (translated in 1568 and 1574), Thomas Morley's *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke* (1597) and William Barley's *A New Booke of Tabliture Containing Sundrie Easie and Familiar Instructions* (1596). Together with John Dowland, who published his influential *The First Booke of Songes or Ayres* in 1597, Barley helped set off the songbook boom with an instructional book that emphasized the appeal of the lute music for amateurs, noting in his preface to the reader: "I haue done it for their sakes which be learners in this Art and cannot haue such recourse to teachers as they would."[47] It is in significant part because of this domestic provenance that, as Daniel Fischlin has argued, ayres cultivate a "miniaturist aesthetic" of "staged interiority . . . introspection, solitude, and dialogical intimacy" that is suited to private or restricted performance settings.[48]

Songbooks reinforce their association with household spaces through their links to gendered spheres of patronage and performance. Composers including John Attey emphasize the origin of their music in the company of women, in household settings: "the best part [of these my vnworthy Essaies] were composed vnder your roofe, while I had

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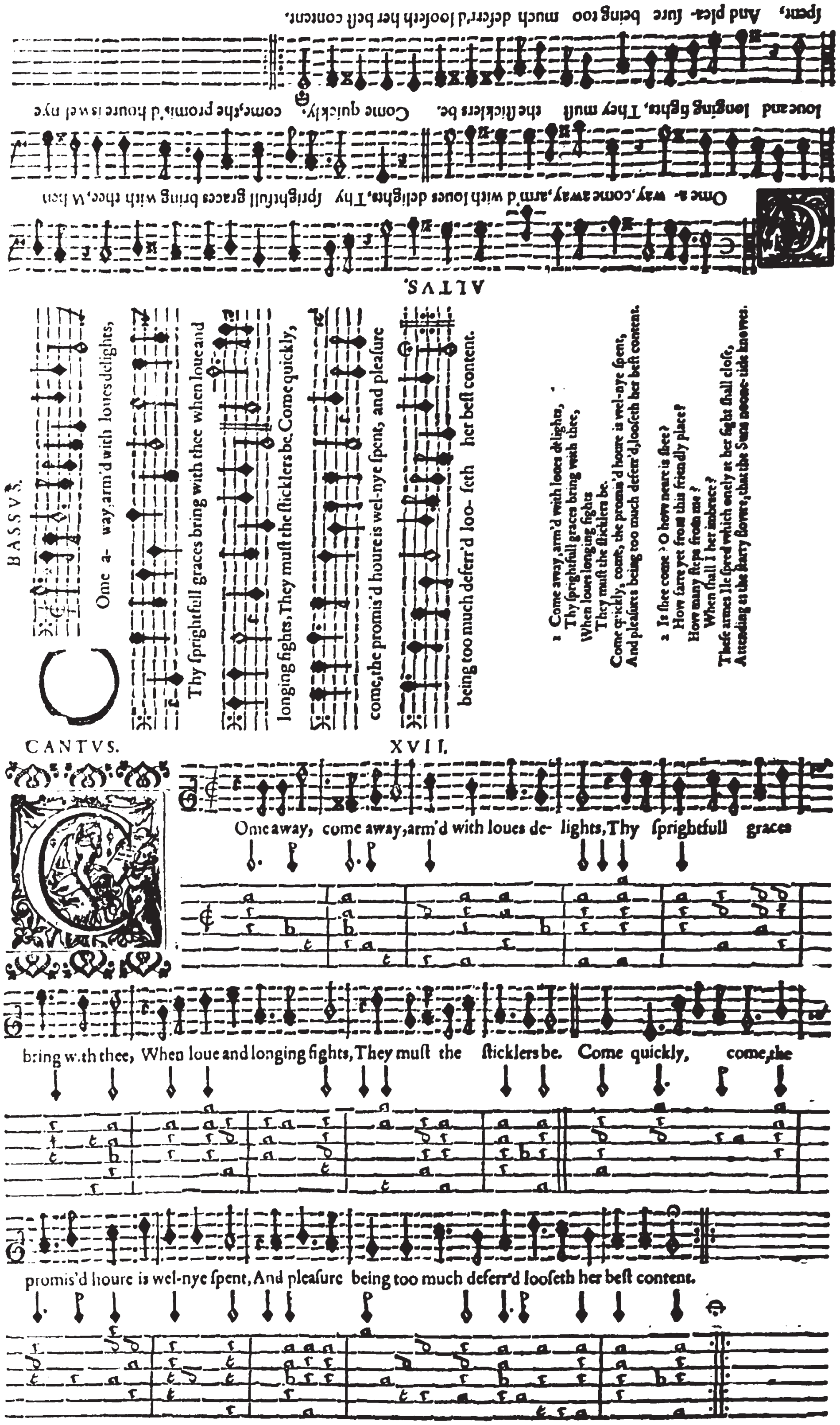
[47] Barley, *A New Booke of Tabliture*, 58. Barley also notes: "It is not to be doubted but that there are a number of good wits in England, which for their sufficient capacitie and promptnes of spirit, neither Fraunce nor Italie can surpasse, and in respect that they cannot all dwell in or neere the cittie of London where expert Tutors are to be had, by whome they may be trained in the true manner of handling the Lute and other Instruments, I haue here to my great cost and charges, caused sundrie lessons to be collected together" (57-58).

[48] Fischlin, *In Small Proportions*, 20-21, 249-82. On the growing acceptability of music and its popularity in domestic contexts, see also Price, *Patrons and Music of the English Renaissance*, 9-19, 67-71.

FIGURE 2: Thomas Campion, “Come away, arm’d with loues delights,” in *Two bookes of ayres* (London, 1613), M1v. Huntington Library RB 13573.


CANTVS.
XVII.
Omeaway, come away, arm'd with loues de- lights, Thy ſprightfull graces bring with thee, When loue and longing fights, They muſt the ſticklers be. Come quickly, come, the promis'd houre is wel-nye ſpent, And pleaſure being too much deferr'd looſeth her beſt content.
BASSVS.
Ome a- way, arm'd with loues delights, Thy ſprightfull graces bring with thee when loue and longing fights, They muſt the ſticklers be. Come quickly, come, the promis'd houre is wel-nye ſpent, and pleaſure being too much deferr'd loo- ſeth her beſt content.
ALTVS.
Ome a- way, come away, arm'd with loues delights, Thy ſprightfull graces bring with thee, When loue and longing fights, They muſt the ſticklers be. Come quickly, come, the promis'd houre is wel nye ſpent, And plea- ſure being too much deferr'd looſeth her beſt content.

1 Come away, arm'd with loues delights,
Thy ſprightfull graces bring with thee,
When loues longing fights
They muſt the ſticklers be.
Come quickly, come, the promis'd houre is wel-nye ſpent,
And pleaſure being too much deferr'd, looſeth her beſt content.

2 Is ſhee come? O how neare is ſhee?
How farre yet from this friendly place?
How many ſteps from me?
When ſhall I her imbrace?
Theſe armes Ile ſpred which onely at her ſight ſhall cloſe,
Attending as the ſtarry flower, that the Suns noone-tide knowes.

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the happinesse to attend the Seruice of those worthy and incomparable young LADIES your Daughters," while in his *Second Booke of Songs or Ayres* (1600) dedicated to the Countess of Bedford, John Dowland suggests that music "was so proper an excelencie to Woemen, that the Muses tooke their name from it."[49] Ayre music is also uniquely appropriate for upper vocal ranges: ayres could be transposed down an octave, but they are notated at a vocal range appropriate for women, girls, boys and men with countertenor voices.[50] In the preface to his 1613 volume Campion implies that a high "treble" range actually define the genre: "Treble tunes, which are with us commonly called Ayres, are but Tenors mounted eight Notes higher."[51] By the late-sixteenth century, women were increasingly likely to receive vocal and instrumental training in the household, and extant manuscript lute songbooks compiled by both middle and upper class women reveal that the instrument was popular among ladies across a range of social classes.[52] Songbooks increasingly came to include female persona ayres and dialogue ayres that include female parts, particularly in Campion's songbooks of 1613 and 1617.

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[49] Attey, *The First Booke of Ayres*, 414; John Dowland, *The Second Booke of Songs or Ayres*, 98. See also Michael Cavendish's commendation of his *14. Ayres* (1598) to Arabella Stuart, to whom he suggests, "you may (if it please you) make vse of them at your idlest houres" (85); John Daniel's dedicatory poem to his 1606 *Songs for the Lute Viol and Voice*, in which he describes performing the songs in "priuate harmonie" with his pupil Anne Grene and suggests, "That which was onely priuately compos'd / For your delight, Faire Ornament of Worth, / Is here, come, to be publikely disclos'd" (260); and John Maynard's dedication to Lady Joane Thynne, "*Madame*. What at first priuately was entended for you, is at last publickely commended to you," in *The XII. Wonders of the World* (1611), 380.

[50] The countertenor range was common among professional male vocalists, but it carried feminine associations.

[51] Campion, *Two Bookes of Ayres*, 55. On boys', women's and men's voices in ayres and continuo songs of the period, see Jones, *The Performance of English Song 1610-1670*, 16-47.

[52] Jones, 30; and see Duckles, "Florid Embellishment in English Song." The embellishments (musical graces and divisions added to the lute part) in songbooks tied to female performers are among the most elaborate in the period. This is evidence that women were often accomplished lutenists, and also a sign of the fact that women were more reliant on notation than men, since they were barred access to the public arenas where musical styles and practices were transmitted in person and where it would have been unnecessary to write out embellishments fully. On graces and divisions in books of ayres, see Toft, *Tune Thy Musicke to Thy Hart*, 85-108. On female musical training during the period, see Austern, "Sing Againe Syren."

These associations with female performers, who were widely forbidden to perform music in public – Philip Stubbes and other moralists equate female musicianship in public with nothing less than harlotry – helped to reinforce the domestic provenance of the lute song genre.[53]

The wider audiences that came to buy and perform these songbooks inspired mixed reactions from composers. In their prefatory materials, books of ayres frequently advertise their suitability for a variety of skill levels and situations. Title pages will claim that it is not necessary to sing all of the parts, as in John Dowland's 1597 songbook: "So made that all the partes together, or either of them seuerally may be song to the Lute, Orpherian or Viol de gambo."[54] And sometimes they will suggest outright that their consumers need not be talented musicians: Richard Alyson's *Psalmes of Dauid in meter* announces its availability "for the vse of such as are of mean skill, and whose leysure least serueth to practice."[55] Likewise, prefatory epistles commonly allude to the distribution of ayres to modest or unskillful consumers, as in Robert Dowland's *A Musicall Banquet*: "some I haue purposely sorted to the capacitie of young practitioners, the rest by degrees are of greater depth and skill, so that like a careful Confectionary, as neere as might be I haue fitted my Banquet for all tastes."[56] Dowland appears unthreatened here by the idea that his volume would circulate among unskillful musicians: perhaps the elite humanist associations of this particular book left him unconcerned to defend his credentials. Similarly, in *The First Booke of Ayres* (1600), Thomas Morley passes off the amateurish dimension of the songbooks nonchalantly. After suggesting in his dedication to the courtier Ralph Bosvile that "as [my ayres] were made this vacation time, you may use, likewise, at your vacant howers" (as though ayres are intended exclusively for the genry), Morley imagines a "courteous Reader" from whom he "exspects the fauourable censure of the exquisite iudiciall eares."[57] This pretence to the nobility of a print audience is a strategy that Morley had cultivated with great success in *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke*, and it is the tone of a composer secure in his professional standing, with little need to differentiate himself from his audience.

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[53] Stubbes, *The anatomie of abuses*, D5r-D5v: "And if you would haue your daughter whoorish, bawdie, and vncleane, and a filthie speaker, and such like, bring her vp in musick and dauncing, and my life for youres, you haue wun the goale."

[54] John Dowland, *The First Booke of Songs or Ayres*, 63.

[55] Alyson, *The Psalmes of Dauid in meter.* The full title goes on to emphasize the suitability of the volume for many performance arrangements: *the plaine song beeing the common tunne to be sung and plaide vpon the lute, orpharyon, citterne or base nioll, seuerally or altogether, the singing part to be either tenor or treble to the instrument, according to the nature of the voyce, or for foure voyces: with tenne short tunnes in the end, to which for the most part all the Psalmes may be vsually sung, for the vse of such as are of mean skill, and whose leysure least serueth to practise.*

[56] Robert Dowland, *A Musicall Banquet*, 342-43.

More often, however, composers express disdain for the aspiring musicians who perform their music, as well as wariness and even outright scorn at the newfangled style of "this industrious age, wherein all men endeauor to knowe all thinges."[58] In the preface to his final (1612) volume of ayres, for example, John Dowland begins by alluding to his own removal from the English court – "True it is, I haue lien long obscured from your sight, because I receiued a Kingly entertainment in a forraine climate" – and proceeds with an address that takes exception to the upstart performers of his ayres:

> as I haue beene a stranger; so haue I againe found strange entertainment since my returne; especially by the opposition of two sorts of people that shroude themselues vnder the title of Musitians. The first are some simple Cantors, or vocall singers, who though they seeme excellent in their blinde Diuision-making, are meerely ignorant, euen in the first elements of Musicke, and also in the true order or the mutation of the *Hexachord* in the *Systeme*, (which hath been approued by all the learned and skillful men of Christendome, this 800 yeeres,)

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[57] Morley, *The First Booke of Ayres*, 135-36.
[58] Jones, *First Booke of Songes or Ayres*, 115.

> yet doe these fellowes giue their verdict of me behinde my backe, and say, what I doe is after the old manner: but I will speake openly to them, and would haue them know that the proudest Cantor of them, dares not oppose himselfe face to face against me.[59]

Evincing not just scorn but shock at the presumptuousness of such "ignorant" performers, Dowland works to amplify a distinction between learned composers such as himself and "simple" singers who do not deserve the title of "Musitian." As Dowland's tone implies, however, such distinctions were in considerable danger of collapse and far from straightforward to maintain. "Diuision-making," for example – which refers to a common type of musical variation and elaboration – is a means by which a performer might significantly alter the style of a composition and depart from the intentions of the composer. Throughout this period, musical notation remained more of a loose guide than a strict dictation of style, and (as Dowland lets on here) it was common for singers to improvise upon and update a composition in light of their own priorities. It is significant, then, that Dowland issues a *face to face* challenge to the performer who might be tempted to revise and adapt his composition. Imagining the definitive point of decision and meaning to reside in what we would now call a "live" interaction, Dowland desires to "speake openly" in immediate physical proximity. This language belies the notion of a "learneder sort of Musitian" able to determine style from afar or in advance, and prioritizes the very moment of performative interaction that threatens his authority as a composer.

Campion, too, lays bare his anxiety over a lack of prestige and control when he attempts to assert his authority over the performers of his ayres, berating them as unrefined musicians susceptible to newfangled fashions. As we have seen, Campion's preface to his 1601 songbook suggests that only one song in the volume is in the traditional quantitative style of the Greek and Latin "inventers of Ayres," while "the rest are after the fascion of the time, eare-pleasing rimes without Arte," implying that Campion is an accomplished classicist obliged to pander to the debased standards of contemporary print culture.[60] Campion goes on to amplify this rhetorical position in his later volumes, noting in 1613 that "hee that in publishing any worke, hath a desire to content all palates, must cater for them accordingly" and implying in an epigraph from Martial that incompetent singers should read, not perform the airs: "*Omnia nec nostris bona sunt, sed nec mala libris; / Si placet hac cantes, hac quoque lege legas* [All the things in our book are not good, but neither are all of them bad; if you please, you may sing them, or, by agreement, read them]."[61] Campion is even blunter (and more humorous) in the preface to his final book of ayres in 1617, noting "To be brief, all these Songs are mine if you expresse them well, otherwise they are your owne."[62] What is telling about the phasing even here, however, is that Campion acknowledges the performer's ability to make an ayre his or her own in the space of recital.

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[59] Dowland, *A Pilgrimes Solace*, 399-400.

A related series of concerns arises when books of ayres confront their associations with the boy actors of the professional theater. These boys, who would usually have been trained as choristers when they were young, were well known for their high-pitched voices and ambiguous genders; and they were as widely ridiculed as they were popular: to take one of any number of examples, recall Cleopatra's anguish at the prospect of seeing "Some squeaking Cleopatra boy my greatness / I' th' posture of a whore."[63]

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[60] Campion and Rosseter, *A Booke of Ayres*, 15.
[61] Campion, *Two Bookes of Ayres*, 55, 56.
[62] Campion, *The Third and Fourth Booke of Ayres*, 168.
[63] Shakespeare, *Antony and Cleopatra*, 5.2.220-21.

Campion provides his own version of this scorn in the preface to his 1601 songbook, in which he uses the boy actor as a negative example of what happens when lute songs are embellished too literally and outlandishly, "like the old exploided action in Comedies":

> if they did pronounce *Memini*, they would point to the hinder part of their heads, if *Video*, put their finger in their eye. But such childish observing of words is altogether ridiculous, and we ought to maintaine as well in Notes, as in action, a manly cariage, gracing no word, but that which is eminent, and emphaticall.[64]

Such concern to distinguish ayre performance styles from the melodramatic and effeminate acting of the children's companies derives not least from the fact that a link already existed. Linda Phyllis Austern has shown that the ayre was a uniquely popular genre in children's plays between 1597 and 1613; scholars including Robert Spencer have brought out some of the common stylistic ground between the theater and the ayre; and Elizabeth Kenny has recently argued that "Lute song composers and book buyers may have been imitating courtly theatre as much as reacting against it."[65] Indeed, ayre composers including John Daniel, Robert Johnson and Phillip Rosseter had professional connections to theater companies – in 1609 Rosseter became a shareholder of the company of boy actors formerly known as the Children of the Queen's Revels – and we can expect them to have been significantly influenced by the popular boy singers of the stage. Singers and lutenists would, after all, have come from the same schools as the boys who played female roles in the theater with "warbling" voices like that of the servant boy in *Love's Labour's Lost*, whom Don Armado asks to sing "Sweet air[s]":

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[64] Campion and Rosseter, *A Booke of Ayres*, 15.

[65] See Austern, *Music in English Children's Drama of the Later Renaissance*, 233-35, 254-66: "As the solo song or ayre, devised for a single singer and one instrument alone, soared to popularity outside of the theater, it also did so in children's drama . . . in the theater where text as music united to affect the audience in a single hearing, the least polyphonic setting often proved most desirable" (234-35); Spencer, "Singing English Lute Songs"; Kenny, "The Uses of Lute Song," 285.

"Warble, child, make passionate my sense of hearing."[66]

I will revisit the relationship between composers, playwrights and boy singers in later chapters – but it is worth observing here that the opposition between author and actor which we take for granted in the theater is only the beginning of the contestation surrounding who and what is allowed to produce poesie. To be sure, playwrights including Jonson provide particularly explicit examples of the struggle between the poets, performers and other agents with a stake in theatrical settings, as in his comical treatment of child actors' insouciance in the Induction of *Cynthia's Revels*: "[3 CHILD.] To revenge myself on the author: since I speak not his prologue, I'll go tell all the argument of his play afore-hand, and so stale his invention to the auditory, before it come forth."[67] And yet scholars have yet to appreciate the extent to which different versions of this struggle are at stake in all of the genres in which Jonson worked, from masques and plays to lyric poetry and prose. As books of ayres reveal, a simple opposition between writer's pen and actor's voice does not account for the fuller process of remediation at work in early modern poesie, where any number of forces and agents intervene in diverse written and performative contexts, none of which are clearly prior or original.[68] In songbooks, print itself becomes a script for performance in highly distributed arrangements and locales – a script, furthermore, which is not only alphanumeric but *notational*, for performances that are not dictated by writing.

Like the Sidnean conceptions of poesie that influenced them, then, books of ayres display a persistent concern about the spheres of circulation and performance that produce and maintain literary communities. The ability of the composer to use musical notation as a score or script, indicating to a performer when to pause or breathe and how to allocate and distribute acoustic stress, shares suggestive similarities with Sidney's insistence that poesie provide a "ground-plot of a profitable invention" whereby poetic style helps to guarantee nobility and decorum. In this sense, musical notation can be seen as an imposition on audiences and performers on the part of a poet or composer, one that resonates with Sidney's interest in the musical setting of his own verse. Books of ayres are rather removed from the international Protestant Philippist agenda that motivated Sidney, and they show little interest in the explicitly political dimensions of Sidney's poetic theories. Yet, as we have seen, Sidney's own notion of political and ethical *praxis* becomes a justification or excuse for poesie as much as its narrow or exclusive goal. Books of ayres continue – and heighten – this trend, producing a type of literary *praxis* that is even less attached to a specific ethical agenda, so that performative occasions come increasingly to be valued as ends unto themselves. Divorced from an elite sense of community and unsure whether their music reaches the ears of esteemed or even sympathetic auditors and performers, composers de-prioritize the ethical dimensions of musical humanism and long for any kind of influence and prestige among their audiences.

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[66] Shakespeare, *Love's Labor's Lost*, 3.1.1-2, 4. In *Histrio-Mastix*, William Prynne complains of the "dishonest art of warbling the voyce" that boys undertake in the "lascivious, amorous, effeminate, voluptuous Musicke" of the theater (2N1r-2N2v).

[67] Jonson, *Cynthia's Revels*, 150.

[68] I am thinking here of Weimann's *Author's Pen and Actor's Voice*, discussed in chapter 3.

At the same time that books of ayres depart from the Philippist political dimensions of Sidnean *praxis* and cultivate a sense of identification with their performative surroundings, furthermore, they display a considerable amount of *discomfort* over the role of a poet and a composer in a remediated conception of poesie. Ayre composers tend to be more anxious than Sidney about the sheer breadth of voices and agents that participate in a poetic community. They express an acute self-consciousness about their roles in this process in a manner that is linked to the unsecure and unstable nature of their professional status and legitimacy, to the increasingly varied and widespread circulation of printed songbooks, and to the instability inherent in performance itself – a mode that inevitably gives over control to a whole series of mediators apart from an author. As books of ayres circulate in highly distributed settings, they inspire a recognition of the changeability of poetic form – the ways in which its spheres of production, circulation and performance are constantly subject to new boundaries, locales and events. Ayres force authors and composers to come to terms with the struggle between the many forces with a stake in song culture – technological, embodied, ideological, performative – and to recognize the difficulties involved in defining and shoring up a notion of poesie that accords with their priorities and desires. In short, these musico-poetic experiments, which are more explicitly and unavoidably performative than what had come before, reveal not only the volatility of song culture itself, but the volatility of the larger category in which it is embedded, namely early modern poeise.

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Aside from Psalters, fewer than a dozen songbooks were printed in England between 1622 and 1648. All of these except Edward Filmer’s 1629 translation *French court-aires, with their ditties Englished* were printed in part book format (splitting each song into multiple parts and leaving little emphasis on audibility in performance), and none of them are in the monodic style that had become the dominant musical fashion by the mid-1620s. Henry Lawes, the most prominent songwriter of the Caroline period, to whom nearly all of the major poets of the day turned for settings of their verse, did not publish his first songbook until 1652. Some of Lawes's music was included in the 1638 edition of George Sandys's psalm paraphrase and in *Choice Psalmes put into musick, for three voices* (1648), a part book with psalm settings that doubled as an elegy for Lawes's brother William, who was killed in the royalist army in 1645. But none of the Lawes brothers' music for the verse of Ben Jonson, James Shirley, Thomas Carew, Robert Herrick, William Davenant, Richard Lovelace and John Suckling was printed until the 1650s. The same is true of other fashionable composers of the day, including John Wilson and Nicholas Lanier: in fact, it took fifty years for Lanier's celebrated *Hero and Leander*, a monody strongly inflected by the Italian recitative style, to appear in print.[69]

This decline in printed music was due mainly to the withdrawal of courtly poetic and musical cultures under James and especially Charles into increasingly confined and isolated environments. It was only during and after the Civil Wars – and after Carew, Suckling and other royalist poets had died – that the collected works of the Cavalier poets began to be published. Composers remained largely out of print even at this point, when printed volumes of fashionable poets began customarily to refer to musical settings in the King's Musick. Carew's 1640 *Poems*, for example, concludes with the note "The Songs and Dialogues of this Booke were set with apt Tunes to them, By Mr. *Henry Lawes*, one of His Majesties Musitians."[70] The title page to Edmund Waller's 1645 *Poems* announces that "*All the Lyrick Poems in this Booke were set by Mr. Henry Lawes Gent. of the Kings Chappell, and one of his Majesties Private Musick*," and the *Poems* section of John Suckling's 1646 *Fragmenta Avrea* includes a nearly identical statement.[71] Richard Lovelace's 1649 *Lucasta* names the individual composer of the setting to no fewer than sixteen of its poems. And, intriguingly, Milton's 1645 volume is entitled *Poems of Mr. John Milton both English and Latin, compos'd at several times. Printed by his true copies. The songs were set in musick by Mr. Henry Lawes Gentleman of the Kings Chappel, and one of His Maiesties private musick.*[72]

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[69] As Emslie sugests in "Nicholas Lanier's Innovations in English Song," the piece was probably composed shortly after Lanier's return from Italy in 1628 and finally printed in John Playford's *Choice Ayres and Songs* (1683).

[70] Carew, *Poems*, S4v. In the 1651 edition the note is moved up to the title page: *The Songs set in Musick*

These are not idle claims; we know from manuscript sources such as Henry Lawes's autograph songbook (British Museum Loan MS 35) that poets and composers of the Caroline period worked closely and personally together.[73] Compiled in loosely chronological order, Lawes's songbook provides an illustration of the milieus in which he worked and the poets whom he met, from his association with the Egerton family sometime after 1615, when he began to work with poets including Henry Harington, to his positions at court in the later 1620s and 1630s, when he was employed in the Chapel Royal and later the King's Musick. In addition to the court itself, where Lawes probably sang and composed for all of the major masques of the 1630s, he seems to have traveled in the same circles as all of the major Cavalier poets; he came into contact with Robert Herrick, for example, "at Westminster in the little Aumrie" (or Almonry), a residence for

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by Mr Henry Lawes*, Gentleman of the Kings Chappel, and one of His late Majesties Private Musick.*

[71] Waller, *Poems &c. Written by Mr. Ed. Waller of Beckonsfield, Esquire, lately a Member of the Honourable House of Commons*; Suckling, *Poems, &c. Written by Sir John Suckling. Printed by his owne Copy. The Lyrick Poems were set in Musick by Mr. Henry Lawes, Gent. of the Kings Chappel, and one of His Majesties Private Musick. London*, title page of a new gathering, in *Fragmenta Avrea*, image number 5.

[72] Milton, *Poems of Mr. John Milton*.

[73] Lawes, *The Henry Lawes Autograph Song Manuscript*; and see Spink, *Henry Lawes*.

many musicians.[74] Lawes's collaboration with Milton, meanwhile, spanned the Civil Wars and persisted despite the widening gulf of politics and ideology between them. It is possible that the two met through Milton's father, who was a composer; in any case, Lawes was close enough to Milton by 1634 to convince him to compose *Arcades* in honor of the Dowager Countess of Derby as well as, later that year, *A Maske Presented at Ludlow Castle*. Milton describes Lawes as "my Friend" in the commendatory poem that was included in Lawes's 1648 *Choice Psalms*, and poems by Edward and John Phillips (Milton's nephews and wards) in Lawes's *Ayres and Dialogues* (1653) suggest that Lawes and Milton remained in contact during the 1650s – especially since Edward addresses Lawes as "Father in *Musick*," implying that he and his brother were Lawes's pupils.[75]

The surprising inclusion of Milton's commendatory poem in the emphatically royalist volume of 1648 (which, again, served as an elegy for William Lawes, who had died in the service of Charles I) was not the first time he and Lawes had been involved in the same printed venture. In 1637, eight years before Milton's 1645 *Poems* linked the two men on its title page, Lawes had personally written out Milton's *Maske* for the publisher, explaining in his dedicatory epistle to Viscount Brackley (the Earl of Bridgewater's eldest son, who played the Elder Brother in *A Maske*): "Although not openly acknowledged by the Author, yet it is a legitimate off-spring, so lovely, and so much desired, that the often copying of it hath tir'd my pen to give my severall friends satisfaction, and brought me to a necessitie of producing it to the publick view."[76] With this statement, mildly chiding Milton for his refusal to acknowledge the work, Lawes caps off his involvement at every stage of *A Maske*'s production. Lawes not only composed the music for this fully integrated masterwork of verse and song, in which the singing of the Lady, the Attendant Spirit and Sabrina fuel the dramatic action, offset the "riotous and unruly noise" of Comus and his "rout of monsters," and "invok[e] in warbled song" the Lady's freedom from Comus's spell.[77] He also sang and performed the role of the Spirit, probably accompanying himself on lute and perhaps accompanying the other singers as well, or at least overseeing the other musicians on hand.[78] Indeed, as the former tutor of the Egerton children, and by this time a well-established expert on the courtly masque, Lawes was likely to have overseen the entire performance design and execution. Milton's allusions to Lawes in the text – including the Spirit's decision to take on the guise of one "Likeliest, and nearest to the present aid / Of this occasion," "a swain, / That to the service of this house belongs"[79] – hint at the breadth of Lawes's "service" to the household. We might expect that Lawes trained his former pupils Alice, John and Thomas (who played the Lady and the two brothers) in their roles, and that he advised or consulted with Milton on the concerns and priorities of the family (perhaps even on the subject of infamous execution of the Countess of Bridgewater's brother-in-law for sexual crimes in 1631).[80]

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[74] Spink, *Henry Lawes*, 25.
[75] Lawes, *Ayres and dialogues, for one, two, and three voyces*, image number 6. And see Spink, *Henry Lawes*, 62.
[76] Milton, *A Maske Presented At Ludlow Castle*, A2r-A2v.

What Lawes calls at the outset of his dedication a "poem, which receiv'd its first occasion of birth from your selfe [Viscount Bracly]," therefore, amounts to a remediated

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[77] Milton, *A Maske*, in *John Milton: Complete Shorter Poems*, 185, 224. On the notion of *A Maske* as a *dramma per musica*, see Finney, *Musical Backgrounds to English Literature*, 175-94; and Martz, *Poet of Exile*, 20-30.

[78] See Spink, *Henry Lawes*, 60.

[79] Milton, *A Maske*, in *John Milton: Complete Shorter Poems*, 184-85.

[80] The role of this scandal in *A Maske*'s theme of sexual purity was first explored in Breasted, "*Comus* and the Castlehaven Scandal."

process – a collaboration among a variety of “authors” including Milton, Lawes and even the Egerton family, who hosted, funded and performed the venture. For Lawes, Milton is the primary “Author” of *A Maske*, and he retains that role whether or not he chooses to acknowledge it in public. But Lawes’s manifold contributions to the work – none of which involved composing verse – appear to have afforded him an important type of propriety as well, justifying or enabling his circulation of the work in manuscript among peers and then to the printer. Lawes’s dedicatory epistle evinces no aversion or embarrassment on account of the printed medium itself; he simply states that the work’s popularity in manuscript “brought me to a necessitie of producing it to the publick view.” It is in Lawes’s interest to downplay the significance of print, since he must balance his obligations to his patrons, his friendship with Milton, and his reputation as a member of the King’s Musick – but it is nevertheless telling that he describes the reproduction of the manuscript as Milton’s “legitimate off-spring.” Print seems, in this sense, to be an extension of other components of the literary and performative process: it may reproduce or record a performance (including *A Maske*’s “first occasion of birth” which Lawes attributes to Viscount Brackley), but it is not antithetical to a performative occasion so much as *complementary* to it.

It is important to emphasize that Lawes understands print as a “legitimate” recourse for Milton’s “poem” and yet not for his own music – at least, that is, until the 1650s. It is no coincidence that musical publications of poets and composers previously associated with the court began to appear only after the upheaval of the Civil Wars, when the King’s Musick no longer existed. Just as it took the fall of a regime and the death of poets including Carew and Suckling in order for Cavalier poetry to find its way into print, the music associated with the Caroline court appeared in print only after the professional security of its musicians had vanished. Thus John Playford began the initiative to put Lawes and other composers into print only after Charles's execution – at which point Playford began printing music in droves, publishing at least seventeen music books during the Interregnum (including eight volumes between 1651 and 1652 alone). Perhaps having taken an entrepreneurial hint from Thomas Morley and William Barley, whose pedagogical books had helped precipitate the lute songbook boom earlier in the century, Playford published his songbooks alongside instructional volumes including *The English dancing master: or, Plaine and easie rules for the dancing of country dances, with the tune to each dance* (1651), *A booke of new lessons for the cithern & gittern* (1652) and *A breefe introduction to the skill of musick for song & violl* (1654). Playford's business savvy is also on display when he plays up the courtly associations of the composers he published, titling a 1655 volume *Court-ayres*, for example, and including on the title page of Lawes's 1653 *Ayres and Dialogues* a large woodcut of the composer underlaid with cursive script reading "HENRY LAWES Servant to his late Ma[jestie] in his publick and private Musick."[81] This advertising tactic not only capitalizes on nostalgia for the monarchy; it exploits the contemporary social upheaval in order to profit from an elite and previously exclusive style.

Between the boom of lute songbooks at the turn of the century and the sudden reappearance of musical publications in 1650s, then, it is possible to generalize about the cultural and media environments that precipitated the emergence of printed songbooks. As we have seen, Sidney's idealization of musical and poetic community at Wilton, and the insular ethos of the courtly music under James and Charles at Westminster, both emerged from elite sites of personal connection and musical patronage. Yet the printed songbooks which were informed by similar philosophies and genealogies can be linked, on the contrary, to performative *vacuums*. A sense of alienation from the relatively circumscribed environments that afforded composers livelihood and professional legitimacy helped make possible the two bursts of songbook publication in the early-seventeenth century. To be sure, other important factors were involved, including the technological innovations of music printing in the late-sixteenth century, the entrepreneurial savvy of publishers including Playford, and the larger disposable income of middle-class families that wished to cultivate musical talent in the household. As always, media emerge through an interaction between technological structures, habits of communication, ideas about format or style, and other determining factors. Musicians in noble households and aristocratic amateurs themselves, furthermore, continued to circulate manuscript songbooks throughout the period, producing spheres and networks of performance that are more difficult to trace and date.[82] Yet it remains clear that the widespread, variegated and *remediated* milieus made possible by printed songbooks were precipitated in significant degree by the unavailability or disappearance of gathering places and sources of patronage for talented groups of composers. In particular, there was a striking interdependence – a kind of call-and-response – between centralized, physically proximate community of courtly musicians and distributed, domestic sites of musical performance fashioned through print. Responding to the absence of an elite performative community, composers and publishers used print to recycle, redistribute and remediate the protocols and modes of courtly music into new contexts.

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[81] Lawes, *Ayres and Dialogues*.

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[82] See Price, *Patrons and Music of the English Renaissance*.

The history of the songbook thus offers a suggestive example of how the goals and philosophies of Sidnean musical poetics were adapted and reshaped in later decades. What is more, songbooks lead us to a new perspective on what is perhaps the most innovative response to the remediation of performance through print in the later Renaissance, namely Milton's *Areopagitica* – a text that works to reconcile the ethical properties of poesie with its widespread distribution and circulation in print. Although *Areopagitia* is normally approached from the standpoint of its polemical and ideological content (its attempt to persuade Parliament to limit the Stationers' Company's monopoly over licensing, its role in the history of toleration and liberalism), the text is also a powerful statement on the contemporary literary field and its media.[83] Milton addresses related problems elsewhere, distinguishing himself from "vulgar Amorist[s]" and "riming parasite[s]" in *The Reason of Church Government*, and decrying "The swarming of lascivious, idle, and unprofitable Books and Pamphlets, Play-bookes, and Ballads" in the London Petition of 1640 – in both cases echoing Sidney's *Defence*, which laments the sorry state of poets in "idle England, which now can scarce endure the pain of a pen" (*DP* 241).[84] Yet it is only in *Areopagitica* that Milton articulates a nuanced and expansive argument worthy of his predecessor, outlining a fecund media ecology and a capacious re-imagination of poesie. Indeed, what is advertised on its title page as "A Speech of Mr. John Milton . . . To the Parlament of England" (485) may well be thinking back to

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[83] The political philosophies at work in *Areopagitica* remain a matter of controversy; see Norbrook, "*Areopagitica*, Censorship, and the Early Modern Public Sphere"; Fish, "Driving from the Letter: Truth and Indeterminacy in *Areopagitica*"; and Fulton, "*Areopagitica* and the Roots of Liberal Epistemology." On the ways in which *Areopagitica* relates to the manuscript and print cultures of the period, see Coiro, "Milton and Class Identity."

[84] Milton, *The Reason of Church Government*, 820; Milton, *The First and Large Petition of the City of London*, 979.

Sidney's great oration. Both are replete with diverse forms of mediation, including music, and both are quite radical in their implications for the nature of the literary field. More than a polemic, more even than an account of print culture, *Areopagitica* is a work of literary theory – an expression of the volatile and dynamic assemblage of media that constitutes poesie.

Because its argument concerns all types of books, *Areopagitica* takes a wider purview than the *Defence*, showing little interest in distinguishing poesie from history and philosophy (as does Sidney) and announcing that it will address "what is to be thought in generall of reading, what ever sort the Books be" (491). Milton calls up books of history, theology, law, medicine, metaphysics, ethics and more; all of these, for him, carry the potential for *praxis* that Sidney had located specifically in poesie: "I know [books] are as lively, and as vigorously productive, as those fabulous Dragons teeth; and being sown up and down, may chance to spring up armed men" (492). Defining books as spiritual creations inspired by a muse, which "contain a potencie of life in them to be as active as that soule was whose progeny they are" (492), Milton approaches all genres from the standpoint of his poetic imagination. The entire field of cultural production appears to work toward the same ends we would expect of a Miltonic poet, namely the "religious and civill Wisdome" that an erudite author provides to a just society, facilitating "the triall of vertue, and the exercise of truth" (492, 528). It seems possible for this "exercise" to occur in any medium, and books cannot be distinguished from a litany of musical, dramatic and poetic endeavors, ranging from the comedic theater of Aristophanes to "the gammuth of every *municipal* fidler" (525).

Indeed, *Areopagitica* spends surprisingly little time discussing the codex format itself, choosing instead to place the book within an extremely broad continuum of media, events and bodies. The predominant metaphor throughout the treatise is of the book as an organic being – “a good Booke is the pretious life-blood of a master spirit, imbalm’d and treasur’d up on purpose to a life beyond life” (493) – that lives, and dies:

> We should be wary therefore what persecution we raise against the living labours of publick men, how we spill that season’d life of man preserv’d and stor’d up in Books; since we see a kinde of homicide may be thus committed, sometimes a martyrdome, and if it extend to the whole impression, a kinde of massacre, whereof the execution ends not in the slaying of an elementall life, but strikes at that ethereall and fift essence, the breath of reason it selfe, slaies an immortality rather then a life.
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> (493)

Developing this conceit throughout the treatise, Milton depicts books as products of natural gestation (before the Catholic Church introduced licensing, “Books were ever as freely admitted into the World as any other birth; the issue of the brain was no more stifl’d then the issue of the womb” (505)); as worldly nourishment (“books are as meats and viands are . . . usefull drugs and materialls wherewith to temper and compose effective and strong med’cins” (512, 521)); as vegetative foundation (“the firm root, out of which we all grow, though into branches” (556)); even as the noisemakers of an avian parliament (“the whole noise of timorous and flocking birds, with those also that love the twilight, flutter about . . . and in their envious gabble would prognosticat a year of sects and schisms” (558)). Books are “working mineralls” (521) that guide and refresh bodily health and political action:

> to spare, and bestow upon the solidest and sublimest points of controversie, and new invention, it betok’ns us not degenerated, nor drooping to fatall decay, but casting off the old and wrincl’d skin of corruption to outlive these pangs and wax young again, entring the glorious waies of Truth and prosperous vertue destin’d to become great and honourable in these latter ages.
>
> (557)

Through their continual relevance to the contemporary world, books take on performative lives, helping readers become ethical and productive in a fallen world where Truth is fleeting and elusive.

It is in the context of this expansive conception of the literary field that Milton claims "whatever thing we hear or see, sitting, walking, travelling, or conversing may be fitly call'd our book" (528). In *Areopagitica*, all perception occurs within a contiguous system, a world of sensations and ideas that includes "all recreations and pastimes, all that is delightfull to man" (523). At a rhetorical high point in the treatise, Milton enumerates the diversity of media which are impossible to regulate, and which make the licensing of printed books a useless exercise:

> No musick must be heard, no song be set or sung, but what is grave and *Dorick*. There must be licensing dancers, that no gesture, motion, or deportment be taught our youth but what by [the Law-givers'] allowance shall be thought honest . . . It will ask more then the work of twenty licensers to examin all the lutes, the violins, the ghittarrs in every house; they must not be suffer'd to prattle as they doe, but must be licenc'd what they may say. And who shall silence all the airs and madrigalls, that whisper softnes in chambers?
> (523-24)

The aural qualities of this list are striking; Milton goes on to describe the emergence of gossip in the streets, the noise of "the bagpipe and the rebbeck," the fiddler and the balladmonger, the "daily rioting" of drunkards, and the "mixt conversation of our youth" (525-26). He provides only one non-acoustic example – "Our garments also should be referr'd to the licensing of some more sober work-masters to see them cut into a lesse wanton garb" (526) – and even this phrase echoes with the sounds of bawdry. The imagery is of an insuppressibly acoustic universe – one which is not only of a kind with the printed book, but, as Milton's pun on the illustrated title page implies, which is actually *produced* by the print shop: "The Windows also, and the *Balcone's* must be thought on, there are shrewd books, with dangerous Frontispices set to sale; who shall prohibit them, shall twenty licensers?" (524).

This imagery asks to be taken seriously. To be sure, Milton has a rhetorical motivation to collapse the codex format together with other media that inevitably go un-censored and unchecked, since this helps to suggest that it is "vain and fruitless" to license printed books (523). But just as Milton himself is much more than a polemicist, *Areopagitica* cannot be reduced to its argumentative content. At stake in *Areopagitica* is an imaginative system – what Chrisopher Kendrick describes as a "self-regarding Imaginary," or a network of figurative and psychological logic that validates and perpetuates itself – which exceeds its literal argument (an argument which, in any case, Parliament ignored, choosing to uphold the Stationers' control over the book trade).[85] It is this style of thought undergirding Milton's polemic that allows David Loewenstein to argue that the text conceives of history as a complex, dynamic process, and that informs Ann Baynes Coiro's contextualization of *Areopagitica* and Milton's 1645 *Poems* within the Interregnum culture of publicizing and printing the private manuscript cabinets of Caroline poets.[86] Ironically, given Milton's politics, *Areopagitica* resonates with the professional ambitions and frustrations of Cavalier poets whose work was beginning to appear in print only now that they had lost the immediate professional and social milieu of the court.[87]

Milton's vision of an unrestrainable world of communication emerging from every corner of a bustling world, and culminating in a newly free and vibrant print culture, resonates with – and, indeed, emblematizes – the wider cultural trend of the printed book as a remediation of more localized spheres of communication. Across the seventeenth century, the book trade de-centered intimate performative communities associated with the court and the noble household, and propagated them into new contexts through genres including the printed songbook. It is in this sense that print remediates elite manuscript and musical cultures: reproducing them in new spaces, bowdlerizing them for middle class audiences, and commoditizing them with tantalizing allusions to their elite origins (as in the title page of Milton's 1645 *Poems*, "*The songs were set in musick by Mr. Henry Lawes Gentleman of the Kings Chappel*.")[88] *Areopagitica* helps to reveal that print is less a reaction to or an appropriation of performance than a means by which performative cultures are extended, reworked and remediated in increasingly complex ways.

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[85] Kendrick, "Ethics and the Orator in *Areopagitica*," 669.

[86] Loewenstein, "*Areopagitica* and the Dynamics of History"; Coiro, "Milton and Class Identity."

[87] See Coiro's discussion of Humphrey Moseley, who first printed the poems of Edmund Waller, John Suckling, Richard Crashaw and other Cavalier poets as well as Milton's 1645 *Poems*, in "Milton and Class Identity," 276-86.

And yet, as Milton appears to recognize, remediation does not imply an indiscriminate mixture of media on an idealized plane. On a superficial reading, *Areopagitica* might seem to have absorbed a sense of the primacy of oral and acoustic cultures, as (for example) when Milton claims that heretics are adept at "refusing books as a hindrance, and preserving their doctrine unmixt for many ages, only by unwritt'n traditions" (529). Or, Milton might seem to produce a naïve depiction of the literary field as a natural and indigenous "streaming fountain; if her waters flow not in a perpetuall progression, they sick'n into a muddy pool of conformity and tradition" (543), which avoids the crass commodifiction of art: "Truth and understanding are not such wares as to be monopoliz'd and traded in by tickets and statutes, and standards. We must not think to make a staple commodity of all the knowledge in the Land, to mark and licence it like our broad cloath, and our wooll packs" (535-36). The irony of such moments is that Milton's idea of a free, open, aural milieu of communication is *enabled* by Interregnum print culture, in which even the King's Musick came to be commodified by publishing entrepreneurs including Humphrey Moseley and John Playford. This is why Milton singles out Dion Prusaeus, "who from his private house wrote that discourse to Parliament of *Athens*," one of the honorable men who "profest the study of wisdome and eloquence, not only in their own Country, but in other Lands, that Cities and Sinories heard them gladly" (489). This "stranger" and "privat Orator" is effective not because he believes all media to operate equally and effectively, but because he recognizes that noble speech is possible only through the appropriation of the most incisive means of transmission, from a distance, to as broad an audience as possible. Milton is attuned to the differences that print makes, which is why he believes licensing to be so corrosive to the public good.

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[88] Milton, *Poems of Mr. John Milton*. The savvy Humphrey Moseley, who published this volume, would have been responsible for advertising them in this light.

Areopagitica's emphasis on the irrepressibility of an acoustic culture full of lutenists, violinists, guitarists, bagpipers, dancers and fiddlers, therefore, is made possible not only by ideas about ethics and music that Sidney helped to develop and refine decades earlier, but by the ways in which these ideas were adapted and reworked in printed formats including that of the songbook. Milton's rhetorical question, "And who shall silence all the airs and madrigalls, that whisper softnes in chambers?" (524), in which the hushed music of private and domestic spaces implies a ubiquitous and unregulable phenomenon, resonates suggestively with the distribution of songbooks in a courtly idiom to aspiring bourgeois across England. Musical and manuscript cultures had long been sites of relative independence from governmental oversight and stricture, which is why some of the most scurrilous and satirical material of the period survives only in manuscript compilations. Yet the vogue for *printed* songbooks – which were precipitated by collective efforts to fashion performative communities independent from the court, and which invited and facilitated performance in the household – helped set the conditions for Milton's belief that the elite sounds of the courtly ayre are insuppressible in domestic chambers everywhere.

Milton's image of madrigals whispering softness is, furthermore, a good example of the ways in which remediation sometimes involves not only an extension or rehabilitation of other media, but an appropriation and absorbing of one medium into another.[89] The language of music offers a means for Milton to move from a grandiloquent, public address to whispers within chambers – it is a register through which the poetic voice is inflected. That is to say, Milton may be asking his question about ayres and madrigals sincerely, wondering how music might be appropriated into his own books and, if not silenced, at least made his own. After all, while the *Defence of Poesie* retains the structure of a classical oration throughout, *Areopagitica* begins with an *exordium* and *propositio* to Parliament but then shifts away from it, toward a more personal and intimate mode of address – the mouthpiece of a "privat Orator" like Dion Prusaeus. *Areopagitica* opens up a capacious ecology of voices, books, musical instruments and other media through which poesie circulates, yet it is also, at the same time, fascinated by how this ecology is narrowed down, consolidated, or sublimated into literary form.

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[89] This type of remediation occurred, for example, when Blackletter script became the model for early type, or when the Web was designed in terms of "pages" that "scroll."

The remediation at work in seventeenth-century songbooks thus offers a telling example of the ways in which the book trade responds to, invites, reforms and re-appropriates other types of mediation. Evidence of the extensive overlap between print and manuscript cultures – in which print (as Peter Stallybrass puts it) often served as an "incitement" to write by hand – has allowed scholars to reevaluate the notion of an autonomous printing "revolution."[90] Songbooks, by the same measure, help to unsettle our expectation that written media – in print or in manuscript – constitute an autonomous field of production. Nearly two hundred years after the introduction of moveable type into Europe, literary form continued to be an adaptive cultural process that included, but was not reducible to, writing. Indeed, as we will see in the following chapters, early modern poesie tends to eschew a fixed association with *any* predetermined media format. Many of the same songs that appeared in printed and manuscript songbooks and that were recited in the household or at court were performed contemporaneously in the theater. The book was far from the only means by which poesie was mediated, and dramatists including Shakespeare were invested less in the production and circulation of books than in bodies, instruments and voices ranging from the great comic performers Will Kemp and Robert Armin to the virtuosic boy actor who first warbled out the songs of Ophelia.

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[90] Stallybrass, "Printing and the Manuscript Revolution"; Love, *The Culture and Commerce of Texts*; and Chartier, "The Printing Revolution: A Reappraisal."

Chapter 3

Ophelia’s Orphic Song

As Shakespeare scholars have explored the materiality of dramatic production and used this framework to ask how early modern drama theorized and defined itself, they have returned to *Hamlet*. In its acutely self-conscious way, marked by twenty-nine instances of the word “matter” (more than in any other play by Shakespeare), *Hamlet* seems to insist that every conceivable type of signification – oral slander, professional acting, humanist rhetoric, printed books, manuscript epistles, reported speech, death warrants, directives from the dead, lyrical utterances, popular balladry – finds its way concretely onto the stage. All of these acoustic and written endeavors compete for dominance in the play’s complex meta-dramatic struggle, which (as scholars as diverse as Jonathan Goldberg, Peter Stallybrass, and Robert Weimann have shown) includes a fascination with scriptive “matter.”[1]

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[1] Goldberg, “Hamlet’s Hand”; and Stallybrass, et al., “Hamlet’s Tables and the Technologies of Writing in Renaissance England.” In *Author’s Pen and Actor’s Voice*, Weimann contextualizes *Hamlet*’s obsession with poetic remembrance in terms of a wider cultural shift toward “a new epistemology empowering writing as the dominant aspect of knowledge, inspiration, and meaning” (58).

But is it enough to say that *Hamlet*'s theorization of drama depends finally upon material artifacts? What happens in *Hamlet* to verses and utterances that vanish into thin air, that refuse to be set down in writing, or that constantly shift and adapt? What have we missed, in particular, about Ophelia, a character whose mad, unscripted, thoroughly performative song-speech is divorced from conscious control yet continues to produce powerful forms of influence and meaning? We know that the play continually dramatizes and questions its own fundamental properties. As Weimann suggests, "In *Hamlet*, more than anywhere else in Shakespeare, the question of mimesis is central. The play contains the most sustained theoretical statement on the subject that we have in Shakespeare's whole *oeuvre*."[2] These concerns famously emerge when Hamlet describes "the purpose of playing whose end . . . was and is to hold as 'twere the mirror up to Nature to show virtue her feature, Scorn her own image, and the very age and body of the time his form and pressure" (3.2.20–24). He expresses the period's dominant account of drama as the secondary imitation of a permanent reality, but also opens it to question, since neither Hamlet (with his "antic" jesting) nor the players (with their collaborative, extemporaneous performance style) quite follow these rules.[3] We know, furthermore, that intense doubts about the power of drama to "catch" anything, including the conscience of a king, emerge in a play obsessed with the problem of acting in a consistent or meaningful way. Yet we continue to assume that *Hamlet* understands drama as an endeavor that inevitably materializes into an enduring artifact or group of artifacts, whether script, performance, printed book, or series of versions and editions.

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[2] Weimann, "Mimesis in *Hamlet*," 279.

[3] Unless otherwise noted, quotations of *Hamlet* are taken from the edition of Ann Thompson and Neil Taylor, which is based on the second quarto (1604/5). Quotations of other Shakespeare plays are taken from *The Riverside Shakespeare*.

Historians of the book have helped to nuance our understanding of the ways in which early modern drama endures and fails to endure.[4] We have learned that written media themselves are frequently volatile and unstable: Hamlet's erasable "tables" or commonplace book, for example, provides a means not only to remember but also to *forget*; the tablets are "technologies of erasure" that can render writing more fleeting than memory, the "book and volume of my brain" (1.5.103) that Hamlet tries (and fails) to wipe clean.[5] These and other insights of book history have challenged new historicist readings of scriptive power in *Hamlet*, including Margaret Ferguson's, which emphasizes the process of "incorpsing" that results from "*materializing* the word."[6] Book history has allowed us to see *Hamlet* less as a register of the permanence of print and script than as a troubling reflection on the impermanence of all signification in a culture where drama was printed, if it was printed at all, in relatively ephemeral punch-hole pamphlets that made up a small fraction of the overall print market.[7]

In the process of bringing out the great variability of the book's cultural meanings, however, scholars have often essentialized writing as inevitably more stable and enduring than performative media. David Scott Kastan's suggestion that print "*conserves* in a way performance can not," for example, does not fully explain how a well-established theatrical culture would be considered less durable than the notoriously short-lived playbook.[8] Such assumptions derive from the old idea that ephemeral orality can be divided from the enduring "technology" of writing, and they have not gone unnoticed.[9] W. B. Worthen has critiqued Shakespeare scholars' continued preoccupation with print posterity, for example, and Gina Bloom has emphasized "the materiality of spoken articulations" during the period, questioning "the tendency of many scholars to limit 'matter' to visible and tangible realms."[10] Further refinement of our vocabulary for dealing with the fleeting and often insubstantial nature of early modern media is necessary, since the designation "material" often obscures instead of illuminates. As David Ayers observes, "The concept of the material has come to occupy an important but largely inexplicit and unanalyzed position in literary and cultural studies."[11] Ironically, materiality has become "the ultimate abstraction, since it denotes every real or conceivable iota of the actual."[12]

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[4] See, for example, Marcus, "Bad Taste and Bad *Hamlet*," which helped establish the importance of close attention to differences between *Hamlet*'s first three (extant) printed editions.

[5] Stallybrass et al., 415.

[6] Ferguson, "*Hamlet*: Letters and Spirits," 299, 292. See also Goldberg, 323: "Suborning his father's seal, making himself the image of Claudius, Hamlet achieves, momentarily, the form of power within the scriptive world which replaces (which has already replaced) the oral in the course of the play. Claudius, recall, murders the old king by pouring poison in his ear. Hamlet dies by the hand – the poisoned tip of a sword."

[7] Lukas Erne notes that during Shakespeare's career, playbooks accounted for 3.3 percent of printed books and approximately one-seventh of all literary titles; see *Shakespeare as Literary Dramatist*, 16. On the printing of Shakespeare's plays, see Kastan, *Shakespeare and the Book*.

Ophelia, whose mad utterances Laertes describes with the suggestive phrase "This nothing's more than matter" (4.5.168), challenges the assumption that drama, poetry, and song exist "in" matter, that they can be defined exclusively in terms of their concrete and stable manifestations. Laertes's phrase refers primarily to the idea that Ophelia's verses have no fixed content and produce an excess of meaning, yet it hints at the superfluity of her bodily presence. Hamlet associates Ophelia with corporeal "country matters"

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[8] Kastan, 7.

[9] This division has been expressed and maintained most influentially by Walter Ong; see *Orality and Literacy*.

[10] Worthen, "Prefixing the Author"; and Bloom, *Voice in Motion*, 2, 5. On the interactive relationship between print, script, and speech during the period, see Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture in England*. On the porous relationship between writing and performance in Shakespeare's theater, see Weimann and Bruster, *Shakespeare and the Power of Performance*; and Worthen, "Intoxicating Rhythms."

[11] Ayers, "Materialism and the Book," 763. See also the other essays in this special issue of *Poetics Today*, including Knapp and Pence, "Between Thing and Theory," which argues that the category of the "aesthetic" helps to nuance strictly materialist criticism, since it "properly describes that transformative space in between the poles of prescriptive abstraction and materialist description" (644).

[12] Ayers, 777.

(3.2.110), and her mad appearance with her "*hair down, singing*" (as Q1 has it) is among the most embodied spectacles of the early modern stage.[13] Yet she is portrayed as a character who speaks, thinks, and is "nothing," in the sense that her speech is unintelligible ("Her speech is nothing" [4.5.7]) and in Hamlet's bawdy pun on the "nothing" of her genitalia (3.2.111–14). A similar paradox is built into the term "matter" itself, which (then as now) carried the double meaning of concrete substance and significant content.[14] The term was linked to the Latin *mater*, reminding us of the mixture of overabundance and lack that early moderns saw in the female body.[15] Ophelia's distinctively feminine madness exposes early modern anxieties about how bodies and other types of "matter" come to signify, asking us to reconsider how poesie simultaneously resides in physical substances on the page or in the air, amounts to insignificant and impalpable nothings that disappear as soon they are uttered, and signifies so multifariously as to exceed matter entirely.[16] Through the extremes of materiality and immateriality with which she is associated, Ophelia forces audiences to confront the ways in which, as Judith Butler puts it, "Think[ing] through the indissolubility of materiality and signification is no easy matter," querying an unexamined reliance upon (or, worse, fetishization of) materiality.[17]

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[13] *The First Quarto (1603)*, in Thompson and Taylor, eds., *Hamlet: The Texts of 1603 and 1623*, 13.14.

[14] The Latin *materia* already denoted both physical elements and significant content; throughout the early modern period, "matter" retained both meanings; see the *Oxford English Dictionary* (accessed November 2011).

[15] See Ferguson, 295: "As we hear or see in the word 'matter' the Latin term for mother, we may surmise that the common Renaissance association between female nature in general and the 'lower' realm of matter is here being deployed in the service of Hamlet's complex oedipal struggle. The mother is the matter that comes between the father and the son." See also Patricia Parker's discussion of female *dilatio*, or copious discourse that never becomes meaningful action and threatens to overwhelm male signification, in *Literary Fat Ladies*, 8-35.

[16] On the gendered qualities of Ophelia's excess of melancholy, see Neely, *Distracted Subjects*, 50-56.

[17] Butler, *Bodies That Matter*, 30.

Despite Ophelia's relevance to recent work on the material text, scholars have tended to isolate her from *Hamlet*'s meta-dramatic conflict. Goldberg traces Hamlet's own "career continually invested in scriptive gestures"; Weimann demonstrates Hamlet's "ambidextrous capacity for both recommending and undermining the self-contained Renaissance play"; Stallybrass and other historians of the book show how Hamlet himself "obsessively stages erasures of memory."[18] Scholarship that takes Ophelia as its primary subject tends to remove her from the play's brooding over signification, including Elaine Showalter's influential argument that Ophelia is a blank slate "deprived of thought, sexuality, language" and that it is necessary to defer to the later history of her representations in order to tell her story.[19] Leslie Dunn, Nona Feinberg, and others have suggested that Ophelia's song-speech asserts a performative agency that poses a threat to Denmark's patriarchal structure, but they do so by replacing the notion that Ophelia is the empty receptacle of male projections with the notion that she is the nonsemantic other to male speech.[20] By denying Ophelia access to language and representation, scholars have remained unable to account for how her mad, musical utterances refuse to take a stable material shape yet continue to be significant.

This chapter proposes that media studies – attuned to the complex mixture of transience and immediacy that characterizes our own web of physical interfaces, wireless networks, and digital "clouds" – present an opportunity to reconsider Ophelia, whose mixture of concrete embodiment and abstract significance has not been fully appreciated.[21] Ophelia's frenzied song-speech is composed of anonymous ballads in common circulation, and her emblematic flowers are cryptic and befuddling. Yet her madness provides a poignant expression of personal suffering and captivates the imaginations of her auditors:

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[18] Goldberg, 311; Weimann, *Author's Pen and Actor's Voice*, 24; Stallybrass et al., 418. In *"Hamlet" without Hamlet*, de Grazia warns against taking her title too literally, since "little would remain" if the play were to be considered without "the most valued character in our cultural tradition" (1). See also Worthen, *Drama*, who consigns Ophelia to the most evanescent and nonlinguistic of performative repertoires; she is "the axis of histrionic excess in the play, an object lesson perhaps in the consequences of performance liberated from writ" (109-10).

[19] Showalter, "Representing Ophelia," 78. On the hostility directed at Ophelia, see Bamber, "Hamlet." On Ophelia's role as an object of symbolic meaning, see Lyons, "The Iconography of Ophelia."

[20] On Ophelia's female agency, see Feinberg, "Jepthah's Daughter"; and Fischer, "Hearing Ophelia." On the musical aspects of Ophelia's mad scenes, see Dunn, *Embodied Voices*, 62; see also Dubrow, *The Challenges of Orpheus*, 215-27; and Amanda Eubanks Winkler, *O Let Us Howle Some Heavy Note*, 86.

> She is importunate – indeed, distract . . . .
> She speaks much of her father, says she hears
> There's tricks i'th' world, and hems and beats her heart,
> Spurns enviously at straws, speaks things in doubt
> That carry but half sense. Her speech is nothing,
> Yet the unshaped use of it doth move
> The hearers to collection. They yawn at it
> And botch the words up fit to their own thoughts.
> (4.5.2–10)

These lines draw attention to the absence of any discernible "shape" to Ophelia's song-speech, its lack of a stable origin, and the multiplicity of re-interpretations to which it is subjected. We are introduced to the urgent, engrossing qualities of her "half sense," with its disquieting implications about Elsinore's festering corruption, in which the dead go unremembered and young women are abandoned by their lovers. In the scenes that follow, Ophelia works to undermine the standard early modern belief that drama (and representation in general) consists of an abstract intention that is subsequently manifested in physical artifacts. She shows instead that art involves a continual process of *mediation* in which technologies, ideas, bodies, and other structures and forms all, in no pre-set order, make their mark. Ophelia provides an excellent example of mediation because it is precisely the lack of a definitive source for her recycled song-speech, and its refusal to congeal in writing, that allows her to become so affecting. She reveals that the question of art's implication in an overwhelmingly mediatized environment (which we associate with postmodern culture) is already at the heart of early modern drama's best known play.

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[21] On the ways in which media studies can help rethink Shakespeare, see the fall 2010 special issue of *Shakespeare Quarterly*, "Shakespeare and New Media."

Hamlet's self-consciousness about theories of art is grounded in the distinctive type of mediation at stake in the early modern theater, with its continual interaction between the writing of dramatists and the "jibes," "gambols" and "songs" which provided a disorderly influx of ideas and sensations into fictional worlds.[22] Theatrical music, in particular, had long enjoyed a reputation for unsettling Aristotelian *muthos* (formally coherent "plot structure").[23] In the *Poetics*, Aristotle expresses frustration with tragedians since Agathon because "the songs in a play of theirs have no more to do with the Plot than that of any other tragedy."[24] Shakespearean singers exploit this tradition, disorienting the audience from a coherent sense of the plot with jokes, diversions, insinuations, malapropisms, and "sweet ditties."[25] Indeed, it is through the "jygging vaines" of song and its potential for destabilization and disruption that Ophelia is able to unsettle standard early modern theories of art.

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[22] These are Hamlet's terms for jesting (5.1.179-80).

[23] See Halliwell, *Aristotle's Poetics*: "*Muthos* in this new sense [as articulated in the *Poetics*] can be loosely rendered as 'plot,' but only provided we understand by that not simply the contingent contents of a play or poem, but the formal organization which is purposefully produced and fashioned to coherence by the poet" (24).

[24] Aristotle, *Poetics*, 1456a. Aristotle goes on, "Hence it is that they are now singing intercalary pieces, a practice first introduced by Agathon. And yet what real difference is there between singing such intercalary pieces, and attempting to fit in a speech, or even a whole act, from one play into another?"

[25] As Mortimer (who speaks no Welsh) says of his Welsh wife (who speaks no English): "thy tongue / Makes Welsh as sweet as ditties highly penn'd, / Sung by a fair queen in a summer's bow'r, / With ravishing division, to her lute" (*Henry IV, Part 1*, 3.1.205-8).

Music was one of the most prominent threshold experiences of the early modern theater. It ushered playgoers in and out of the fiction; it accompanied the jigs and jests that came after a performance in the outdoor theater; it provided lengthy interludes between each act in the indoor theater; and it punctuated a play with strains, flourishes, dances, vocal songs, and instrumental tunes that related ambiguously and often indirectly to the plot. Theatrical music is often *paratextual*, not unlike a preface to a printed book, because it "makes present" a fictional universe, as Gérard Genette puts it, "offer[ing] the world at large the possibility of either stepping inside or turning back" from the text proper.[26] Music is generally closer to the fictional world than a written preface and less clearly distinguishable from it, however, since it is often incorporated into the plot. Iago's singing to get Cassio drunk in Act 2, scene 3 of *Othello*, for example, is a feature of the dramatic action, ostensibly performed by a fictional character. But even here, music retains a liminal status, since Iago sings a popular song of Scottish origin about a "King Stephen," undermining the sense that Cyprus is wholly apart from London. Theatrical music thus renders it difficult or pointless to distinguish between what is represented and what is producing or performing that representation.

Music's tendency to overstep the boundaries of representation allows it to expose the tenuous links between a play's fictional world and the performative devices and practices surrounding that fiction. Characters such as Amiens in *As You Like It* and Balthasar in *Much Ado about Nothing*, who have no significant role except to sing, draw attention to the many elements in the theater that operate in excess of the plot: it is as though musicians from the gallery happen to be onstage. In such cases, music blurs the distinction between performer and character, laying bare theater's infrastructure, as well as the acoustic culture outside it, especially since so much Shakespearean music was imported from a familiar, popular repertoire. Music allowed ideas and feelings of London's ballad culture and courtly love songs sung by the sweet voices of boys to migrate into Cyprus or Egypt, and it brought audiences *from* London, Sicilia, or Athens *into* Bohemia and Fairyland.[27] Autolycus of *The Winter's Tale* is a balladmonger, a roguish wanderer, and a creature of disguise who belongs in Bohemia no more or less than he belongs anywhere else. He claims to have been in Prince Florizel's service and pretends to be a courtier, but another of his alter egos is a cutpurse who "haunts wakes, fairs, and bear-baitings" (4.3.102) – landmarks of early modern London. His songs are in a musical language that moves freely between court and street, allowing him and his listeners to traverse a range of environments. Ballads such as "When daffodils begin to peer," with its birdsong, "tumbling in the hay," and "quart of ale" (4.3.12, 8) evoke a pastoral escape, a courtly idiom, and a popular English soundscape all at once.[28]

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[26] Genette, *Paratexts*, 1-2. I am influenced by William Sherman's updated use of the term in his work on terminal paratexts in early modern books; see "On the Threshold."

Because it underscores the thresholds and breaking points of a play's fictional world, music offers the opportunity for meta-theatrical reflection and self-consciousness about the interpretive position of the audience. For Shakespeare, music forces questions about the fine and oscillating line between the protocols and codes that facilitate representation, and the speech, sounds, props, gestures, bodies, performative events, iterated practices, and social meanings "in" the fiction. Vocal song is a particularly rich site for exploring and theorizing theatrical representation because a character's voice is inseparable from its immediate musical context. A singer is often left, as in Balthasar's "Sigh no more, ladies," with "One foot in sea, and one on shore" (*Much Ado about Nothing*, 2.3.64), in the sense that he exists partly within the plot and partly in the *mise-en-scène* of a tune that carries a distinctive set of performative conventions and traditions. Even Desdemona's Willow Song, which seems intimately suited to its singer's state of mind, is an "old thing" (*Othello*, 4.3.29) sung by her mother's maid and marked by the collective memories of its previous instantiations, including versions of the song transcribed in mid-sixteenth-century manuscript lute songbooks.[29] Shakespeare often draws attention to the dramaturgical hybridity of song, leaving characters and audiences intrigued but baffled by Autolycus, Feste, Ariel, and Ophelia. Are Shakespearean songs expressions of a character's state of mind? Do their words fit coherently within the context of the dramatic action or bear a meaningful relationship to it? Are they opportunities for setting a scene, personal sentiment, generalized lament, or gratuitous entertainment?

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[27] Singing voices tend to be described as "sweet," as in Cloten's request for a "sweet air" in *Cymbeline* (2.3.18), and sometimes "warbling," as in Jaques's request that Amiens "Come, warble, come" in *As You Like It* (2.5.37). Cleopatra describes the sound of a boy actor's voice more pejoratively when she imagines that she "shall see / Some squeaking Cleopatra boy my greatness / I' th' posture of a whore" (5.2.219-21).

[28] David Lindley points out that "it is often – and rightly – said that the introduction of song in [act 4, scene 3 of *The Winter's Tale*] is a vital ingredient in transforming the tone of the play after the claustrophobic atmosphere of Leontes' court," but he goes on to show how Autolycus's songs take on a courtly style as well; see *Shakespeare and Music*, 165ff.

Answers here are almost never as clear as they would be for other verbal acts in the theater, and the critical history of Shakespearean songs has been dominated by the question of how – and if – they fit within the fiction around them. W. H. Auden highlights "Shakespeare's skill in making what might have been beautiful irrelevancies contribute to the dramatic structure," while F. W. Sternfield makes the case that among his contemporaries Shakespeare had a unique "skill in integrating music into the structure of his plot."[30] But those who maintain that Shakespeare closely incorporates song into the fiction acknowledge that singers present a distinctive, often irreverent perspective on the play. Feste's epilogue song to *Twelfth Night* provides a good example of this tendency, since its unsentimental and melancholy quality jars uncomfortably with the play's comedic ending. After Orsino repeats his offer of marriage to Viola, the clown remains on stage to sing "When that I was and a little tine boy," with its dreary refrain "With hey ho, the wind and the rain . . . For the rain it raineth every day." Each stanza describes a stage of life from youth to old age in which rain (and presumably sorrow) remain constant, until Feste reaches a concluding appeal for applause that sounds like an abrupt afterthought:

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[29] See Smith, "Shakespeare's Residuals." On the several possible sources for *Othello*'s Willow Song, see Sternfield, *Music in Shakespearean Tragedy*, 23-52. Ross W. Duffin chooses a version from the Lodge Lute Book (ca. 1559-1575) for his reconstruction in *Shakespeare's Songbook*, 467-70.

> A great while ago the world begun,
> [With] hey ho, [the wind and the rain,]
> But that's all one, our play is done,
> And we'll strive to please you every day.
> (5.1.389-408)

As David Lindley points out, "Many commentators in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries felt [Feste's epilogue] to be an inappropriate and extraneous addition": in 1747, William Warburton wrote, "This wretched stuff not *Shakespear's*, but the Players!"[31] The epilogue has inspired much consternation since, including a "determination to make it fit thematically into an overall view of the play."

This debate has created something of a false choice, however, since the epilogue sits within *and* without Illyria.[32] The song has much in common with the jig performed after a play, and audiences may have imagined it less as a fictional construct than as a performance by Robert Armin, the clown who first played Feste and whose jibes they had paid to see. For that matter, audiences might have had similar feelings about all of the music in *Twelfth Night*, a play that continually exploits the liminal status of song in order to explore the boundaries of its own representational endeavor and to pursue its broad thematic interest in "fancy" and "play." Just as Feste's epilogue leaves us unsure where the fiction ends, Orsino's famous opening lines do not allow us to decide when it begins, referring to music that has *already* been playing when he walks onstage: "If music be the food of love, play on" (1.1.1). Music emerges as a force of destabilization and release throughout the play, including the festive atmosphere of act 2, scene 3 in which Feste's nighttime dancing, singing, and carousing with Sir Toby and Sir Andrew drive Malvolio to his wits' end. The latter scene is especially revealing, since it fits as comfortably in the context of the play's nonrepresentational environment, namely the Candelmas festivities at the Inns of the Court that served as the occasion for the play's 1602 debut, as it does in Olivia's house, which is ostensibly in mourning. Malvolio draws attention to the revelry's departure from the logic and rhythm of the world in which it is situated when he expresses his outrage at it: "Is there no respect of place, persons, nor time in you?" (2.3.91-92). But the play goes on to show that it is Malvolio himself who is profoundly out of touch with the world in which he lives, unable to negotiate the space between fantasy and reality, and easily drawn into the "device" or farcical trap that Maria sets for him (3.4.131).

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[30] Auden, "Music in Shakespeare," 516; and Sternfield, 24.
[31] Lindley, 215; and Warburton, ed., *The Works of Shakespear*, vol. 3, 206n.
[32] Lindley, 216.

Malvolio's tormenters gather their power over him by drawing from a tradition of disenchantment and diegesis associated with the *platea* or nonrepresentational upper stage into which villains or fools often stepped during asides to the audience.[33] Sir Toby invokes this tradition in a manner that is eventually shown to be quite cruel, capitalizing on Malvolio's insular and gullible imagination in order to isolate him from Illyria's social fabric. When Fabian says about the device into which Malvolio is drawn, "If this were played upon a stage, now, I could condemn it as an improbable fiction" (3.4.127-28), he exhibits a special type of irony that is not limited to the perspective of a fictional character. As a clown, Feste is also very much at home in the *platea* tradition, which is why Maria enlists him to take the role of the quixotic "Sir Topas" and ridicule Malvolio. In this guise Feste responds with a meta-theatrical form of mockery to Malvolio's desperation at being confined in a dark room: "Why, [your room] hath bay windows transparent as barricadoes, and the clerestories toward the south north are as lustrous as ebony; and yet complainest thou of obstruction? . . . Madman, thou errest. I say there is no darkness but ignorance" (4.2.36-39, 42-43). These jokes work by alluding to the theatrical codes that Malvolio is unable to see through (namely, the convention of imagining an indoor or confined space on stage without literal doors and windows), inviting the audience to adopt a disenchanted perspective and imagine themselves in the *platea* along with Feste.

Feste's songs also make use of the *platea* tradition in order to interact with Malvolio, but they are more flexible and expressive than his clowning since they do not maintain a stable or critical speaking position. "Hey Robin, jolly Robin," which Feste sings after pretending to be Sir Topas, is adapted from "Ah Robin," a well known lament about the speaker's unkind mistress who "loves another" (4.3.79), and as such it seems to mock Malvolio's infatuation with Olivia, who loves Viola/Cesario. Similarly, in "I am gone, sir," sung at the end of the scene, Feste makes use of the ironic detachment of the *platea* by placing himself in the role of the Vice figure from Tudor morality drama and Malvolio in the position of the devil:

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[33] See Weimann's discussion of *locus* and *platea*, in which *locus* is the site of representation or "fictive locality" and *platea* implies a departure from mimesis, in *Shakespeare and the Popular Tradition in the Theater*, 73-85.

> I'll be with you again;
> In a trice,
> Like to the old Vice,
> Your need to sustain;
>
> Who, with dagger of lath,
> In his rage and his wrath,
> Cries, ah ha! to the devil;
> Like a mad lad.
> (4.3.122-28)

What is striking about both of these tunes, however, is that they articulate and even sympathize with Malvolio's plight at the same time that they mock it. As Mark Booth points out, song often "fosters some degree of identification between singer and audience," so that a singer "says something that is also said somehow in extension *by* us," and this tendency helps to explain why Feste's singing is able to evoke and even adopt Malvolio's suffering.[34] "Ah Robin" is a round with a melancholy and even haunting quality – in Ross Duffin's reconstruction it dwells in a lachrymose G minor – that takes Malvolio's speaking position.[35] "I am gone, sir" vents Malvolio's fury, identifying Feste as the instrument by which Malvolio might hope to wreak his revenge or at least give voice to his resentment. And indeed, if Feste's epilogue song takes any speaking position, it is surely Malvolio's, the one character emphatically isolated from the comedic resolution, who vows at the end of the play, "I'll be reveng'd on the whole pack of you" (5.1.378). Malvolio hates music and would undoubtedly take exception to any association with it, but Feste's melancholy sentiment "the rain it raineth every day" provides an ironic expression of Malvolio's outlook.

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[34] Booth, *The Experience of Songs*, 15, and see Booth's discussion of Feste's epilogue song, 1-5 and 26-8.

[35] Duffin, *Shakespeare's Songbook*, 47-49.

Feste's music thus reveals Shakespeare's tendency to exploit the representational indeterminacy of song, allowing singers to expose or develop unresolved or un-resolvable problems at the heart of the dramatic structure. Although he is increasingly ostracized from the comedy, Malvolio turns out to be the only figure able to connect Viola to her "maid's garments," since the captain who initially disguises her and secures her place at court ends up in prison "at Malvolio's suit" (5.1.275-76). Orsino's concluding lines stress that it is necessary to "entreat [Malvolio] to a peace," since only when Malvolio has "told us of the captain" and allowed the story of Viola's placement at court to be known (and, presumably, demonstrated her legitimacy) will she be seen "in other habits . . . Orsino's mistress, and his fancy's queen" (5.1.380, 381, 387-88). The final lines of the play seem to recognize, that is, that a secure comedic resolution cannot ignore the moral and legal propriety with which Malvolio is associated. Feste's epilogue may seem calculated to resolve the play into comic relief, but its effect is rather to amplify the sense of unease with which Orsino attempts to deal with loose ends. The epilogue stubbornly tugs against the generic movement around it in a way that recalls the music of *As You Like It*, where Jaques remarks, "I can suck melancholy out of a song, as a weasel sucks eggs" (2.5.12–13), or the Fool's songs in *King Lear* about the recklessness of kings and fathers.[36] These examples accentuate and dilate upon a sense of alienation from the main theatrical structure and resist the narrative arc around them, whether toward comedic integration or unavoidable tragedy.

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[36] I am thinking, for example, of "Fools had ne'er less grace in a year, / For wise men are grown foppish" and "I for sorrow sung, / That such a king should play bo-peep, / And go the [fools] among" (1.4.166-67, 176-78). In another example of song's tendency to exceed a dramatic fiction, the Fool speaks or sings a verse of Feste's epilogue song in Act 3, scene 2 of *King Lear*.

Like Feste, Ophelia reproduces snatches of songs from the streets of London. Like Lear's fool, she accumulates well-known proverbs and distributes them to monarchs. Like Jaques, she performs a bitter and ironic critique of those around her. Yet few Shakespearean singers offer as stark a counterpoint to their surroundings as does Ophelia in her mad scenes. For Elizabethan audiences, the spectacle of a noblewoman with her hair down, singing fragments of popular songs, would have been uniquely jarring. As we have seen, the attending gentleman's account brings out Ophelia's difference, describing her as an invalid who "speaks things in doubt." Later, the priest emphasizes that "Her death was doubtful" and orders a funeral without "requiem" or other music so as not to "profane the service of the dead" (5.1.216, 225–26). And Hamlet works vehemently to banish Ophelia from the main plot by subjecting her to misogynistic attacks about the frailty and impurity of women, mocking her return of his letters, bitterly insisting, "Get thee to a nunnery" (3.1.134–39), and abandoning her.

Like other Shakespearean singers, Ophelia is not easily dismissed or removed from the action; such attempts only reinforce her disruptive influence. Ophelia is Hamlet's foil: her madness offsets his ostensibly feigned "antic disposition" (1.5.170), and her death connects to Hamlet's contemplations of suicide, neutralizing some of his most sacrilegious moments through her actual self-slaughter. But she is not subordinate to him: even in death, Ophelia occupies a position that is highly objectified *and* uniquely authoritative. Her grave functions for Hamlet and Laertes as a space of difference on which to project lasting and meaningful elegy, a female void on which they "mouth" and "rant" hyperbole in the hopes of conjuring "the wandering stars and mak[ing] them stand / Like wonder-wounded hearers" (5.1.272–73, 245–46). Yet her dead body and frail singing are also reminders of the impermanence of all signification, a quandary that Hamlet acknowledges when he mocks Laertes's empty rhetoric inside the grave ("eat a crocodile? / I'll do't" [ll. 265–66]). The graveyard scene has traditionally been understood as a backdrop for Hamlet's ethical and metaphysical deliberations, but Ophelia casts the longest shadow over it, provoking the clowns' incisive commentary on voluntary and involuntary death, the controversy over funereal rites, and the conflict between Hamlet and Laertes over how to remember her.

The elegies at Ophelia's grave are among the many reactions to her madness and death that have established her as one of the most frequently represented characters in literary history.[37] Ophelia is enveloped in a transhistorical media nexus – a seemingly endless process of recurrence in theater, visual art, opera, photography, and film which, as Martha Ronk puts it, "not only postdates the play's production, but also is embedded in the play itself."[38] The opening image of Gertrude's famous report of Ophelia's drowning – "There is a willow grows askant the brook / That shows his hoary leaves in the glassy stream" (4.7.164–65) – draws out the indirect, projected, engrossing nature of the episode. It is no coincidence that its reflecting image is of a willow, a tree that Margreta de Grazia calls "the bleak inverse of the genealogical oak" and connects to the distress of "a patrilineal system which can imagine nothing more tragic than genealogical extinction" (an association that will come back to haunt Shakespeare's audiences in Desdemona's Willow Song).[39] Ophelia's drowning fascinates and disturbs us, especially given the onlookers' perplexing failure to intervene. We wonder how much of Gertrude's portrayal of Ophelia as a harmless aesthetic object "incapable of her own distress" is calculated to subdue Laertes and the rebellious mob at his heels – especially given Elsinore's climate of manipulation and conspiracy, of which Claudius reminds us: "How much I had to do to calm his rage! / Now fear I this will give it start again" (ll. 176, 190–91).[40] And we are intrigued by an undercurrent of corrosive threats that cannot be confined to the political, which appear (for example) in Ophelia's language of flowers:

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[37] See Showalter: "Though she is neglected in criticism, Ophelia is probably the most frequently illustrated and cited of Shakespeare's heroines" (78). On the history of Ophelia's visual representations, see Kiefer, ed., *The Myth and Madness of Ophelia*; and Young, *Hamlet and the Visual Arts*, 279-345. On Ophelia's representations in film, see Leonard, *Shakespeare, Madness, and Music*, 35-68. On the influence of Ophelia's musical madness upon the operatic tradition that stems from Shakespeare, see Albright, *Musicking Shakespeare*, 6-10. On Ophelia's continued relevance in global popular culture and new media, see Huang, "The Paradox of Female Agency."

[38] Ronk, "Representations of Ophelia," 21.

> Therewith fantastic garlands did she make
> Of crowflowers, nettles, daisies and long purples,
> That liberal shepherds give a grosser name
> But our cold maids do dead men's fingers call them.
> (ll. 166-69)

The convergence of sex and death in Ophelia's wild orchids – whether they are called "dead men's fingers" or the shepherds' obscene, unnamable alternative – may imply the sorrowful lament of an abandoned lover, the excessive melancholy of a sex-crazed madwoman, recrimination against the cruel Danish prince, or perhaps a broader condemnation of the patriarchal system that cast her aside.[41] There is no way of knowing for sure; the "fantastic" imaginative possibilities of Ophelia's garlands remain enigmatic, keeping her would-be interpreters guessing and helping to inspire innumerable evocations and responses.

The combination of the "grosser" prurience, "cold" chastity, and graphic morbidity in Ophelia's "fantastic garlands" harks back to the themes of her mad utterances and the arresting power of her music. By calling up the “snatches of old lauds” and “melodious lay” that Ophelia chants while she is drowning (ll. 175, 180), Gertrude reveals how Ophelia’s music resonates through *Hamlet* before it begins to be remediated through future decades and centuries. Ophelia’s songs are experienced anxiously by Gertrude and Claudius (“Each toy seems prologue to some great amiss” [4.5.18]), channeled by Laertes as a motivation for revenge (“Hadst thou thy wits and didst persuade revenge / It could not move thus” [ll. 163–64]), and imitated by the first gravedigger:

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[39] De Grazia, *"Hamlet" without Hamlet*, 119, 149.
[40] On scandalous and slanderous "noise" in *Hamlet*, see Gross, *Shakespeare's Noise*, 10-32.
[41] On Ophelia's floral language, see Jenkins, ed., *Hamlet*, 536-42.

> In youth when I did love, did love,
> Methought it was very sweet
> To contract-a the time for-a my behove,
> O, methought there-a was nothing-a meet!
> (5.1.57–60)

Like the ballad of Desdemona’s childhood maid – recycled by Desdemona and again by Emilia when she determines valiantly to “play the swan, / And die in music. [*Sings*.] ‘Willow, willow, willow’” (*Othello*, 5.2.247–48) – Ophelia’s songs are as infectious as they are poignant. As Amanda Eubanks Winkler has suggested, Ophelia becomes a musical “prototype for alluring female madness” on the seventeenth-century stage, a model for the Jailer’s Daughter in *Two Noble Kinsmen*, and an influence upon melancholy female singers including Desdemona and Aspasia (who sings a lamenting willow song in Beaumont and Fletcher’s *The Maid’s Tragedy*).[42] Ophelia’s musical performances become as influential and enduring as her scripted lines – lines which are, in any case, snatched from a conventional ballad repertoire.[43]

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[42] Winkler, 63-113, esp. 86.

[43] My use of Gertrude’s term “snatch” to refer to the movement of a performative moment or metonymic association through a culture derives from Dunn, “Catches and Snatches.”

Despite Ophelia's prominence in later (especially nineteenth- and twentieth-century) visual cultures, she is "endued" (4.7.177) into *Hamlet*'s media ecology, above all, through her music. The ambiguous dislocation of Ophelia's madness from the rest of the play borrows from the general paratextual tendencies of Shakespearean song, and her death scene leads naturally to the caustic jesting of the gravediggers because, as singers and clowns, they are particularly well equipped to draw out the troubling significance of her mad utterances. Yet Ophelia's music is closest of all to the abandoned and melancholy female voices of the ballad tradition, and the *drowning* in mediation that this implies. Ballads were ubiquitous in early modern culture: Tessa Watt estimates up to four *million* ballad sheets in circulation by the second half of the sixteenth century.[44] They were a fundamental mode of social experience, acting as feedback loops between print and oral cultures, learned aristocrats and illiterate laborers; and they allowed singers to adopt an enormous variety of subject positions, including lovesick maidens, impetuous heroines, and murderesses.[45] Bruce Smith has shown that ballads were constantly moving "within, around, among, of, upon, against, within" physiological, acoustic, social, political, and psychological levels of early modern experience, including an "'autopoietic' system of communication, self-referential and self reproducing."[46] The notion of autopoiesis is particularly relevant to Ophelia, whose drowning scene involves a shocking degree of alienation from social and (indeed) human worlds:

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[44] Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety*, 11. On the ubiquity of ballads throughout the period, see Marsh, *Music and Society in Early Modern England*, 225-327: "The ballad was a remarkably flexible art-form. In musical terms, the infectious tunes lent themselves to a range of differing performance styles. They were simple enough to be learned by 'Foot-boys and Link-boys' in the street, yet interesting enough to stimulate the creative energies of England's finest and most famous courtly composers . . . . The texts of English ballads were just as appealing and malleable. They presented a continuous set of variations on a number of stock tales and types, stimulating simultaneously the cultural tastebuds of those who craved novelty and those who found security in similarity" (276-77).

[45] On the longstanding associations of balladry with women, see Dugaw, *Warrior Women and Popular Balladry*, as well as the essays collected in *Ballads and Broadsides in Britain,* ed. Fumerton et al.

[46] Smith, *The Acoustic World of Early Modern England*, 172-73. Smith draws the notion of "autopoietic" communication from the work of Niklas Luhmann, including *Ecological Communication*.

> Her clothes spread wide
> And mermaid-like awhile they bore her up,
> Which time she chanted snatches of old lauds
> As one incapable of her own distress,
> Or like a creature native and endued
> Unto that element. But long it could not be
> Till that her garments, heavy with their drink,
> Pulled the poor wretch from her melodious lay
> To muddy death.
> (ll. 173-81)

After she is (in Claudius's words) "Divided from herself and her fair judgment, / Without the which we are pictures or mere beasts" (4.5.85–86), Ophelia becomes a picture endlessly represented by others. She enters a liminal, "mermaid-like" state in which the boundaries between human and nonhuman, agency and resignation, personal expression and technological structure, author and medium, are probed and undermined.

Ophelia's drowning marks a passage between the human and its environment, a movement into the forms and physical particularities that surround her and that constitute her song-speech, from the infectious timbre of her voice in the air to its dampened inundation in water. Subsumed at the moment of their greatest personal significance into an impassive natural world, Ophelia's songs force us to ask whether human expressions bubble up from the world around them only to be absorbed just as quickly within. She raises the possibility that *all* communication is embedded in the fluid, highly distributed ecology of ballad transmission, in which singers do not author or control their verse. Yet she reveals that a ballad-singing maiden rendered "most deject and wretched" by male cruelty is nevertheless able to make meaning that captures the imaginations of generations of auditors (3.1.154).

* * *

Ophelia's uncanny ability to make herself heard draws not only on the liminal status of Shakespearean music, but also on the conventions of *poesie*. It is difficult to describe her as an author, since she does not compose her "old lauds," and her madness robs her of conscious design. Her fragmentary "snatches" hint vaguely and opaquely at present circumstances, making them appear to be distracted messages rather than authorial presentations. Ophelia's song-speech seems distinct from the other poetic moments in the play, including the love lyrics that Hamlet writes for her and the play that he stages, making it difficult to see how her utterances are meaningful.

Yet Ophelia's verses are only marginally more imitative and derivative than Hamlet's conventional lyrics ("*Doubt truth to be a liar, / But never doubt I love*" [2.2.116–17]) or *The Mousetrap*, which is adapted from an old tale in order to stir emotions in the present. Her gathering and distribution of "posies" of flowers link her song-speech to the governing term for the literary arts, from Gascoigne's *A Hundreth sundrie Flowres bounde vp in one small Poesie* (1573) to Dryden's *Of Dramatic Poesie, An Essay* (1668). Although Ophelia loses her capacity to read and write, she continues to recycle and produce poesie, which, in mythological terms, was linked to Orpheus, the foundational figure for lyric poetry, whose name resonates phonetically with Ophelia's, and whose captivating voice and lyre resemble the first quarto's description of Ophelia "*playing on a lute, and her hair down, singing.*"[47] The attending gentleman draws out this association when he suggests that listeners eagerly "yawn" and gape at Ophelia's "winks and nods and gestures," implying a connection to Orphic *furor* and its power to compel and allure (4.5.9–11). Indeed, Ophelia has much in common with the long-haired maenads who destroy Orpheus, overtaking him and drowning out his song. Ophelia's erotomania and drowning evoke the most troubling aspects of the legend, including the sexual frenzy that culminates in Orpheus's severed head floating down the Hebrus.[48]

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[47] Q1, 13.14. Though "Ophelia" and "Orpheus" have phonetic similarities, the etymology of Ophelia's name appears to derive from the Greek for "help" or "succour"; see Showalter, "Representing Ophelia," 92,

Ophelia thus emerges as a versifier at the margins of early modern poesie – an extreme type of poet who does not exactly "author" her song-speech yet exerts a cogent force over its meaning. She participates actively in the conflict over representation and remembrance that is at stake in *Hamlet*, and her mad utterances should not be isolated from Hamlet's instructions about drama in the players' scenes or from the play's general fixation on the problem of controlling and perpetuating meaning. That Ophelia is not a writer by no means disqualifies her from being a poet, a role that was commonly understood to include performance. In an ironic way, Ophelia summons up Philip Sidney's ideals about poesie as an ethical, humanist endeavor when she repeatedly commands her auditors to "mark" and "remember" the emblematic significance of her songs and flowers (4.5.28, 170). Laertes's description of Ophelia's song-speech as "A document in madness – thoughts and remembrance fitted" (l. 172) has a curious resonance with Sidney's account of poesie as an instrument of instruction proceeding from the "divine fury" or inspired wit of the poet, inflected by the "thoughts" of moral

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footnote 1, and Guilfoyle, "Ower Swete Sokor." As Tobin notes, however, the name may also connect to a virginal nymph in Cupid's Masque of Jonson's *Cynthia's Revels*: "*Apheleia*, a *Nymph* as pure and simple as the soule, or as an abrase table, and is therefore called Simplicitie," in "On the Name Ophelia," 134. On the relationship between Orpheus, the early modern lyric tradition, and issues of gender, see Dubrow, 15-26.

[48] Ovid's version of the legend emphasizes the "mindless rage" and "mad fury" of the "raving mob of Thracian women." See *Ovid: Metamorphoses*, 369.

philosophy and the "remembrance" of history but confined to neither (*DP* 249). Similarly, although Ophelia's lyrics are bawdy and coarse and the significance of her flowers obscure, they resemble George Puttenham's description of pastoral poesie that operates "under the veil of homely persons and in rude speeches to insinuate and glance at greater matters."[49] That Ophelia's "greater matters" are enigmatic brings out Puttenham's later contention that all figurative language involves "abuses, or rather trespasses, in speech, because [figures] pass the ordinary limits of common utterance, and be occupied of purpose to deceive the ear and also the mind, drawing it from plainness and simplicity to a certain doubleness."[50]

Yet Ophelia undermines these influential theories of poesie even as she invokes them. Her mad utterances bring out Puttenham's damaging concession about the doubleness of poesie, as well as Sidney's admission that England has become a "hard stepmother to poets," where only "base men with servile wits undertake it" (*DP* 240-41). Ophelia summons up the antipoetic and antitheatrical traditions to which Sidney and Puttenham respond, including Stephen Gosson's decrying of the "vanitie" of those "so foolish to taste euery drugge, and buy euery trifle" of poetic "trashe" on the market.[51] Unsurprisingly, Gosson and his peers focus on the London theaters, which—due to their banishment outside the City, their tendencies toward collaborative authorship, and their absorption of popular traditions including the jibes of clowns – had a reputation for being anathema to upright humanism.[52] *Hamlet* is well aware of the unsavory reputation of these traditions: as Weimann has demonstrated, jibes and jests are a crucial means by which the play lays bare "a world marked no longer by a secure, fixed language of identity *qua* social rank and sumptuary order," in which there is no reason to expect that poetic imitations will remain true to noble, elite intentions.[53]

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[49] Puttenham, *The Art of English Poesy*, 128.
[50] Puttenham, 238.
[51] Gosson, *The Schoole of Abuse*, D3r. Similar language appears among poets themselves: Gascoigne, for example, describes his verses as "trifling fantasies" in the prefatory epistles to *The Adventures of Master F.J.*, 3.
[52] See, for example, Philip Stubbes, who lets on (in spite of himself) the sense of "wonder" that the preponderance of theatrical activity in early modern London inspired: "marke the flocking and running to

The genteel humanist traditions of learning, remembering, and public speaking remained a potential refuge from such concerns. But unlike Hamlet, who remains a nimble thinker and orator even during his supposed madness, Ophelia takes humanism to a disturbing new level. Before Laertes's departure to Paris, she absorbs and memorizes her father's and brother's maxims designed to lock up her "chaste treasure," taking the metaphor of a repository so far as to tell Laertes that his warning is "in my memory locked / And you yourself shall keep the key of it" (1.3.30, 84–85). Ophelia shows herself adept in humanist styles of thought when she responds to her brother's "good lesson" with the witty rejoinder that he avoid becoming a hypocrite who "recks not his own rede" (ll. 44–49).[54] And she returns Hamlet's letters after appearing with the prayer book that her father has given her, demonstrating in a literal way her promise to replace Hamlet's "tenders" of love with Polonius's advice (l. 98). As De Grazia has observed, Ophelia continues to play the mimic in her mad utterances, which harp on dead fathers

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Theaters & curtens, daylie and hourely, night and daye, tyme and tyde to see Playes and Enterludes, where such wanton gestures, such bawdie speaches, such laughing and fleering: such kissing and bussing: such clipping and culling: Suche winckinge and glancinge of wanton eyes, and the like is vsed, as is wonderfull to behold," in *The Anatomie of Abuses*, L8r-L8v.

[53] Weimann, *Author's Pen and Actor's Voice*, 164.

[54] In Q1, Ofelia spars on more equal footing with Leartes, who speaks only ten lines of advice (as opposed to thirty-nine lines in the 1604/5 quarto [Q2]). While Ophelia's response in Q2 and the First Folio (F) is subtle, although still witty, the Ofelia of Q1 uses pointed and even aggressive rhetoric: "my dear brother, do not you / Like to a cunning sophister / Teach me the path and ready way to heaven / While you, forgetting what is said to me, / Yourself like to a careless libertine / Doth give his heart his appetite at full / And little recks how that his honour dies" (3.14-20).

and resemble Polonius's sayings.[55] Ophelia is not antihumanist, then, but *more* than humanist, and her tragedy and self-destruction are rooted in excessive loyalty to paternal *logos*.

Ophelia articulates her distinctive form of humanism by continuing to shadow and offset Hamlet's struggles: his vexed relationship to his father's directives, feigned madness, consideration of suicide, and career in theatrical and scriptive gestures. Ophelia's devotional reading in Act 3, scene 1, mirrors Hamlet's reading of "Words, words, words" in the previous scene, placing into relief his book's "Slanders" of a "satirical rogue" (2.2.189, 193). Her bewilderment at the meaning of *The Mousetrap* – "What means this, my lord?" – sharpens the malice and "mischief" that Hamlet intends by its performance (3.2.129, 131). We might even compare Hamlet's fascination with the speech about Priam's murder to Ophelia's recycling of ballads, since the First Player's description of Pyrrhus's sword which "*seemed i'th' air to stick*" (2.2.417) corresponds in a tantalizing and yet imperfect way to Hamlet's dilemma, just as Ophelia's songs, with their allusions to old men's dead bodies and young gentlemen who abandon maidens, hint strongly but ambiguously at her grievances. Yet important differences emerge in their respective poetic styles: Hamlet begins the play with a penchant for destabilizing wordplay and performative jesting, but he gradually develops a desire for permanent inscription that includes his forgery of Rosencrantz and

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[55] De Grazia, *"Hamlet" without Hamlet*, 108-14. De Grazia goes on to suggest that "play allows Ophelia no mind of her own; instead it has her minding her father's precepts" and that "Her life has lasted only as long as her father's sayings," in *"Hamlet" without Hamlet*, 112, 114. While these observations are instructive, it is misleading to dismiss Ophelia's dutiful remembrance as negative or weak given the play's deep investment in the possibility of remaining true to paternal commandments. After all, Ophelia carries out her father's will more completely than any other character, including Hamlet, who by no means follows through on his hyperbolic intention to "wipe away all trivial fond records, / All saws of books, all forms, all pressures past" from his memory and replace them with his father's "commandment" (1.5.99-100, 102) and Laertes, who, despite his passionate desire for revenge following Polonius's death, is quickly duped into acting as Claudius's pawn.

Guildenstern's death warrant. Ophelia, meanwhile, begins the play firmly situated within a humanist economy of glossing and remembrance, and leaves it as a performer and distributer of popular songs and withering flowers, acoustic and organic "nothings" that cannot be described as scriptive. In this way, she outlines a movement *away* from the deadliness of writing, toward an aural, performative type of poesie.

Ophelia emerges, that is, not simply as a foil for Hamlet's gravitation toward scriptive formations that fix, control, or authorize meaning, but as an agent and adversary in this dilemma. It is thus fitting that she offers one of the play's most incisive portraits of the undoing of humanist ideals at work in Hamlet:

> O, what a noble mind is here o'erthrown!
> The courtier's, soldier's, scholar's eye, tongue, sword,
> Th'expectation and rose of the fair state,
> The glass of fashion and the mould of form,
> Th'observed of all observers, quite, quite down.
> (3.1.149–53)

Ophelia recognizes the unmooring of the central humanist tenet that the noble mind is able to imitate its ideas through worldly instruments and thereby achieve princely governance. But, unlike Hamlet, she does not see the outcome of this crisis in monarchal seals and palpable hits:

> And I, of ladies most deject and wretched,
> That sucked the honey of his musicked vows,
> Now see what noble and most sovereign reason
> Like sweet bells jangled out of time, and harsh –
> That unmatched form and stature of blown youth
> Blasted with ecstasy.
> (ll. 154–59)

It is in Hamlet that Ophelia hears this musical sweetness "jangled out of time" (or, in the First Folio text, "out of tune") and "Blasted with ecstasy," but she later reproduces it in her own mad utterances. For her, that is, the alternative to a decaying humanist economy of "sovereign reason" and controllable imitation is a "harsh" cacophony of ecstatic song.

Ophelia hears a related type of *furor* in her other account of Hamlet's antic disposition, when he visits her closet looking "As if he had been loosed out of hell / To speak of horrors" (2.1.80-81).

> He raised a sigh so piteous and profound
> As it did seem to shatter all his bulk
> And end his being. That done, he lets me go
> And with his head over his shoulder turned
> He seemed to find his way without his eyes
> (For out o'doors he went without their helps)
> And to the last bended their light on me.
> (ll. 91–97)

Ophelia's depiction of this encounter alludes to Orpheus's second loss of Eurydice; L. M. Findlay notices verbal echoes particularly of Ovid's account of the myth.[56] The speech places Hamlet in the role of Orpheus, "loosed out of hell" while his lover remains there, but the fact that we experience the loss from Ophelia's perspective links her to the legend as well. As in the previous passage, what Ophelia imagines as Hamlet's "piteous and profound" expressiveness anticipates her own tragic singing, which (if we change the gender of the pronouns) "did seem to shatter all [her] bulk / And end [her] being." In her mad scenes Ophelia takes this ecstatic mode of expression even further, summoning up not only Orpheus's pitiful, watery death, but also the frenzy of the Thracian women who tear him apart.

In both her commentaries on the undoing of humanist ideals in Hamlet, then, Ophelia envisions a transition from a lost world of ideal figuration toward an Orphic form of poesie. Her songs about deflowering and death act out this vision, echoing the confluence in the myth between Orpheus's lovesick, enthralling music and the sexualized violence that is its culmination. Hinting indeterminately and often simultaneously at Hamlet and Polonius, the songs are sometimes quite bawdy – "Young men will do't if they come to't: / By Cock they are to blame" (4.5.60–61) – and sometimes strike a tone of elegiac lament:

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[56] Findlay, "Enriching Echoes."

> And will 'a not come again?
> And will 'a not come again?
> No, no, he is dead,
> Go to thy deathbed.
> He never will come again.
> (ll. 182–86)

Little of the enchanting sweetness that the Renaissance idealized in Orpheus emerges here: Ophelia's song-speech may be "melodious" in Gertrude's recollections, but her mad scenes are bleak and corrosive even when compared to the rest of *Hamlet*. She brings out the darker aspects of the passionate "stupor" (or as Arthur Golding translates it, "stound") of a poet caught between earth and hell, whose song is at home in the "stilnesse of [Pluto's] waste and emptye Kingdome."[57] Although she fascinates and allures her auditors, Ophelia is closest to this victimized side of Orpheus, who after Eurydice's second death is like one: "striken in a sodein feare and could it not restreyne / Untill the tyme his former shape and nature béeing gone, / His body quyght was ouergrowne, and turned intoo stone."[58] Ophelia's immersion in the natural world, fragmented utterances, madness, futile death, and persistent association with "nothing" tie her to Orpheus's two most memorable and tragic failures: when he is unable to charm the maenads who overtake and mutilate him, and when, overcome with desire, he glances back at his lover only to find “nothing”: “He retching out his hands. / Desyrous too bée caught and for too ketch her grasping stands. / But nothing saue the slippry aire (vnhappy man) he caught.”[59]

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[57] Golding, trans., *The. XV. Bookes of P. Ouidius Naso*, R3v-R4r.
[58] Golding, R4v.

The constellation of tensions that Eurydice’s second death evokes – the effeminizing threat of amorous desire, the vacuousness of the female body and its representations, the complicity of verse and music in tragedy – find dynamic expression in Ophelia’s first song:

> “How should I your true love know
> From another man?”
> “By his cockle hat, and his staff,
> And his sandal shoon.
>
> White his shroud as mountain snow,
> Larded with sweet flowers,
> That bewept to the grave did not go
> With true lovers’ showers.”
>
> “He is dead and gone, lady,
> He is dead and gone.
> At his head a grass green turf,
> At his heels a stone.”[60]

With its interest in dead bodies and the materials by which they are recognized and remembered, Ophelia’s ballad refuses to reduce elegy to scriptive matter. Harping on the tragic gulf between the signifiers that identify the lover’s body and the “true love” as he lived, the first stanza employs the pilgrim’s trappings as a *memento mori* that singles out the lover by marking a radical difference from his life, acknowledging the gap between human identity and its materials in a manner that anticipates Hamlet’s encounter with

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[59] Golding, R4r.

[60] Q1, 13.15-26. Q2 and F place the third stanza before the second, confusing the sense of development. I quote the version of the song given in Q1 because it proceeds uninterruptedly and in a more logical sequence. There are a number of additional textual disparities in this scene: the songs unfold in a slightly different order; Ofelia is interrupted only once in Q1, while Claudius and Gertrude interject comments more often in the other two texts; and while Gertred attributes Ofelia’s madness to “this mischance of old Corambis’ death” in Q1 (13.6), there are multiple and conflicting interpretations of her madness in Q2 and F.

Yorick's skull. Meanwhile, the "sweet flowers" that cover the lover's body are subject to decay, and his "shroud as mountain snow" implies melting, especially given the image of weeping that follows. The irregular line "That bewept to the grave did not go," which adds an emphatic "not" that is jarring in both meter and sense, disallows the dead lover the fleeting tribute of "lovers' showers." And in the final stanza, the dead body is wedged between distinctive types of matter, the earthy "grass green turf" which (as Hamlet will remind us in his description of Alexander's progress through the earth) the body will literally become, and a "stone," presumably a gravestone that carries an inscription.[61] In this way, Ophelia's song brings out a paradox between different forms of *poesie*, a word that denoted artful verses and "sweet flowers" as well as inscriptions in stone and other hard surfaces, and, as Heather Dubrow has observed, inspired "a turning between two very different images of the material world: the evanescence suggested by wordplay on 'leaves' [or pages of poetry] and the solidity suggested by rocks."[62]

Ophelia's songs are thus an acute example of poesie's characteristically mixed state – matter that is both solid and ephemeral; signification that fails or vanishes yet uncannily persists and compels. She undermines any sense that the materials of writing and performance need to resolve into a concrete state – insisting instead that poesie disappears into airy nothingness, exceeding its physicality. And she demonstrates how these ephemeral qualities are no grounds for dismissing or ignoring a poetic endeavor, since even fleeting balladry has the potential to adopt an Orphic mantle and resonate meaningfully through its environment. Indeed, Ophelia helps to show how poesie *must* evanesce in order to be meaningful – that it is precisely its negotiation between immediate particularity and absent signification that renders it poetic.

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[61] The final stanza in Q1 comes second in Q2 and F.
[62] Dubrow, 39.

* * *

Ophelia's insight that a medium must escape its own materiality in order to communicate is a key premise of communication theory, and it returns us to the relevance of mediation to literary study. Mediation in general is predicated on the notion of communicating a message from sender to receiver: a medium fulfills its intersubjective promise not by standing for its meaning or remaining as a record of it, but by seeking to disguise the "noise" that disturbs its "signal." When we say "hello" on the telephone, for example, we perform the belief that the conversation is immediate or local, not the lackluster transmission of the sound of the voice over a long distance. As Lisa Gitelman puts it, "Media become authoritative as the social processes of their definition and dissemination are separated out or forgotten, and as the social processes of protocol formation and acceptance get ignored."[63] It is only when something goes wrong – a computer crash, for example – that we are forced to come to terms with the material particularities of mediation: recognizing that executing a command to "save" is not an abstract means to ensure that the file will be "there" but an electromagnetic process by which ions are configured in a hard drive or online.

By focusing our attention on how media render themselves absent, Ophelia reveals that poesie can never be "saved" as a static artifact. There is no strict analogue to digital saving in early modern culture, but Hamlet manufactures a related desire for script that is physically robust, immutable, and meaningful all at once. Ophelia exposes the futility of this desire, unraveling, in her ecstatic and Orphic manner, the very possibility that noble humanist inventions result in concrete objects impervious to change and decay. She leads us to a theory of the continual process of mediation to which poesie is subjected, a process that includes not only physical structures but also "protocols," which Gitelman describes as "a vast clutter of normative rules and default conditions, which gather and adhere like a nebulous array around a technological nucleus."[64] Both theater and song can be included here, since they involve an interaction of technological and bodily matter (the proscenium stage, the amplification of the larynx) and cultural protocols (the practice of clapping to conclude a play, the expectation of a refrain in a song). But we must acknowledge the special qualities of an embodied medium like the theater, which comes into being through actors, singers, props, and other forces that constantly intrude upon and reshape what they mediate. A play like *Hamlet*, and Ophelia's mad utterances in particular, require a broader theory of mediation that accounts for inanimate materials as well as the larger diversity of elements that constitute theatrical representation. Indeed, because she actively shapes the contingent, situational way in which her song-speech produces meaning, Ophelia is *herself* a kind of medium, or what Bruno Latour would call a "mediator":

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[63] Gitelman, 6-7. Bolter and Grusin describe this phenomenon as "the logic of transparent immediacy," which "leads one either to erase or to render automatic the act of representation" (30, 33).

> "An *intermediary*, in my vocabulary, is what transports meaning or force without transformation: defining its inputs is enough to define its outputs. For all practical purposes, an intermediary can be taken not only as a black box, but also as a black box counting for one, even if it is internally made of many parts. *Mediators*, on the other hand, cannot be counted as just one; they might count for one, for

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[64] Gitelman, 7.

> nothing, for several, or for infinity. Their input is never a good predictor of their output; their specificity has to be taken into account every time."[65]

Latourian sociology and media studies are distinct theoretical terrains, but Latour helps us see how media formats and technologies cannot be cleanly separated from the humans who inflect and perform them. A notion of mediation that includes technologies and protocols, *as well as* active "mediators" and obedient "intermediaries," allows us to acknowledge the mixture of human and nonhuman elements that constitute any social formation and, in turn, to appreciate the wider stakes of *Hamlet*'s meta-theatrical conflict. In combination with media theory, Latour helps us recognize the extent to which ideas, structures, physical substances, and humans all play a role in "reassembling" poesie, which (like Latour's theory of the social) involves "a trail of *associations* between heterogeneous elements."[66]

A more capacious theory of mediation that does not insist upon dividing the human from the nonhuman is apropos for a play fixated on the problem of transmitting messages not only through erasable commonplace books and other communication technologies, but also through human bodies. The primary conflict of *Hamlet* is after all the Danish prince's complexly delayed translation of his father's commandment through an ostensibly willing body. And, as Michael Almereyda brings out in his film adaptation of *Hamlet* (2000), Ophelia can be seen as an extreme type of *intermediary* at the outset of the play. Set in a version of contemporary New York City oversaturated with filmic, surveillance and countless other media technologies, the film portrays Polonius (played by Bill Murray) as an overattentive pedant who infantilizes and manhandles his daughter. In the film's version of the nunnery scene, Polonius goes so far as to reach underneath

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[65] Latour, *Ressembling the Social*, 39.
[66] Latour, *Ressembling the Social*, 5.

Ophelia's shirt and plant a wire there, literally appropriating her as a medium for the purposes of recording Hamlet. Through the vocabulary of film and contemporary media culture, Almeredya draws attention to the ways in which Ophelia is already portrayed as an intermediary in Shakespeare's play, a living commonplace book who contains her father's precepts.[67]

It is fitting that Almereyda's emphatically mediatized *Hamlet*, in which humans themselves become technologies, arises in film: as Thomas Cartelli and Katherine Rowe have observed, "Film has always borrowed from and been conditioned by other media," and as such can provide unique insight into "how Shakespeare's own plays allegorize (consciously represent and reflect on) their relation to media that were both new and old at the time of their earliest performance and publication."[68] Scholars of recent Shakespeare adaptations on film and in mediatized stage performance (notably the 2007 *Wooster Group Hamlet*) have accordingly been among the first to argue for the relevance of media theory to early modern studies.[69] As is frequently the case in media theory, contemporary habits and technologies make explicit problems that were there all along.

In the process of reimagining Shakespeare, film adaptations often place into relief key differences in historical experiences of mediation. The sense in Almereyda's film that characters have the freedom to manipulate the ways in which they are mediated, for example, says more about contemporary culture than it does about the early modern theater. While Almereyda's Hamlet seeks to record and render his life entirely in film

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[67] On Almereyda's film and its oversaturation in media, see Lanier, "Shakescorp 'Noir'"; and Cartelli and Rowe, "*Hamlet* Rewound."
[68] Cartelli and Rowe, 41, 52.
[69] On the avant-garde Wooster Group's reprisal of Richard Burton's 1964 *Hamlet* (which was recorded "live" on Broadway and intended for a television audience), see Cartelli, "Channeling the Ghosts"; and Worthen, *Drama*, 123-38. On mediatized stage performance and the ways in which televisual culture reconditions live or embodied experience, see Auslander, *Liveness*.

(using *The Mousetrap* as a form of autobiography), Shakespeare's Hamlet can only evince an unfulfilled desire to transform his mind into his father's book:

> Remember thee?
> Yea, from the table of my memory
> I'll wipe away all trivial fond records,
> All saws of books, all forms, all pressures past
> That youth and observation copied there.
> (1.5.97–101)

Hamlet's hope here, in response to the Ghost's first visitation, is to refashion the medium of his memory into the bibliographic instrument of his father's *logos*. But the cascading series of failures and delays in this project begins immediately after Hamlet's attempt to transcribe the Ghost's instructions into his commonplace book. Hamlet comes to believe that the "play's the thing" that will enable his revenge (2.2.539), but in practice *The Mousetrap* complicates and stymies the Ghost's directive. Despite the Ghost's emphatic command that Hamlet "Taint not thy mind nor let thy soul contrive / Against thy mother aught" (1.5.85–86), *The Mousetrap* is concerned above all with the infidelity of the Player Queen. And Hamlet's brief appearance with Claudius in the chapel, in which his thoughts quickly turn to "th'incestuous pleasure of [the king's] bed" (3.3.90), rapidly gives way to his anguished confrontation of Gertrude in her closet.

The closet scene – the culmination of an act that begins with Claudius's self-castigation for using the "plastering art" and "painted word" of the "harlot's cheek," and continues with Hamlet's virulent dismissal of feminine "paintings" (3.1.50–52, 141) – reaches a crisis in the play's theme of embodied artifice. Hamlet is unable to manifest his filial duty without his mother's physical presence, and his Oedipal struggle is colored by his conviction that he can act or perform ideas only through the intermediary of her body. Even the misguided action that he does accomplish in Gertrude's closet, murdering

Polonius, is made possible by the additional medium of the arras that conceals the wrong man. This disaster motivates Hamlet to a radical obsession with his mother's body, which he (ironically) places before a mirror in the hopes that a reflection will provide complete self-knowledge: "Come, come, and sit you down. You shall not budge. / You go not till I set you up a glass / Where you may see the inmost part of you" (3.4.17–19). Still unsatisfied, Hamlet forces Gertrude to look upon the "picture[s]" or "counterfeit presentment of two brothers," using them to frame her as a creature of crude sensation (ll. 51-52):

> What devil was't
> That thus hath cozened you at hoodman-blind?
> Eyes without feeling, feeling without sight,
> Ears without hands or eyes, smelling sans all.
> (ll. 74–77)

All of this work to instrumentalize his mother by means of reflections and depictions signals Hamlet's growing desperation for media he can immobilize and control, and that promise to link his judgment to the sensory world. Yet the result of Hamlet's desire, especially when the impatient Ghost reappears to admonish him alone, is a greater sense of isolation from the matter that he perceives as necessary to render his ideas substantial:

> HAMLET. Do you see nothing there?
> QUEEN. Nothing at all, yet all that is I see.
> HAMLET. Nor did you nothing hear?
> QUEEN. No, nothing but ourselves.
> (ll. 128–31)

Confronting Hamlet with the possibility that his beliefs are founded on "nothing" and derive from nothing higher or more significant than "ourselves" and "all" that can be seen and sensed, Gertrude turns him toward a recognition of the base materiality that all bodies perform. Accordingly, Hamlet follows this scene with some of his most graphic commentary on the rudest of all bodily mediations, the transition from life to death – he jokes about Polonius's decomposition, suggesting that "a king may go a progress through the guts of a beggar," and soliloquizes his resolution to become like soldiers "That for a fantasy and trick of fame / Go to their graves like beds" (4.3.29–30, 4.4.60–61).

Gertrude thus anticipates the idea, expressed in Ophelia's final scenes, that mediation inevitably involves both shifting, intangible "nothings" and baser "matter" – gross bodies full of idle fancies that have no definitive source or ideal. When Gertrude asks Hamlet why "you do bend your eye on vacancy / And with th'incorporal air do hold discourse?" and suggests that the Ghost "is the very coinage of your brain. / This bodiless creation ecstasy / Is very cunning in" (3.4. 113–14, 135–37), she touches the nerve that has brought Hamlet to her closet. Gertrude makes explicit the fears that have consumed Hamlet all along: that he cannot verify a prior paternal directive, that his actions are subject to an endless host of contingencies, and that because of this he may as well be mad, since there is nothing separating him from an abject "ecstasy" like Ophelia's:

> [Ecstasy?]
> My pulse as yours doth temperately keep time
> And makes as healthful music. It is not madness
> That I have uttered. Bring me to the test
> And I the matter will reword, which madness
> Would gambol from.
> (ll. 138–42)[70]

Protesting too much that his struggle derives from definitive "matter," Hamlet alludes to the myth that human bodies are healthful insofar as they imitate the music of the spheres, a heavenly harmony that mortals can mimic but never reach or hear. Implicit is the possibility that what Gertrude sees as "ecstasy" and Hamlet as a "gambol" or extemporaneous dance has nothing to do with a higher state. We are forced to confront the play's generalized sense of paranoia that actions, ideas, and works of art are fully embedded in their environment, leaving limited opportunity for individual will. The scene in Gertrude's closet is thus another register of *Hamlet*'s skepticism about dominant early modern theories of representation, in which authorial inventions may be altered by their expression in the world but nevertheless defer to a prior realm of meaning. As Gertrude puts it, reassuring Hamlet that she will not repeat what he has told her, "Be thou assured, if words be made of breath / And breath of life, I have no life to breathe / What thou hast said to me" (ll. 195–97). Conceiving of words as physically contiguous with their speakers, almost as though they are life forms of their own, Gertrude presents a notion of communication that lives only insofar as it is recycled and performed. By contrast, Gertrude implies, words that would seek to become permanent artifacts are dead – delusional "nothings" that vainly seek to determine their significance in advance.

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[70] Hamlet repeats "Ecstasy?" only in F.

Ophelia takes this line of thinking in a poetic and musical direction, showing that even the most uncontrolled and malleable of art forms can produce topical, individualized meaning. Her songs are a mixture of tragically personal expressions and anonymous, generalized utterances that owe nothing to a dramatic pen. They are dismissed as derivative "nothings" and "old lauds," yet they summon up pity for her individual plight even from Claudius, who laments, "O, this is the poison of deep grief. It springs / All from her father's death" (4.5.75–76). The tendency to shift between well-worn imitation and personalized interiority is a staple of the early modern lyric, but Ophelia refashions this generic tradition, strongly linked to Orpheus, to emphasize the ecological process by which poetic meaning unfolds. It is fitting that Ophelia's songs are punctuated by an "ocean" of "rabble," the "Caps, hands and tongue" of rebellion that Laertes leads into

Elsinore, because they are politically threatening and also because they operate at the threshold of the dominant poetic mode (ll. 99–108). Drawing from a popular and acoustic repertoire rather than a litany of literary conventions, Ophelia's utterances provide the space for an extrafictional influx of performative practices hovering at the paratextual boundaries of poesie. Ophelia's song-speech is an ecstatic and improvisatory "gambol": instead of "healthful music" that imitates ideal harmony, it recycles and recirculates popular sentiments that comment poignantly, if obscurely, on present events. Yet Shakespeare's play does not allow us to divide Ophelia's music from higher meaning. Like early modern thinking about music in general, which continually slips between philosophical notions of the music of the spheres and sensuous experiences of "practical" music, her songs move readily between symbolic abstraction and phenomenal perception.

Ophelia's death comes when her body, like her song-speech, is suspended "mermaid-like" between formal coherence and organic singularity. When "on the pendant boughs her crownet weeds / Clambering to hang, an envious sliver broke" (4.7.170–71), the boundaries between Ophelia, her social world, and her physical atmosphere break down, and we witness the tragic outcome of her figuration as "nothing," the obedient intermediary of her father and lover. Deprived of rational thought and hapless within natural and social currents beyond her control, Ophelia is the victim of her own clothes, which take on the agency to bear her up and then pull her down to muddy death. This moment, the nadir of Ophelia's conscious agency, is the conventional state in which she is remembered, from Gertrude's lyrical description to John Everett Millais's famous painting to Almereyda's film, where she drowns in the fountain of the Guggenheim Museum. Yet the irony of Ophelia's apparent passiveness is that this episode is her most trenchant insistence upon the contiguity between humans and their environments. The drowning haunts us not least because it demands an acknowledgment of our *immersion* within media ecologies, including the dispersal of personal agency through our most externally determined of markers, our "garments" or social trappings which, in Ophelia's case, decide between life and death.

Just as the threshold space of theatrical music disturbs the boundaries of a fictional world, Ophelia's final scenes foreground the ways in which human expressions (and humans themselves) are mediated. Ophelia's unscripted and performative qualities leave her in an ambiguously marginal position from which she critiques fundamental assumptions about artistic representation, revealing how poesie is less an instantiation of an external ideal than a communication of ideas, sentiments, and events through their environment. Endlessly mediated and unavoidably poetic, her song-speech is an Orphic assemblage of "poesies" that reminds us of the general tendency for early modern literature to be recycled, improvised, spoken, and sung. In a play oversaturated with media and obsessed with the limits or "quintessence" of material objects, Ophelia asks us to recognize that poesie is *more* than matter.[71] She draws attention to the complex interaction of forces, bodies, and things at work in literary form, and she demonstrates the potential for song to be topical and affecting even when it leaves no written or recorded trace. Ophelia reveals that what matters about poesie is the continuously adaptive process by which it becomes meaningful.

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[71] It is of course "Man" that Hamlet sees as a "quintessence of dust" (2.2.274), part of his fascination with the spectrum between humanity and inanimate matter: "Why may not imagination trace the noble dust of Alexander till 'a find it stopping a bung-hole?" (5.1.193-94).

Chapter 4

Networks of Occasional Entertainment

In sixteenth-century England, older traditions of royal processionals, aristocratic entertainments, popular festivals and civic pageants developed into a fashion for unprecedentedly elaborate performative events. Nobles, trade guilds and monarchs spent thousands of pounds on inter-media spectacles full of architecture, engineering, painting, costuming, folk ritual, music, verse, landscaping and gastronomy. At aristocratic estates throughout England, Elizabeth I was presented with tilting ceremonies, bear-baiting, gymnastics, lute songs, decorous oratory and other spectacular "devices" including a "delectabl[e] ditty" sung by a child representing Arion atop a twenty-four-foot dolphin that floated toward the Queen while carrying a musical consort in its belly.[1] At James I's coronation procession in London, eight enormous arches were brought to life with complex performances full of personages from classical mythology, while Londoners cheered, shouted and drank from water conduits flowing with wine. These entertainments were by no means exclusive to the gentry; by the late-sixteenth century, yearly pageants through the streets of London celebrated the accession of the new Lord Mayor with resplendent pageant floats, lavish costumery, allegorical poetry, fireworks and choral music.[2]

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[1] Robert Laneham?, *A Letter*, F3r.

Many of the most prominent poets of the period composed verses and songs for occasional entertainments, wrote narrative descriptions of them for print, and took on a variety of organizational responsibilities in their production. George Gascoigne, Philip Sidney, Thomas Churchyard, Thomas Dekker, Thomas Middleton, Ben Jonson and Thomas Heywood were each the chief poet of at least one outdoor entertainment. The printed pamphlets they composed to record the events, which began to appear in the late-sixteenth century, aim to elucidate the entertainment's symbolic agenda or (as it tended to be called) "invention" for the benefit of readers, including those who had witnessed the performances but were unable to appreciate their full significance at the time. A pamphlet afforded an author the opportunity to express and define an invention, asserting his influence over the entire inter-media endeavor. In the preface to Gascoigne's account of the 1575 Kenilworth Entertainment, for example, the printer highlights the "sundry pleasant and Poeticall inuentions [that] were there expressed, aswell in verse as in prose" and claims that this record "plainlye doth set downe euery thing as it was in deede presented, at large: And further doth declare, who was Author and deuiser of euerye Poeme & inuencion."[3] As is clear by comparison with another extant account of the festivities, however, Gascoigne's pamphlet excludes a wide array of events that occurred during Elizabeth's visit, including Coventry plays, Morris dances, tavern stories, and a country marriage.[4] Furthermore, Gascoigne includes shows and speeches that, as he acknowledges, "never came to execution. The cause whereof I cannot attribute to any other thing, then to lack of opportunitie and seasonable weather."[5] As we shall see, similarly extreme variations and departures are the rule for the genre: printed accounts of entertainments often departed so greatly from performative occasions that it is tempting to think of them as independent entities.

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[2] A word of clarification: I describe these events as "entertainments" because that is the broadest category for the tradition in question. In early modern English, "entertainments" are described by that name as well as "revels," "devices," "inventions" (all of which are fairly interchangeable terms that sometimes refer to the theater as well), as well as "processions," "progresses" "pageants" and "triumphs" (which are terms for outdoor entertainments involving moving processions, including royal "entries" into cities).

[3] Gascoigne, *The Princely Pleasures at Kenilworth Castle*, 2.

Nevertheless, printed records tend to define their purview, marketability and legitimacy in terms of performance – and they function as explanations, justifications and memorabilia of the singular events they claim to record. Rather than autonomous textual entities, that is, these pamphlets are *negotiations* with performance: attempts to delimit and define an entertainment in relation to its environment. Print provides a particularly useful means of asserting the relevance and influence of the written word in this process, which is why Gascoigne's printer advertises the value of knowing "who was the Author and deuiser of euerye Poeme & inuencion." As contemporary diaries and records of expenditures reveal, however, the poets who fashioned occasional entertainments were neither paid exclusively for writing nor understood exclusively as writers. The endeavor in which they were implicated was far broader: entertainment poets were directors who oversaw musical consorts, managers whose responsibilities included coordinating with the many other artisans involved in the festivities, chaperones who dressed and fed the children involved in the show, and even (as in Gascoigne's case) actors who dressed as mythical personages in order to deliver verse themselves. Perhaps no early modern genre demonstrates more clearly the ways in which poesie cannot be confined or reduced to writing. Occasional entertainments are implicated in an event-based, inter-mediated poetic culture in which visual, gestural, scriptive, and acoustic endeavors were fully interdependent – a *network* of poesie that was closely incorporated into, and sometimes indistinguishable from, the environment that surrounded it.

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[4] See Laneham?, *A Letter*.
[5] Gascoigne, *The Princely Pleasures at Kenilworth Castle*, 120.

The process by which occasional entertainments are influenced by, associated with and translated into printed form thus offers a helpful perspective on early modern debates over the boundaries and definition of poesie. Entertainments are not confined to books, writing or even language: they are commodious enough to absorb all kinds of non-textual and non-discursive elements into their midst, from passersby entirely uninterested in a pageant's allegorical agenda to the city or estate that literally incorporates the festivities. Yet entertainments also involve a continual process of negotiation over what defines them and fits within their limits, and poets worked assiduously to manage, control, appropriate or remove selected components of an entertainment's identity and meaning. The sheer volume of elements involved, from the pickpockets working the crowds to the feasting and carousing of the participants, makes the poet's task of redefining and consolidating an entertainment into his allegorical design extremely daunting: there is simply too much *noise*, a term that in media theory designates any disruption to a message.[6] Thus certain media (for example, the sound of a child's voice amidst the din of the crowd), surroundings (the parade route along Fleet Street in London, but not the everyday business that continued all around it) and artifacts (the emblematic artisanship on a pageant float, as opposed to the triumphal arches left over from a previous event) must be painstakingly articulated over and against a great profusion of competition. The diverse elements of a pageant can sometimes, with varying degrees of success, be sorted into a system or form – a cultural consensus about the essential structure of an artistic endeavor. But occasional entertainments are at constant risk of immanent distribution through their environment, and they require vigilant and continuous assertions of ideological authority, political will, artisanal construction and crowd management on the part of poets, princes, architects, "whifflers" (stewards charged with maintaining order) and others.

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[6] During the early modern period, noise commonly (though not exclusively) meant unwanted sound; see R. Murray Schafer's discussion of "Noise," in *Soundscape*, 181-202, and see the *Oxford English Dictionary* (accessed December 2010). In media theory, "noise" refers more generally to any disruptive signal, irrespective of is acoustic or other sensory qualities.

Entertainments do not, therefore, sit comfortably within a predetermined sphere or discourse, which is why they are best described not as "texts" or symbolic systems of signification but rather as *networks* in the Latourian sense of an assemblage whose meanings and boundaries must constantly be re-articulated and re-drawn. Entertainments participate in a distinctive symbolic language, to be sure – one that stretches back to Ancient Roman triumphs and that played an important role in shaping early modern political power. But they are so unwieldy and multifarious that this symbolism frequently breaks down, opening out into a series of conflicts over which of an entertainment's panoply of elements belong to them or to signify within their limits. Latour's Actor-Network Theory is useful in accounting for this state of affairs for three reasons. First, Latour denies any ontological distinction between forms, ideas, language and discourse (on the one hand), and matter, nature, objects and things (on the other).[7]

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[7] See Latour, "Circulating Reference: Sampling the Soil in the Amazon Rainforest," in *Pandora's Hope*, 24-79: "The old settlement [in philosophical discussions about realism] started from a gap between words and the world, and then tried to construct a tiny footbridge over this chasm through a risky correspondence between what were understood as totally different ontological domains – language and nature. I want to

This position allows us to appreciate the ways in which an entertainment "is" a series of chemical reactions between sparks and gunpowder as much as it "is" a negotiation between City officials and the royal court. The hierarchy separating these qualities or setting one in advance of the other is not predetermined, and its winners and losers – from kings and poets to pageant floats and printed pamphlets – are all Latourian "actors" implicated in a negotiation over the boundaries of poesie. Second, Latour warns against determining a priori – by field, type, form, physical composition or any other schema – the constituent parts of a network.[8] With this proviso in mind, we are better equipped to deal with the fact that early modern entertainments were produced not only by individual artists and generic conventions but by noisy crowds, infusions of money from trade guilds, topographical arrangements of streets and estates – indeed, by entire towns and cities. These elements have many crucial differences, of course, and some of them come to exert far more influence than others. But it is best to follow Latour in refusing to take for granted (for example) that a minstrel in Cheapside unconnected to a pageant's allegorical design is incidental to its meaning and definition, or that the verses of a pageant poet are invariably more influential than the artisans who designed the pageant floats. Finally, Latour emphasizes the continual labor involved in assembling social formations, which are "the provisional product of a constant uproar made by the millions of contradictory voices about what is a group and who pertains to what . . . social aggregates are not the object of an *ostensive* definition – like mugs and cats and chairs that can be pointed at by the index finger – but only of a *performative* definition."[9] By

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show that there is neither correspondence, nor gaps, nor even two distinct ontological domains, but an entirely different phenomenon: circulating reference" (24).

[8] See Latour, *Reassembling the Social*, 63-86; and Latour, "When Things Strike Back."

[9] Latour, *Reassembling the Social*, 31, 34.

arguing that actors search “rather frantically for ways to *de-fine*” collectives that must be repeatedly refreshed, Latour helps point the way to the more fully performative conception of poesie that occupies this chapter.[10] Having demonstrated in the previous chapters the ways in which poesie is continually remediated through script, print, music and theater, I now wish to show how early modern poesie is determined by the shaping force of singular events. If Ophelia reveals the ways in which poesie is subject to a continually shifting process of recycling, repetition and renewal, entertainments lay bare the extent to which this process is deeply inflected by unique occasions that will never be repeated and that belie any attempts to be recorded or preserved.

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Because entertainments were understood to be defined by the time and place of their occurrence, they tended to raise difficult questions for mimetic philosophies of art which posit something prior or permanent *behind* a performance. Outdoor entertainments were particularly notable in this regard, since they were characterized by unpredictable weather, muddy disorder, fireworks, and above all uproarious crowds that were notorious for having little interest in (let alone comprehension of) the high-minded mimetic ideals that supposedly governed and defined their worldly manifestation. Entertainments invariably have a mimetic dimension: in fact, the elaborate and learned inventions that poets emphasize in their records are textbook examples of mimesis, since they posit an ideality original to or definitive of a performative occasion, which is then expressed in the world. Poets, guilds, monarchal governments and other forces all work to bring out what is, for them, a significant identity or source: they all have vested interests in what an entertainment is understood to express, represent or mean. But the concept of a singular occasion is at a fundamental level *not* imitative: that which is entirely, genuinely grounded in its immediate environment finally imitates nothing but itself. The fundamental challenge at stake in an entertainment is how its immanent, occasional qualities come to be (or refuse to be) reconciled with the impositions, agendas and definitions acting upon it.

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[10] Latour, *Reassembling the Social*, 33. It is worth noting here I use Actor-Network Theory as an inspiration rather than a strict guide and make no claim to a direct application of it. Thus, for example, Latour uses acting as a *metaphor* for social formation whereas I use it literally, deliberately taking the idea out of context in order to make an observation about literary form.

In order to bring this state of affairs into view, it will help to compare the entertainment tradition with that of the professional theater, which was inter-mediated in its own way. As discussed in the previous chapter, the theater was characterized by an ongoing competition between authorial assertions of a controlling fiction and improvisatory, ephemeral elements including music and jesting. The itinerant nature of playing in the early modern period left the atmosphere or environment of a play highly variable, with companies regularly shifting between outdoor playhouses, indoor theaters, inns, royal courts and more. The theater is constantly alluding, furthermore, to other performative traditions ranging from ballad-mongering and puppet shows to bearbaiting and jousting – and often (as in the choral concerts performed by children's companies or the jigs performed by comic actors such as Richard Tarleton and Will Kemp) literally incorporating them into a play. Occasional entertainments sometimes find their way into early modern playhouses as well, and when they do so they tend to disrupt standard, mimetic philosophies of poesie with the simple yet volatile notion that an artform can be determined by a single and inimitable performative occasion. By the 1590s, however, the theater had absorbed a set of semiotic tendencies and conventions that were at least roughly compatible with the notion that performance amounted to the secondary imitation of a script – which is to say that occasional events, jesting and other unscripted elements tend to act as disruptions and challenges to what was otherwise a more stable mode of representation.[11]

Two examples of entertainments that occur within Shakespeare's plays help to reveal the destabilizing perspective on mimesis that even the *theme* of occasional performativity tends to introduce.[12] First, take the meta-performance of the troupe of "rude mechanicals" (as Puck calls them at 3.2.9) that supposedly celebrates Theseus and Hippolyta's nuptials in the final act of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. The Mechanicals' play is closer to the theater than to the entertainment tradition, since it involves an ostensibly reproducible fiction that is performed at court. But it also has an important occasional dimension that raises troubling questions about how a mimetic ideal can be expressed in a singular, local event. Theseus's famous speech about the imaginative capacity of the poet at the beginning of act 5 introduces the problems of imitation and representation at stake in the scene by offering an explicit theory of poesie – one that anticipates Hamlet's theory of drama as "a mirror up to nature" (3.2.22). While Hamlet and, in a fuller way, the play around him acknowledge that any such imitative mirror emerges in the process of performance, however, Theseus describes poesie as a top-down sequence of distinctive stages:

> The poet's eye, in a fine frenzy rolling,

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[11] See Weimann, *Shakespeare and the Popular Tradition of the Theater*.

[12] These are by no means the only examples; recall, for instance, the ways in which *Twelfth Night* is implicated in an occasional context, starting with its title.

> Doth glance from heaven to earth, from earth to heaven;
> And as imagination bodies forth
> The forms of things unknown, the poet's pen
> Turns them to shapes, and gives to aery nothing
> A local habitation and a name.
> (5.1.12-17)

For Theseus, as for standard early modern theories of art, poesie has a reasonably clear origin in an abstract ideal – the "forms of things unknown" and "aery nothing[s]" which are then mediated through the "imagination" and "the poet's pen."

Much has been written about this highly meta-dramatic moment, and Theseus's ideas about poetry are markedly ambiguous, which is why scholars have read the speech in a great (and conflicting) variety of ways.[13] His comments are not a compliment to poets – they come in the context of his suggestion that poets, lovers and lunatics imagine and body forth strange and untrue fantasies – but they seem to grant the poet considerable autonomy over his or her work. They also seem to imply that imagination precedes and determines local habitation, so that "easy is a bush suppos'd a bear!" for an inventive, imaginative poet (l. 22). This position is complicated, however, first by the synecdoche that the poet's *pen* or instrument of mediation shapes things unknown – which we might take as a hint that the physical process of writing has an important shaping power of its own. And Theseus's use of the term "imagination" complicates things further, since, as we have seen in chapter 1, this term carried the connotations of the Aristotelian *phantasia*, a faculty not simply of intellection but of physiological perception and sensation. Although Theseus seems to use "imagination" in a manner closer to its modern denotation as a creative mental act, it is by no means clear from these lines that imagination precedes physical experience. Instead, imagination appears to be a relatively vague middle state between "things unknown" and "local habitation," or ideal forms and poetic media.

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[13] For an influential argument emphasizing the ways in which the play undermines Theseus's comments about the imagination, see Girard, "Myth and Ritual in Shakespeare." For a recent discussion of the relationship between idealized aesthetic realms and realistic human ones in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, including Theseus's speech, see Grady, "Shakespeare and Impure Aesthetics."

What is clear despite these complications, however, is that Theseus's poetic theory preserves a hierarchy that begins with an ideal and ends in local habitations and names. Theseus is interested in bodily and performative expression, and in the ways in which a poet's fantastical and frenzied imagination (as well as his or her pen) is involved in the representational process. But there is little doubt that he views palpable bodies, paper and ink as the secondary products of abstract or airy forms, and he goes on to elaborate this viewpoint in the context of the theater when he claims that he can interpret even the most wretched play as a tribute to his majesty: "Our sport shall be to take what they mistake; / And what poor duty cannot do, noble respect / Takes it in might, not merit" (ll. 90-92). Diminishing the importance of the performance itself to the extent that it is actually beside the point, these lines render an imitation negligible in comparison to the ideal vision or intention that defines it (an idea that borrows from the more rigid versions of mimetic theory outlined, for example, in Plato's *Republic*). Theseus's earlier comments are less clear about what stage of imitation is superior or definitive; "local habitation," for example, might be as important as the "nothing" that precedes it. But throughout the scene Theseus maintains a developmental, hierarchical theory of mimesis in which a poem or a play is the secondary or derivative product of an ideal or form.

Theseus's views on theatrical mimesis are shown to be at best narrow and at worst laughable, however, in the course of the play that he has determined to take as a compliment. The difficulties begin when it becomes clear that there is no reason to believe that the Mechanicals' performance is complimentary or even relevant to the court. As Quince puts it, fumblingly, "All for your delight / We are not here" (ll. 114-15), and this idea is reinforced by the fact that *The most lamentable comedy and most cruel death of Pyramus and Thisby* makes more sense as an in-joke about *Romeo and Juliet* (which was first performed around the same time as *A Midsummer Night's Dream*) than it does as a tribute to Theseus's wedding. More to the point, the performance employs an incongruous jumble of bodily signifiers that completely reshape its ostensible source or intention. By literally acting out "Moonshine" and "Wall," the Mechanicals make explicit the contradictions and idiosyncrasies involved in representing a narrative in physical space, and demonstrate the extent to which "the forms of things unknown" depend upon actors' bodies. Actors are shown – in spite of themselves – to have a *mechanical* stake in determining names and local habitations; they reveal the extent to which the theater is an artisinal, functional, even self-determinate medium at the same time that it is thoroughly artificial and imaginative.[14] Snout's portrayal of the wall that separates Pyramus and Thisbe during their courtship is a particularly suggestive dramaturgical joke on this topic. After pointing out that "You can never bring in a wall" to the theater, Snout agrees that this physical entity is so important to the dramatic action that he must "present" or "signify wall" himself (3.1.65, 67, 69). Double entendres such as Thisby's "I kiss the wall's hole, not your lips at all" render the threat of the medium overtaking the message unavoidable, suggesting in a bawdy and humorous (but no less forceful) way that actors' bodies are overdetermined sites of signification that never fully mimic or imitate an external fiction or message (5.1.201).

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[14] As Henry Turner puts it, the Rude Mechanicals "insist on a literalism of meaning that collapses word or symbol into the body but manages also to reveal the artifice of theatrical language," in "Life Science," 213. On the distinctiveness of theatrical mediation, see also Weber, *Theatricality as Medium*.

The Mechanicals poke holes, furthermore, in standard assumptions about theatrical semiotics including the idea that actors must conform to a non-arbitrary, iconic mode of signification, and the idea that an actor is separable from a role in the first place. The very ridiculousness of humans embodying the natural and artificial world – elements of the fiction that audiences would normally picture in their mind's eye – raises questions about what justifies conventions of theatrical signification in the first place. Thus Theseus critiques the dramaturgical improvisation of Starveling (who has just opted to signify moonshine) by interjecting, "The man should be put into the lanthorn. How is it else the man i' th' moon?" – but Starveling easily (and unwittingly) counters this idea when he shows that Theseus's logic is foreign or incomprehensible to his practical notion of how the theater operates: "All that I have to say is to tell you that the lanthorn is the moon, I the man i' the' moon, this thorn-bush my thorn bush, and this dog my dog" (ll. 247-48, 257-59). The theater, Starveling implies, is already quite arbitrary about what elements of the fiction it decides to embody (why *should* there be a prop to signify a lantern and not one to signify moonshine?), and, furthermore, is informed less by a predetermined or scripted scheme than by the concrete, practical exigencies of playing. Like Snug, who would have ladies "know that I as Snug the joiner am / A lion fell" (ll. 223-24) in order to calm them, Starveling forces the audience to recognize that roles and fictional objects become meaningful only in relation to their performative environment, which in this case includes the reputations, personal identities, beliefs and possessions of actors. In this way the Mechanicals raise the stakes of Hippolyta's rejoinder to Theseus's observation about the silliness and shadowiness of the players:

> THESEUS. The best in this kind are but shadows; and the worst are no
> worse, if imagination amend them.

> HIPPOLYTA. It must be your imagination then, and not theirs.
> (ll. 211-14)

In the theater (Hippolyta implies), the "imagination" that Theseus would reserve for princes' visions and poets' pens is inevitably codetermined by the practices, identities and imaginations of the actors, in all of their impertinence and whimsy.

If the problem of occasional performance takes on a humorous dimension in Theseus's court, it takes on a vexing and even menacing quality during the nuptial entertainment of *The Tempest*. Just as the base interruptions of the Rude Mechanicals seem laughable to Theseus, the crude rebellion of Caliban, Stephano and Trinculo seems to pose no serious threat to Prospero's greater agenda. Yet Prospero is nevertheless significantly unsettled by the revolt and its interruption of the entertainment that he has designed in order to marry his daughter to the Neapolitan prince. The "distemper'd" fury (4.1.145) with which he breaks off the mythological performance suggests that his desire for the permanent purity of his own vision is more insistent than Hamlet's growing desire for the lasting power of script. And despite Prospero's general effort to disassociate his performative magic from base, earthly drudgery, the speech that he gives upon dissolving the revels retains an uncanny insistence on the concrete physical matter of his vision:

> Our revels now are ended. These our actors
> (As I foretold you) were all spirits, and
> Are melted into air, into thin air,
> And like the baseless fabric of this vision,
> The cloud-capp'd tow'rs, the gorgeous palaces,
> The solemn temples, the great globe itself,
> Yes, all which it inherit, shall dissolve,
> And like this insubstantial pageant faded
> Leave not a rack behind.
> (ll. 148-56)

Resigned here to the idea that performance is inevitably "insubstantial" and ephemeral, Prospero seems to long nevertheless for a more permanent "rack" – an ambiguous word that could mean a mechanical or artisinal framework and also, in early modern English, a noise, crash or *storm*.[15] Despite Prospero's transcendent idealism, that is, he remains subtly fixated on various forms of aural and tactile physicality – desiring a fusion of abstract spirituality and concrete particularity that seems to him, as it does for Sidney and for the lute song tradition, to reside in the performative "air."

Like Theseus's discussion of the imagination, much has been written about Prospero's "revels" speech, which according to William Hazlitt "has so often been quoted, that every school-boy knows it by heart," and which for Ernest Gilman continues to have a "focal role in shaping our experience of the play."[16] The speech has been mobilized to distinct and opposing ends in the longstanding controversy over Prospero's role in the moral conflict of the play: W. C. Curry sees it as a stage in Prospero's journey toward theurgist transcendence, while Frank Kermode suggests that the mage's brooding over the insubstantiality of revelry and his "apparently unnecessary perturbation" about the conspiracy of Caliban and his confederates can be attributed to the play's "oddly pedantic concern for classical structure."[17] For Paul Brown, meanwhile, the speech marks a telling moment in which "The forging of colonialist narrative is, momentarily, revealed as a forgery. Yet Prospero goes on to meet the threat and triumph over it, thus completing his narrative."[18] Despite the controversy over how to interpret this scene, however, scholars have agreed that the wedding festivities and the meta-performative revels speech should be understood in the context of the courtly masque. Though he sees Prospero's spectacle as a subversive inversion of the masque, for example, Gilman situates it firmly in a Jacobean courtly context, suggesting that the noisy interruption of the rebellion has a direct parallel in the antimasque component that Ben Jonson innovated in his 1606 wedding masque *Hymenaei*.[19] And Kermode reminds us that "Prospero's famous lament, 'Our revels now are ended', echoes the regret conventionally expressed at the ephemeral nature of the incredibly costly furnishings of court masques."[20]

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[15] *Oxford English Dictionary* (accessed December 2010).

[16] Hazlitt, *Characters of Shakespeare's Plays*, 76; Gilman, "'All eyes': Prospero's Inverted Masque," 220.

[17] Curry, "Sacerdotal Science in Shakespeare's *The Tempest*"; Kermode, ed., *The Tempest*, lxxv. On the darker aspects of Prospero's magic, see Corfield, "Why Does Prospero Abjure His 'Rough Magic'?"

[18] Brown, "This Thing of Darkness I Acknowledge Mine," 67.

What has gone unnoticed in this discussion is the broader tradition of occasional entertainment that underlies Prospero's "insubstantial pageant." The masque, which James I's court adapted and refined from its forbearers in order to suit an enclosed and elite community, is an important strand of this tradition, and there can be little doubt that it informs the aristocratic spectacle in Shakespeare's 1611 play. But it is misleading to think exclusively in terms of this particular type of entertainment, a courtly innovation that is never explicitly mentioned in *The Tempest* and that – given its relatively secure indoor setting, closed off from crowds and weather – raises a somewhat different set of questions about mediation and form. The "*strange, hollow, and confused noise*" that encroaches on Prospero's entertainment and leads Miranda to remark "Never till this day / Saw I him touch'd with anger so distemper'd" resonates with the Jonsonian antimasque – but it also calls up the wider tradition of carnivalesque misrule and noise that inspired Jonson's innovation in the first place. Indeed, Prospero's concern about a tenuous authorial vision interrupted by a noisy uproar surfaced nowhere more acutely in early modern England than in Lord Mayor's Shows, monarchal progresses and other outdoor festivities. A bifurcation between high humanist poetic visions and "noyse and uncivill turmoyle" (in the words of the pageant poet Anthony Munday) was perhaps the most salient characteristic of the outdoor entertainment tradition, which helps to explain why Prospero's speech is echoed in the sentiment that concludes the printed account of Middleton's 1617 Lord Mayor's Show: "No sooner the speech is ended but the triumph is dissolved, and not possible to 'scape the hands of the defacer."[21]

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[19] Gilman, "'All eyes': Prospero's Inverted Masque."

[20] Kermode, *Shakespeare: The Final Plays*, 43.

It is fitting that Prospero uses the terms "pageant" and "revels" to describe his spectacle, therefore, since these terms were associated with the multi-sensory occasional entertainments that were commonly understood to be so immediate and overwhelming as to appear to body forth "the great globe itself," and yet so insubstantial as to melt and fade in an instant. The volatile outdoor environment of Prospero's "vision," which could be interrupted at any moment by rebels or storms, is after all an important motivation for his brooding over the difficulty of fashioning a lasting or permanent provenance for art. Again, I do not mean to suggest that Prospero's revels can be understood exclusively as an outdoor entertainment, any more than its political and geographical context can be definitively pinned down to the New World.[22] The play's meta-performative background includes the early modern theater, of which Stephen Orgel has written, "the central creative imagination is concerned less with the creation of play texts than with their transformation into successful performances," as well as the Stuart masque, whose printed record narrates only a fraction of the dancing, musical revelry and feasting that occurred on the occasion.[23] But the urgency with which Prospero seeks to replace base uproar with "*Soft music*" (4.1.59), and his concern and interest in the noisy and powerful weather, give us good reason to think about them in relation to the broader tradition that early moderns called "pageants" and "entertainments" as well.

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[21] Anthony Munday, *Camp-bell*, A4; Middleton, *The Triumphs of Honour and Industry*, 1262.284-85.

[22] The geographical references in *The Tempest* appear carefully calibrated to disorient the audience; immediately after Ariel suggests that he stowed the king's ship in the "still-vex'd Bermoothes" (1.2.229), for example, he suggests that he returned the rest of the fleet "upon the Mediterranean" (234), holding out and then withdrawing a definitive point of reference. On the play's "negotiation between its Mediterranean and Atlantic contexts" (24) see Brotton, "This Tunis, sir, was Carthage."

Sound plays a key role in this context because outdoor entertainments force poets and masters of revels to deal with an extremely variable and unwieldy soundscape in which deafening fireworks, popular uproar, literal storms, polyphonic consorts, oratory and song are all at play. An occasional setting is characterized by a great variety of acoustic registers that are all potential sites of meaning and importance and that must all be addressed and negotiated in order to maintain any sense of authorial control. Thus Prospero's artistic and magical spectacles are characterized by acoustic extremes; his urgent demands during the nuptial entertainment that all "Be silent" except for his own "*Soft music*" are necessary, in part, because (as Caliban puts it) "the isle is full of noises, / Sounds and sweet airs . . . Sometimes a thousand twangling instruments / Will hum about mine ears; and sometimes voices" (4.1.59, 3.2.135-38). Prospero's curious statement that his revels "Leave not a rack behind," punning on "rack" as both storm and noise, hints at the key forms of disruptive noise at stake in the play, namely tempestuous weather and Caliban's own "noise" of subaltern insurrection. Furthermore, as Michael Neill has shown, Prospero's ostensibly transcendent music is in constant danger of erupting into vindictive tyranny and manipulation.[24] Drawing attention to the contrast between the "*strange, hollow, and confused noise*" (4.1.138) with which the rebels are associated and the music of the spheres that Prospero seeks to invoke, Neill suggests that the revels speech dramatizes "the audible clash between the masque music and the 'confused noise' into which it disintegrates."[25] I would add that the threat of such noise is not only that of meaningless confusion but that of competition: because Prospero's grave silence and soft music comprise only a fraction of the overall soundscape, they are in real danger of being drowned out by noises that he cannot control.

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[23] Orgel, *From Script to Stage in Early Modern England*, 1. Masques also tend to draw attention to their dissolving into thin air after a performance, as in Jonson's suggestion at the outset of *Hymenaei* (1606) that "the glory of these solemnities had perished like a blaze and gone out in the beholder's eyes" (47).

[24] Neill, "Noises, / Sounds and sweet airs."

In the meta-performative context of his nuptial entertainment, Prospero responds to the threat of "*confused noise*" by relying on a theory of mimesis even more authorial and hierarchical than that of Theseus. Privileging the role of the inventor or visionary that summons a performance out of thin air, Prospero works to control the entire soundscape of the island, down to whispers that threaten to interrupt his revels, by repeatedly demanding silence: "No tongue! all eyes! Be silent . . . Sweet now, silence! . . . Hush, and be mute, / Or else our spell is marr'd" (4.1.59, 124, 126-27). These demands are more complex than they seem: since we cannot close our ears, silence is intelligible only through a series of preconceptions about what counts as sound. As Frances Dyson puts it, "silence infers a subject that, in a trivial sense, exists outside or beyond the world (since the world is all sound and noise), but more significantly it is able to conceive itself *in absentia* . . . Silence can be imagined only in the context of the interiority of the subject."[26] The immaterial and interiorized subject that Prospero imagines through silence is, of course, himself; his language does not call for an absence of sound but for a mute audience, a withholding of competition for his own performative invention and its accompanying "*Soft music*." Prospero takes for granted that all noise is ambient: an obedient background or platform that can be turned on and off to suit his authorial endeavor. He even commands an airy spirit and ubiquitous musician who moves with complete freedom through the atmosphere, shaping all sounds on the island to his master's will. Ariel moves so seamlessly between palpable acoustic vibration and ambiguously immaterial *spiritus* that characters including Ferdinand are left to wonder "Where should this music be? I' th' air or th' earth?" (1.2.388).

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[25] Neill, 48.

[26] Dyson, *Sounding New Media*, 103-4. The context for this observation is John Cage's theory that silence is an illusion and that there is no environment without sound. Cage came to this discovery in 1952, after his isolation in an anechoic chamber in which he could hear his own blood circulating.

Nevertheless, Prospero's repeated demand for silence signals a measure of discomfort that brings out the fragile and even quixotic nature of his vision. His vexation climaxes in the revels speech, where pageantry is "baseless" not only because it is ephemeral but because it is ultimately uncontrollable: it does not provide a comfortable "base" or intermediary for his vision. Even with Ariel's assistance, Prospero is unable to police all sound on an "isle . . . full of noises," where Caliban is able to sing out his declaration "Freedom, high-day! high-day, freedom! freeedom, high-day, freedom!' (2.1.186-87). Amidst an over-sensory, outdoor occasion, Prospero is forced to acknowledge that the fundamental "fabric" of performance is not just privy to but *composed of* the noise and "rack" of popular uproar, ephemeral decay, and tempestuous weather. Prospero's role as a creator of storms, his concern with murmurs of rebellion, and his interest in the "rack" that his pageantry fails to leave behind all suggest that his imaginative agenda depends upon very noise that he cannot fully author. Perhaps the most striking example of this is Prospero's attempt to appropriate what he sees as Caliban's savage baseness, insisting in his unsettling phrase "this thing of darkness I / Acknowledge mine" (5.1.275-76) that Caliban somehow be incorporated into his own identity. This line is cryptic not least because it seems to define Prospero's mastery and nobility against what he defines as a "misshapen" and "Abhorred slave" (5.1.268, 1.2.351) while also raising the possibility that Prospero himself is the source of the ineradicable baseness that he projects onto Caliban.

Noise and discord, then, are at the core of Prospero's artistic vision, just as the savagery that comes to be associated with Caliban, the tempest that allows Prospero to overturn the Italian political order, and the insurrection that dominates the play's principal source (William Strachey's narrative of shipwreck en route to Virginia)[27] are at the center of his political agenda. Sound, from "*Soft music*" to deafening storms, is dangerously prone to interruption and subversion, but it is also one of Prospero's most powerful instruments or tools. As Jacques Attali has argued, noise is not only a force of subversion but a tool of hegemonic power – a means of defining order against the fear of chaos – and Prospero relies upon a world of sound to legitimize his control over the island as the same time that he is genuinely threatened by its potential for disruption.[28] *The Tempest* has traditionally been understood as outlining a withdrawal or retirement from the noisy worlds of theater and sound into the silence of drama and books[29] – but this is an anachronistic projection upon a play, and a period, that was less confident about the silent permanence of writing than scholars have assumed. Prospero leaves us skeptical from the outset about writing books in a study, since he tells us that it was "neglecting worldly ends" in this way that left him vulnerable to conspiracy and exile from Milan (1.2.89). The revels speech betrays a cognate despondency about the possibility of appropriating the raw noise of pageantry into a symbolic invention or program – but Prospero remains as dependent upon an occasional, outdoor environment to accomplish his visionary ends as he is upon the book that he claims he is ready to "drown" at the end of the play (5.1.57).

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[27] Strachey, *A True Reportory of the Wreck*, describes the series of mutinies that followed a shipwreck in the Bermudas and the subsequent journey to Jamestown.

[28] Attali, *Noise*, 26-27: "*noise is violence*: it disturbs . . . Since it is a threat of death, noise is a concern of power: when power founds its legitimacy on the fear it inspires, on its capacity to create social order, on its univocal monopoly of violence, it monopolizes noise."

[29] See for example Brower, "The Mirror of Analogy: *The Tempest*."

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These examples from Shakespeare help to demonstrate how performative occasions – particularly those that take place outdoors – bring out and amplify challenges to dominant Renaissance conceptions of poesie. In occasional entertainments themselves these challenges are even more acute, not least because they are worked through without the theatrical infrastructure that produces and reinforces the notion of a repeatable fiction or *muthos*. Entertainments do not include the various framing devices and technologies that set apart and amplify theatrical sights and sounds, such as the resonant sounding chamber of the outdoor amphitheater or the proscenium window of the indoor playhouse. They do not have stable viewing and hearing positions, they do not make clear distinctions between their symbolic and ambient components, they employ allegorical "personages" rather than dramatic characters, and they do not even imply a fictional narrative that is distinct from the lives of the participants. Outdoor entertainments are "literary" in the sense that their overtly symbolic inventions or designs – which include everything from James I embodying Octavius's final victory over Cleopatra, to the "Genius" of London receiving a promise of bounty and devotion from a mythical "King of Moors" – are among the most self-consciously humanist and belletristic of early modern endeavors. But such inventions are thoroughly embedded in and defined by the noisy, unruly atmosphere that is their raison d'être.

Entertainments that took place in an outdoor environment – and therefore involved a greater range and interaction of media than (for example) the printed book, the coterie manuscript, the professional stage or even the indoor masque – have been significantly under-studied. Scholarship on the Stuart masque has come to dwarf that on other kinds of entertainments, and the limited number of scholars who have turned their attention to pageants and processionals have tended to focus either on their political content or their relationship to the professional theater.[30] Gabriel Heaton's *Writing and Reading Royal Entertainments* is an exception to this rule, focusing on the print and manuscript cultures in which entertainment texts were circulated.[31] Because Heaton's focus is very specifically on the scriptive traditions surrounding royal entertainments, however, he makes little attempt to deal with the performative or outdoor dimensions of the tradition, he does not discuss the many non-royal pageants of the period, and he does not work to theorize the ways in which outdoor entertainments are a semiotic species all their own. In general, scholars have yet to appreciate the precise nature of the interaction between performance, writing and other media at stake in outdoor entertainments, including not just artisanal and architectural innovations but unpredictable crowds and weather. Entertainments were subject to a constant and overlapping series of feedback loops with their surroundings, including the noise and uproar that both articulated their importance and threatened to drown them out.

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[30] The masque began to be a prominent topic in early modern scholarship after Orgel's influential *The Jonsonian Masque*. By contrast, Bergeron's *English Civic Pageantry 1558-1642*, first published in 1971 and revised in 2003, remains the only comprehensive treatment of outdoor entertainment tradition to date. On city pageantry, see Wickham, "The Emblematic Tradition," in *Early English Stages 1300 to 1600*, vol. 2, 206-44; and Manley, "Scripts for the Pageant." On Elizabethan progresses, see Leahy, *Elizabethan Triumphal Processions*; and the essay collection *The Progresses, Pageants, and Entertainments of Queen Elizabeth I*, ed. Jayne Elisabeth Archer, et al. On the relationship between civic pageantry and the theater, see Hill, *Anthony Munday and Civic Culture*. See also the edition of John Nichols's classic *The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth* forthcoming from Oxford University Press; and the recent editions of Middleton's seven Lord Mayor's Shows and Dekker, et al. *The Whole Royal and Magnificent Entertainment of King James*, in *Thomas Middleton: The Collected Works*.

[31] Heaton, *Writing and Reading Royal Entertainments*.

These porous and *networked* qualities are what make outdoor entertainments particularly useful sites for thinking through the relationship between text and environment in early modern poesie. The tradition of the Lord Mayor's Show, an annual procession between Westminster and the City of London honoring the accession of the chief City official to the post of mayor, provides a particularly suggestive example of this problem. By the late sixteenth century these shows had developed into London's largest and most elaborate spectacles of the festival year.[32] Each October, livery companies spent hundreds of pounds on the manifold components of pageantry, including complex allegorical verses recited by child actors who were dressed as mythological personae and ensconced in finely wrought floats. With its steadily expanding population and accumulation of wealth that guilds were increasingly inclined to spend on public spectacle, London became a new type of poetic site, a multifarious field or system in which poetic verses, devices and inventions circulated prominently. And, because livery companies kept meticulous records of their expenditures for Lord Mayor's Shows, it is possible to piece together their shape and structure in some detail.

For example, we learn from livery company records that in order to put on the 1605 pageant *The Triumphs of Re-United Britania*, whose principal poet was Anthony Munday, the Merchant Taylors paid for an extraordinary variety of materials and services ranging from brightly colored costumes and banners to architectural devices including stilts for a procession of giants.[33] The soundscape of this pageant included twenty-four trumpeters, six drums, three fifes, the city waits (a traditional ensemble of street musicians) and several "greenmen," or adolescents dressed as savages who were in charge of setting off extensive fireworks, flames and explosions including "[the] double discharging [of] 120 brass chambers."[34] According to Orazio Busino, chaplain to the Venetian ambassador, the "booming" and "constant peal of firing ordnance" and "perpetual shower of firecrackers" in Middleton's 1617 Lord Mayor's Show were matched only by the "huge mass of people, surging like the sea," a "chaotic mixture" of disorderly and noisy people.[35] In his printed record of the 1633 Lord Mayor's Show, Thomas Heywood is inclined to agree with Busino, noting that it would be pointless to supply verses for a show designed for "the throng, who come rather to see then to heare" since the "words would be drown'd in noyse and laughter."[36] And as Munday points out in his account of the 1609 Lord Mayor's Show, without lengthy preparation "the weake voyces of so many Children, which such shewes as this doe urgently require, for personating each devise, in a crowde of such noyse and uncivill turmoyle, are not any way able to be understood, neither their capacities to reach the full height of instruction."[37]

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[32] Manley, "Scripts for the Pageant," 264 ff.

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[33] In addition to requisitions for musicians and fireworks, the guild records payments for seventeen azure coats, six yards of "Crymson Mockadowes," one hundred and ten gowns, six dozen red caps, eleven streamer bearers with feathers, dozens of "watchett" and ribbon, five yards of black fustian, grass-green cloth, sixty-eight yards of taffeta, twenty-six dozen "large staff torches," fourteen dozen smaller staff torches, the "greate Banner of the Lord Mayors Armes," twelve trumpet banners, two great pavices, eighteen targets, twenty dozen white staves, two dozen white and blue staves, two dozen small staves, fourscore and eight porters and "Rich Whifflers," three ensigns, chariot, lion and camel floats, ship painting, rigging, hanging and furnishing, giants and their "furniture" (stilts), two "devils," twelve sword-players, "taking down and setting up of signs" so the pageant could pass, churchwardens, workmen, painters, six cow tails, bay leaves for two crownets, payments for beer for the workmen, breakfast for the child actors, and remunerations to shopowners and others for their "paines." Merchant Taylor's Accounts of 1605-6, transcribed in Sayle, ed. *Lord Mayors' Pageants of the Merchant Taylors' Company in the 15th, 16th & 17th Centuries*, 75-84. Unless otherwise noted I quote livery company records by date from the selective transcriptions in *Collections, Vol. III*, ed. Robertson and Gordon. For shows including this one which were financed by the Merchant Taylors, see also the fuller transcriptions in Sayle edition. For relevant modern editions of guild records that are not specific to Lord Mayors Shows, see Lambert, *Records of the Skinners of London*; Prideaux, *Memorials of the Goldsmiths' Company*; and Johnson, *The History of the Worshipful Company of Drapers of London*. And see *Collections, Vol. V: Appenda to* Collections III, ed. Jean Robertson. Note also that the original records housed in Guildhall Library, London provide a wealth of context and detail not available in modern transcriptions.

[34] Merchant Taylor's Accounts of 1605-6.

[35] Busino, "Orazio Busino's Eyewitness Account of *The Triumphs of Honour and Industry*," 1266.

[36] Heywood, *Londini Emporia*, B4r.

The "turmoyle" that Munday describes was particularly acute in 1605, when the lavish list of expenditures listed above went disastrously to waste:

> this yere by reason of the greate rayne and fowle weather hapnyng, and falling vpon the morrowe after *Symon and Iudes Day*, beeing the day my Lord Maior went to Westm[inster], the greate cost the Company bestowed vpon their Pageant and other shewes, were in mann[er] cast away and defaced.[38]

This more literal "greate rayne and fowle weather" than that of *The Tempest* destroyed the floats before the procession could even begin. The Merchant Taylors sought to make up for this loss by erecting a smaller-scale production slightly later, at a fraction of the cost, but there was no pageant on Lord Mayor's Day that year.[39] *The Triumphs of Re-United Britania* is thus an extreme but by no means isolated example of how pageant poetry could be drowned out by its occasional environment.

Even if the skies were clear and the streets relatively free of mud (a rare enough occurrence in early modern London), diaries and other extant descriptions of Lord Mayor's Shows leave the impression of a chaotic and, above all, *noisy* atmosphere. The diary of Henry Machyn reproduces this cacophony with his staccato repetition of what R.

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[37] Munday, *Camp-bell*, A4.

[38] Merchant Taylors' Accounts of 1605-6.

[39] Whereas the original pageant cost 645 pounds, 8 shillings and 4 pence (a typical amount for a Lord Mayor's Show, though it is only half the cost of the most expensive show of the period, the Grocers' Show of 1613, which cost some 1,300 pounds), the total costs for the second day (which included eight earthen pans and "a load of great coals to dry the floats") came to 64 pounds, 14 shillings and 1 penny. For another example of weather interfering with a Lord Mayor's Show, see the Ironmongers' Records of 1618: "In Considerac[i]on of Anthony Mundyes good p[er]formance of his business vndertaken and of the spoyling of his Pageant apparail by the foule weather it was agreed to give him three powndes as a free guift of the Companie besides and above the Contract."

Murray Schafer would call the "soundmarks" or distinctive and identifying elements of a soundscape that proceeded "up and do[w]n" London on October 29, 1554:[40]

> . . . guns and drums and trumpets, rowing to Westminster up and down . . . squibs [or small fireworks] burning, and trumpets blowing, and drums and flutes, and then the bachelors with crimson damask heads, and then the trumpeters, and the waits of city . . .

[And in 1555]:

> . . . with trumpets and drums, and all the crafts in barges and streamers; and at the 9 of the clock my new lord mayor and the sheriffs and the aldermen took barge at the 3 Cranes with trumpets and shawms, and the waits playing; and so rode to Westminster, and took his oath in the checker, and all the way the pinnace shooting of guns and playing up and down; and so after came back to Paul's wharf, and landed with great shooting of guns and playing; and so in Paul's church-yard there met the bachelors and a goody pageant, and a 66 men in blue gowns, and with goodly targets and javelins and a devil, and 4 tall men like wodys [madmen] all in green, and trumpets playing . . .[41]

Trumpets, drums and gunfire recur as prominent soundmarks throughout Machyn's and other diarists' accounts of the pageants, along with vivid descriptions of the splendor and iconographic detail of the floats as well as amazement at the size and disorder of the crowd.[42] Travelers to London are frequently taken aback by the rowdiness of the mob; Busino suggests that the "insolence of the crowd is extreme":

> They swing up onto the back of carriages, and if one of the drivers turns on them with his whip, they jump to the ground and hurl stinking mud at him . . . everything resolves itself with kicks and punches and muddy faces . . . Some men masked as wild giant strode through the crowd with wheels and fireballs, hurling sparks here and there at the bodies and faces of the multitude, but to no avail at making a wide and clear route for the procession."[43]

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[40] Schafer, *Soundscape*, 10.

[41] Because Machyn uses an idiosyncratic and difficult sixteenth-century spelling, I have translated these passages to modern English. For the original spelling, see *The Diary of Henry Machyn*, 72, 96. For Machyn's additional entries that mention Lord Mayor's Shows, see 47-48, 155, 271, 294.

[42] Note also the Russian ambassador Aleksei Ziuzin's emphasis on sound in his account of the 1613 *The Triumphs of Truth*: "And the King's trumpeters trumpeted, and they beat the drums and they played on litavra and there were all sorts of various instruments. And they fired a great salute from the ship in which the Lord Mayor sailed and from other ships which were there and from big boats and from the City wall. And from all the small boats there was a great shooting of muskets," "An Account by Aleksei Ziuzin," 978.

[43] Busino, 1266, 1268.

Lupold von Wedel confirms that crowd-management had long been a problem, noting in his travel diary that the 1584 pageant was preceded by "fire-engines ornamented with garlands, out of which they throw water on the crowd, forcing it to give way, for the streets are quite filled with people."[44]

Throughout these colorful descriptions, diarists rarely mention that poetic verse was recited, let alone record any; aside from a single reference to "goodly speeches" in one of Machyn's six entries on Lord Mayor's Shows, for example, we would not know from his accounts that verse had any place in the festivities at all.[45] Meanwhile, the poets who wrote pamphlets claiming to commemorate the pageants allow their verse to eclipse everything else, downplaying or ignoring the overwhelming noise that may have made the speeches inaudible even to the child actors who recited them. The rhetoric of the pamphlets boasts their authors' ability to represent the entire scene that took place on Lord Mayor's Day in a comprehensive, verisimilar manner. Claims on title pages such as that of John Taylor's 1634 *The Triumphs of Fame and Honour* – "The particularities of every Invention in all the Pageants, Shewes and Triumphs both by Water and Land, are here following fully set downe" – are a staple of the genre, and poets including Munday emphasize their capacity to narrate the entire field of sound and spectacle.[46] In the printed pamphlet of *The Triumphs of Re-United Britania*, Munday announces his intention "to discourse the whole frame and body of our deuise, in this solemne triumph of re-vnited *Brytannia*," and provides (as was typical) prose descriptions of the pageant floats and other elements of the procession in addition to his own verses.[47] Yet Munday's pamphlet gives no indication that the procession was rained out and its floats destroyed, going so far as to claim on the title page that what we are about to read was "Performed at the cost and charges of the Right Worship[ful] Company of the Merchant-Taylors, in honor of Sir *Leonard* Holliday kni[ght] to solemnize his entrance as Lorde Mayor of the Citty of *London*, on Tuesday the 29. of October. 1605."[48]

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[44] Wedel, "Journey Through England and Scotland Made by Lupold von Wedel in the Years 1584 and 1585," 254.

[45] Machyn, 48.

[46] Taylor, *The Triumphs of Fame and Honour*, A1. Or take the claim on the title page of Dekker's 1612 *Troia-Nova Triumphans*: "All the Showes, Pageants, Chariots of Triumph, with *other Deuices, (both on the Water and Land)* here fully expressed," 225.

Munday's pamphlet departs from its performative occasion so entirely, that is, as to raise the question of whether such printed accounts served to *represent* what happened on Lord Mayor's Day at all. Since it is unlikely that a printed record would knowingly ignore the fact that nothing was performed on October 29, pamphlets including this one were probably typeset in advance.[49] But this only heightens the sense that recounting or recording the occasion was not central to a pageant record's social function. Despite their rhetoric of faithful representation, printed records seem instead to have been understood primarily as vehicles of edification whereby spectators (to paraphrase Jonson) might become understanders. Rather than aiming for neutral description, Munday's claim "to discourse the whole frame and body of our deuise" postulates that the material environment of the pageant is transferable to discourse and implies that his priorities lie with the "frame," or the ideational and symbolic construct from which learned readers will profit. Accordingly, Munday begins his account by outlining the mythological history of the origins of the names England and Britain, and he describes the floats not by reference to their procession through the muddy streets but by explicating their iconographical significance. He works to elaborate a conceptual apparatus that renders the circumstances of the occasion itself irrelevant (even if, as in the present case, they completely wiped out the performance), and he does so above all by underscoring the importance of his own verse.

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[47] Munday, *The Triumphs of Re-United Britania*, A4.

[48] Munday, *The Triumphs of Re-United Britania*, A1.

[49] We cannot know exactly when the printings took place, though it is worth noting that payments to the printer by livery companies are sometimes recorded in entries dated before October 29.

Munday thus responds to the threat of being drowned out by adopting the role of a humanist instructor, in this way carving out his own professional legitimacy and relevance to the pageant network. Pageant poets were, after all, under significant pressure to fashion a text able to cope with the threatening noise of its performative occasion. A printed pamphlet that circulates independently of that occasion becomes part of a reaction or solution to this dilemma – its medium appears to offer some autonomy or independence from the event. We can even discern in this process something related (though not identical) to what Joseph Lowenstein describes as the "bibliographic ego" of Ben Jonson, in which the circumstances of production adumbrate and even facilitate an "authorial identification with printed writing."[50] Take this stanza from *The Triumphs of Re-United Britania*, for example, in which the supposed Trojan founder of British civilization, Brute, justifies his transition from the dismal periods of British history to the new reign of King James:

> See, after so long slumbring in our toombes
> Such multitudes of yeares, rich poesie
> That does reuiue vs to fill vp these roomes
> And tell our former ages Historie,
> (The better to record Brutes memorie,)
> Turnes now our accents to another key,
> To tell olde *Britaines* new borne happy day.[51]

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[50] Joseph Loewenstein, *Ben Jonson and Possessive Authorship*, 1.
[51] Munday, *The Triumphs of Re-United Britania*, B3r-B4v.

Here, "rich poesie," a medium well-suited for recording and memory, enables the transformation to James's reign and the commerce that prospers in it. Munday comes back to this theme repeatedly, emphasizing the "powerfull vertue of Poesie (after such length of time) to behold *Britaniaes* former Felicity againe" and announcing that the "lawes of Poesie grants such allowance and libertye" that pagan gods are able to reflect on present circumstances.[52] By Munday's account, poesie is a versatile form that provides an optimal view of history as well as a sense of authorial control over the narration and significance of a pageant that would otherwise fail to cohere into a symbolic program.

What we do not find in pageant pamphlets, however, is a fully bibliographic conception of literary form. Munday's goal of educating his reader is partly enabled by printed circulation, his discussion of poesie is motivated by its marginalization in occasional performance, and his pamphlet takes advantage of the opportunities for authorial assertion that its medium afforded. But it does not follow from all of this that pageant poesie was understood to operate separately or exclusively within a world of print, or even that Munday's rhetoric advances a specifically bibliographic fantasy. It would be more accurate to describe Munday's comments about poesie as an ideal reconstruction that *supplements* a larger historical process. Pageant pamphlets are constituted in no small part by the protocols and technologies of printed media, but they nevertheless continually and insistently define themselves in relation to the events of Lord Mayor's Day. And since the occasional festivities would in any case have been prominent, pervasive memories for Londoners, the mere five hundred copies of the pamphlet that were typically printed would have taken on an ancillary function, providing one of many windows into an inter-mediated world. Indeed, Munday's wishful thinking about the transformative power of poesie is probably best understood as evidence of the *lack* of an autonomous bibliographic milieu for pageant verse – a type of compensation for an artform that was unavoidably embedded in its occasion.

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[52] Munday, *The Triumphs of Re-United Britania*, B2v, B1r.

Furthermore, the fact that records of Lord Mayor's Shows were printed does not necessarily situate them within the book *trade*. Pageant records are generally not entered in the Stationer's Register, their title pages almost never indicate that they will be sold, and livery company records suggest that poets would have expected to have profited directly from the guild (and presumably not from the printer):[53]

> It[e]m , to Mr. Munday for prynting the bookes of speeches in the pageant. } xxxs[54]
>
> It[e]m, more paid to [Mr. Munday] for printing the bookes of the speeches in the Pageant and the other shewes } vjli[55]
>
> besides [Mr. Munday] is to furnish the Children with apparell and give into the Companie 500 bookes printed of the speeches[56]
>
> Mr Tho[mas] Decker the Poett and Mr Crismas . . . [agree] to give the company 500 bookes of the declarac[i]on of the said Shewe[57]

Records were invariably commissioned by guilds in this way, suggesting that their provenance was not a bibliographic marketplace so much as the wider ceremony or endeavor for which they served as memorabilia. As is suggested by an entry in the Goldsmith's Court Books of 1611 assigning Munday the responsibility "to cause 500 bookes thereof to be made and printed to be deliuered to Mr Wardeins by them to be *disposed*" (my emphasis), the pamphlets were probably intended less for the bookseller than as tokens of remembrance that were distributed to guild members or other participants.[58] In short, pamphlets were *appendages* of pageantry – one of many strands in a pageant's inter-media network.

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[53] Dekker's 1612 *Troia-Nova Triumphans* is a notable exception: it was entered in the Stationer's Register and its title page indicates that it is "to be sold by John Wright dwelling at Christ Church-gate" – though it is worth noting that the Merchant Taylors nevertheless made a payment to Dekker and his collaborator "Mr Hemynges" (probably the same John Heminges who edited Shakespeare's first folio) "for the printing of the bookes of the Speeches" (Merchant Taylors' Accounts of 1612-13), which suggests that this particular pamphlet is implicated in the book trade *as well as* the livery company patronage system.

[54] Merchant Taylors' Court Books, 1602.

[55] Merchant Taylors' Accounts, 1605.

[56] Ironmongers' Rough Book, October 17, 1609.

[57] Ironmongers' Court Books, September 17, 1629.

What is more, livery company records suggest that the poets who composed pageantry verse were not primarily understood as writers. Guilds paid poets including Munday, Heywood and Middleton for a great variety of tasks, and writing often appears to have played a surprisingly minimal role in their responsibilities. Take, for example, the following entry in the Grocers' Records of 1617 concerning Thomas Middleton's remuneration for his role in *The Triumphs of Honour and Industry*:

> Payde to Thomas Middleton gent for the ordering overseeing and writyng of the whole devyse for the making of the Pageant of Nations The Iland The Indian chariott The Castle of fame, trym[m]ing the shipp, with all the severall beastes which drewe them and for all the Carpenters worke paynting guylding and garnyshing of them with all other things necessary for the apparelling and fynding of all the p[er]sonages in the sayd shewes and for all the portage and carryage both by lande and by water for the lighters for the shew by water for paynting of a banner of the Lord Maiors armes and alsoe in full for the greenemen Dyvells and fyer workes with all thinges therevnto belonging according to his agreem[en]t the some of 282 [pounds][59]

Charged with "the ordering overseeing and writyng of the whole devyse," Middleton is entrusted with the great sum of 282 pounds in order to pay and supervise a whole host of collaborators ranging from carpenters to fireworks specialists. His role is to commission and coordinate the work of painters, shipbuilders, architects and other artisans, and judging from other records he was likely not just to have selected and costumed the child actors but to have chaperoned and fed them as well: in the Drapers' Accounts of 1623, for example, we find a record of three pounds "paide to Mr Middleton for the making of a Breakefast and fyer for the Children of ye Pageants."[60] Poets are routinely paid in this way, and they appear to have taken on a variety of miscellaneous roles as needed. Munday was a particularly seasoned manager and contriver who was given broad latitude in his responsibilities – in 1611 the Goldsmiths note that "Mr Mundye is to beare the charge of the tyreing and trymming of the children and whatsoeuer els is requisite to be done by him for the managing of the whole busyness"[61] – and he was sometimes compensated for his "paines" even in pageants for which he did not write any verse.[62]

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[58] According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, "disposed" did not denote any kind of monetary transaction during the period (accessed February 2011).

[59] Grocers' Charges of Triumphs, May 5, 1618.

Guilds did not rely exclusively on poet-managers; they normally commissioned a committee of "devisors" and "surveyors" to organize the pageant, and they often jointly requisitioned a poet and a "Carver" (a kind of artisan-engineer) to oversee a subset of activities.[63] But poets were uniquely prominent among a pageant's managerial figures, and they were rarely paid for writing alone; many of them were like modern-day contractors, organizing and making manifest a whole host of elements. Their roles began with a preliminary bidding period in which poets and carvers pitched "inventions" or conceptual overviews to the guilds, as we can see in the following entries concerning poets and carvers whose proposals were not accepted (but who received payment nevertheless):

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[60] Drapers' Wardens of the Bachelors' Accounts, 1623.

[61] Goldsmiths' Court Books, September 7, 1611. The Goldsmths seem almost to express relief in allotting Munday so large a role, and they appear relieved that he managed to convince the actor John Lowen to participate in the pageant with his livery, noting that Lowen "promysed verye diligentlie and carefully to effect [a role in the pageant as well as to supply his own horse and "furniture"] vppon conference with Mr Mundy the poet" (Goldsmith's Court Books, September 3, 1611). One reason for this is that a different guild oversaw a pageant every year and could run into a variety of inconveniences if it attempted to micromanage the show. The Ironmongers' records of 1629, for example, detail a financial dispute between the guild and a bargeman, two greenmen (fireworks specialists), and two sergeant trumpeters who failed to provide the men and musicians they had promised: the accused claim that they did initially have sufficient men, but that a significant number departed the show at noon (Guildhall Library MS 16967, vol. 4, Ironmongers' Court Records, October 1629). Turning to an experienced poet like Munday with the right contacts and experience would have provided the guilds a means of avoiding these sorts of breeches of contract, and the need for litigation.

[62] For example, Munday is paid fifty-five shillings "for the hyer of a barne in Whitecrossestreete" to be used in the 1623 pageant, for which Middleton was the chief poet (Drapers Wardens of the Bachelors' Accounts, 1623), and two pounds "for his paines" (Haberdashers' Yeomanry Account for the Lord Mayor's Triumph, 1604) in a Lord Mayor's Show which is not extant but for which Ben Jonson apparently composed the verses. Munday seems to have been especially indispensible when it came to locating, costuming and looking after the child actors; he was regularly paid to feed the children (see, for example, "Mr Mundayes Bill for the Childrens Breakfast" in the Ironmongers' Rough Book, 1609) and "for the appareling & fynding of all the p[er]sonages in the sayd shewes" (Grocers' Charges of Triumphs, April 14, 1614) even, as in the latter case, when he does not seem to have written any verse for the show.

> Given to Mr Taylor & the Poet for their Invention & not s[er]ving } [5 pounds][64]
>
> Robert Norman & Iohn Taylor } presented to the Court their proiect of 5 pageantes for the Lord Maiors shewe for which they demanded 190 [pounds] and vnder that price they would not vndertake it. . . Pd to Mr Norman & Taylor for their paines in drawing a draught of the pageantes 1 [pound].[65]

Such plans or showpieces designed to sell poetic services probably included drawings such as a vivid rendition of the 1616 pageant *Chrysanaleia*, for which Munday served as the principal poet and which was sponsored by the Fishmongers' Company [FIGURES 3-4].[66] The *Chrysanaleia* drawings likely derive from the competition that poets faced to secure a contract in the bidding process: they may be presentation copies of sketches that were initially given to the Fishmongers, or they may themselves be the conceptual

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[63] In 1556, for example, the Merchant Taylors acted "to appoynt p[er]sons to be devisors surveyors & overseers of all suche bussynes & doynges as shall conserne A Pageant to be made ageynst the Daye of the Mayor Feaste. And to see that the same men be fornyshed with children that shall then syng & playe upon Instrumentes within the same" (Merchant Taylors' Records, 1556, transcribed in *Lord Mayors' Pageants of the Merchant Taylors' Company*, 22). And in 1622, as was common, we see a wide range responsibilities afforded jointly to Middleton and Garret Christmas (who, together with his son John, was the principal "carver" involved in early-seventeenth-century Lord Mayor's Shows): "Payde to Thomas Middleton gent and Garrett Christmas Carver for orderinge overseeing and wrytinge of the whole devise" (Grocers' Charges of Triumphs, April 24, 1623).

[64] Skinners' Renter Wardens' Accounts, July 30, 1629.

[65] Ironmongers' Court Books, October 2, 1635; Ironmongers' Registers.

[66] The drawings are reproduced and illuminated in a decorative edition by John Nichols, *Chrysanaleia*. Aside from sketches of pageant floats in the journal of Abram Booth, secretary to the delegation of the Netherlands East India Company (reproduced in *Collections V*, 2-3), these are the only extant visual depictions of a Lord Mayor's Show.

"draught" that Munday and his collaborators pitched to the guild. We cannot know for sure: such "inventions" played a role both before and after the occasion, neither fully anticipating nor fully deriving from the performance itself.

The drawings for *Chrysanaleia* are thus similar to pageant records in print: they provide a supplementary and edifying invention markedly distinct from the occasion itself, yet they are also invested in re-imagining, remediating and memorializing the Lord Mayor's Day. A suggestive series of annotations of the drawings, in the hand of a scribe connected with the guild, underscores their role as memorabilia by placing the events of the entertainment firmly in the past tense and by repeatedly emphasizing the suitability of the pageant floats themselves to "remaineth in Fishmong[e]rs hall for an ornam[en]t" [FIGURE 3].[67] In a particularly intriguing annotation to the "Chariot of *Triumphall Victory*" full of splendidly costumed child personages, the scribe details some of the challenges that arose when pageant elements were expected to serve multiple functions – in this case, both the means of a pageant's presentation and the ornament or artifact by which it is remembered [FIGURE 4]:

> This the Company had for parte of their show, w[hi]ch was very exceptable for the showe, having many children therein to beautify the same, so that it was not fitt for any ornam[en]t for the hall afterwards.
>
> Therefore hensforth if the house will have a pageant to beautify their hall, they must appoint fewer children therein, & more beautify & sett forth the same in workemanshipp.

As he describes the ways in which a pageant might be preserved, memorialized and "beautif[ied]," the scribe does not appeal to an elaborate allegorical narrative that exists outside of its performative manifestation. Instead, he sees the opportunity to preserve the memory and significance of the pageant in its physical, component parts which literally

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[67] In fact, the drawings themselves continue to serve as an "ornament" for the guild to this day: the originals hang outside the office of the secretary or leading official in Fishmongers' Hall on London Bridge.

FIGURE 3: The Fourth Pageant, or The Lemon Tree (Nichols, ed., *Chrysanaleia*, Appendix)

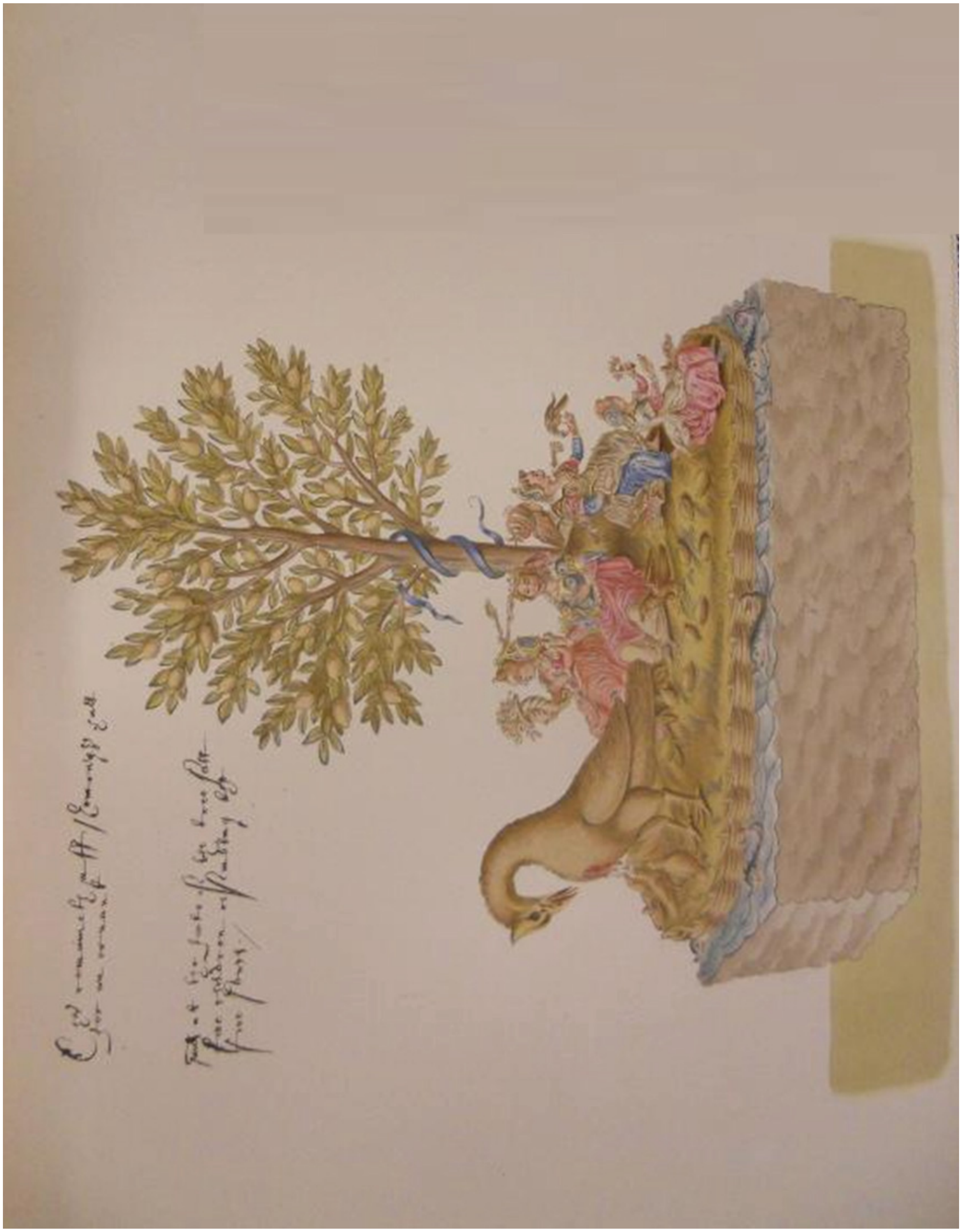
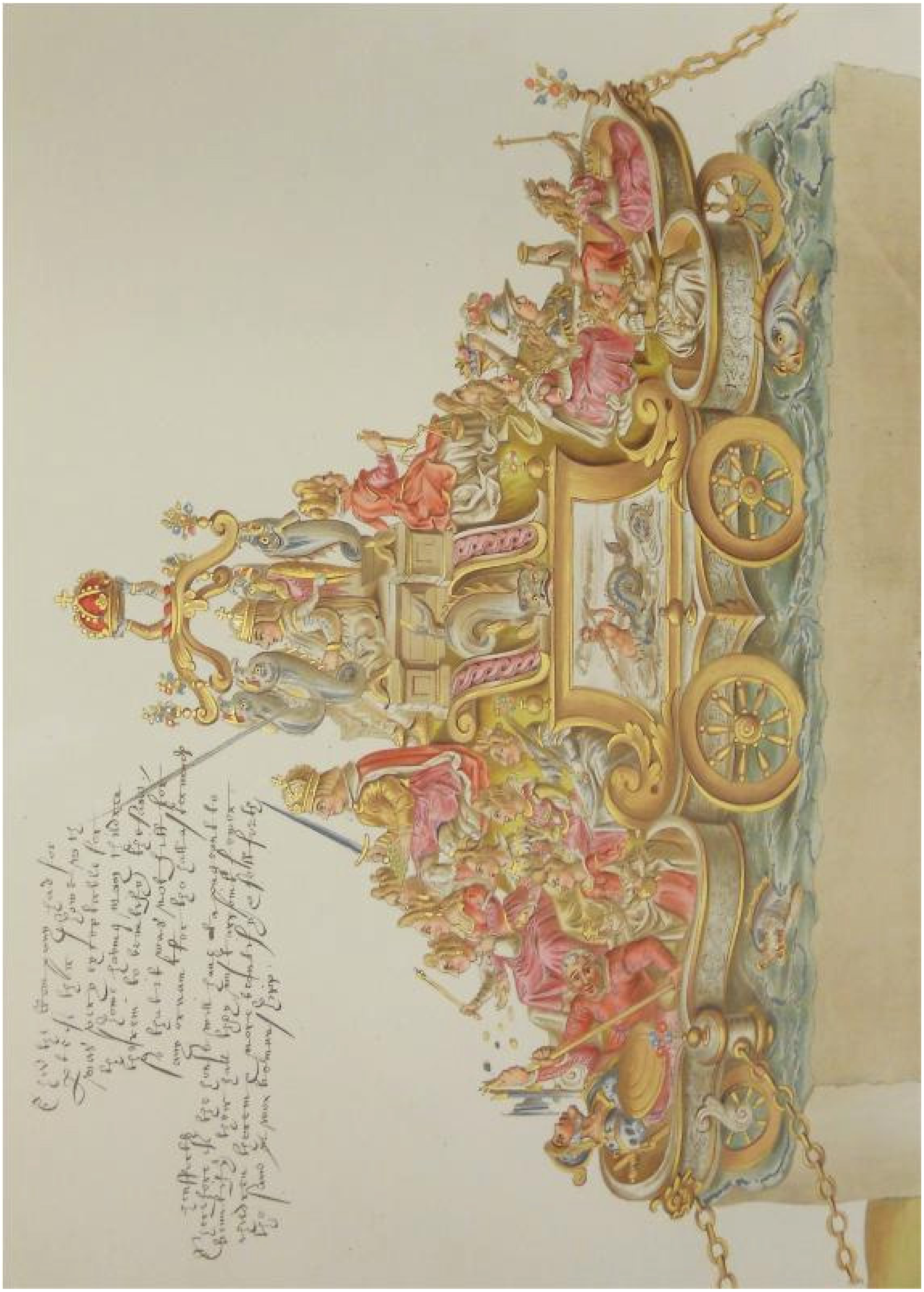


FIGURE 4: The Great Pageant (Nichols, ed., *Chrysanaleia*, Appendix)



processed through the streets. He expresses frustration with ephemeral performative media including children's bodies and values the more enduring artisanship of painting and carving, but at the same time he implies that the entire pageant, including the children and their voices, is a contiguous form of "workemanshipp" in which some elements are more enduring than others.[68]

The scribe's term "workemanshipp" helps to pinpoint the process of social labor that is at the core of the entertainment form – the collective endeavor of assembling a *network* of constituent parts. The word "networke" was already in use during the early modern period, denoting the *worke* of fashioning or manufacturing a literal *net* of intersecting thread or wire; I use the term more broadly to describe the work involved in linking musical performances, gesture, oratory, feasting, fireworks, costumery, allegorical designs, belletristic narratives and other elements into a chain of associations that is at once more rarified and more extensive than a singular occasion. The scribe's interest in bringing the constructions that composed the procession on Lord Mayor's Day into durable symbols in Fishmonger's Hall is part of the broader "net" that guilds, poets and other agents worked to fashion *out of* and also *into* the events of October 29. His frustration derives from the difficulty involved in establishing a larger agreement or consensus among all of these moving parts: as we have seen, printed records, ornate drawings and other "inventions" did not simply precede or anticipate an event, but rather informed, directed, memorialized and recorded it all at once. Few of the diverse nodes or points of association in a pageant network are simply retrospective accounts or representations of an occasion. It is not enough to define a pageant as a conceptual superstructure or a symbolic realm that operates in the movement of discourse or text. But neither is it enough to reduce a pageant entirely to the muddy, noisy, roaring environment on Lord Mayor's Day. However much the Lord Mayor's Show is implicated in and defined by a singular event, its poets and other participants insist upon selective and discriminating accounts of what is included in their network and what is ambient or extraneous noise.

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[68] See also Thomas Heywood's comments praising Garret Christmas's "Workemanship" for the Lord Mayor's Show *Londini Artium & Scientiarum Scaturigo* (1632), which claim that the "Materialls" that compose Christmas's work have more "sollidity and substance" than the "Wicker and Paper" properties of Heywood's invention: "I come last to the Artist, the Moddellor and Composer of these seuerall Peeces, Maister *Gerard Christmas*, of whom (*si paruis componert, magnalicet*) as *Augustus Caesar*, speaking of *Rome*, boasted, that hee found it of Bricke, but hee left it built of Marble: So he who found these Pageants and showes of Wicker and Paper, rather appearing monstrous and prodigious Births, then any Beast (presented in them) in the least kind imitating Nature: hath reduc't them to that sollidity and substance for the Materialls, that they are so farre from one dayes washing to deface them, that the weathering of many Winters can not impeach them: and for their excellent Figures and well-proportioned lineaments, (by none preceding him) that could be sayd to bee paralleld: In regard therefore there bee so many strangers of all Countries, and such as can iudge of Workemanship, come to be spectators of these Annuall Triumphs, I could wish that the vndertaking thereof might be hereafter conferd (for the Honour of the Citty) vpon men like able and sufficient" (C2r-C2v). There may be something slightly backhanded about Heywood's compliment here, since he registers a distinction between a "monstrous and prodigious" poetic invention and its reduction to more solid and (perhaps) baser forms of work, which are readily apprehended by foreigners who are presumably unable to appreciate Heywood's belletristic verse.

* * *

Occasional entertainments thus help to reveal the *political* work involved in sorting through poesie's media, ideas and vested interests, from writing and artisanship to management, performance and remembrance. This diversity of components in the entertainment tradition requires a notion of politics that is broader than governance, state power or even human relations: as we discover from expenditures "for Nutmegges, Gynger, almondes in the shell, and sugar loves, w[hi]ch weare throwen abowt the streetes by those w[hi]ch sate on the Gryffyns and Camells," pageants were not even limited to vision and sound.[69] I use the term politics, therefore, to refer to the ways in which a capacious ecology (from humans to media to weather systems) is molded or shaped into a recognizable form.[70] As we have seen, media themselves can amount to assertions of political power; although outdoor entertainments were not fully implicated in the book trade, their presence in print shaped and redefined them in a host of ways, not least by affording a poet the knowledge that his verses could later be experienced and understood by readers. In what follows, I remain focused Lord Mayor's Shows in order to draw out the nature of the political struggle in which poesie was implicated, and the stakes of this struggle for the polity of early modern London. As poets, guilds and other influences including printed and acoustic media express and articulate the boundaries and forms of pageantry, they also shape the network of London itself, a city as malleable and multifarious as the artforms designed to celebrate and unify its government, citizens and populace. Like London, Lord Mayor's Shows were radically open to tradesmen, goods, travelers and events – allowing a profusion of elements into their midst and then disentangling or delimiting them into a political order. Lord Mayor's Shows provided a forum through which the many parties invested in and committed to the City could work through their differences, reinforce their connections and arbitrate their disputes.

The difficulty comes in theorizing the system, assemblage or political field in which pageantry is implicated. The longstanding approach to this problem in literary study is through the category of the *text*, which Roland Barthes describes as a "radically symbolic" system of associations in which action and materiality are always deferred:

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[69] Grocers' Charges of Triumphs, April 14, 1614.
[70] For a broad theory of "political ecology" that reworks both of those terms so as to avoid problematic and longstanding divisions between them, see Latour, *The Politics of Nature*.

> the work—in the best of cases—is *moderately* symbolic (its symbolic runs out, comes to a halt); the Text is *radically* symbolic: *a work conceived, perceived and received in its integrally symbolic nature is a text*.[71]

Though it is sometimes confused with writing, *text* comes from the Latin *textus* or "woven" and is not tied to any particular medium. Instead, *text* would include the entire process of designing, versifying, interpreting and recollecting a pageant – at least insofar as these endeavors are woven together and re-imagined by poets, readers and spectators. The key qualification here, however, is that the category of *text* aims to describe literature in (broadly speaking) linguistic terms: what holds it together is discursive and symbolic.[72] Traditional models of textuality do not, that is, account very well for the ways in which a pageant's symbolic meaning is embedded in and inseparable from an environment full of non-linguistic elements such as noise.

More recent scholarship has worked to nuance radically symbolic notions of textuality by drawing attention to the ways in which concrete materials and performative events affect the meanings and boundaries of texts. As discussed in my Introduction, scholarship in the history of the book provides a useful analogy for tracing the associations between the diverse media involved in poesie. Because outdoor entertainments are implicated in a network far more extensive than the printing and circulation of books, however, the methodology more immediately relevant to them is performance theory. Emphasizing the interplay and contestation between palpable, immediate events and more distant points of origin or remembrance, performance theorists are accustomed to dealing with the interaction between an immediate, embodied environment and its symbolic articulation or script. It is no coincidence that Richard Schechner cites the Elizabethan entertainment as the precursor of experimental and environmental performance in the 1960s and 70s, since both involve “total space[s]” associated with the power “to bring the theatrical event into the world outside the theatre building.”[73] More recent performance theory – influenced by poststructuralist critiques of the celebrations of self-sufficient presence detectable in scholars including Schechner – provides a more nuanced means of thinking through the combination of occasional immediacy and abstract signification at stake in the entertainment tradition. As Elin Diamond puts it, “On the one hand, performance describes certain embodied acts, in specific sites, witnessed by others (and/or the watching self). On the other hand, it is the thing done, the completed event framed in time and space and remembered, misremembered, interpreted, and passionately revisited across a pre-existing discursive field.”[74] Outdoor entertainments involve both of these poles or extremes: they are affective sites of action, and they are (mis)remembered, interpreted, revisited and framed in temporal and spatial terms.

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[71] Barthes, "From Work to Text," 158.

[72] Even Bathes's notion of "semiology" is explicitly derived from linguistics, though it is important to note that Barthes views linguistics as an extremely broad category: "it is semiology which is a part of linguistics: to be precise, it is that part covering the *great signifying unities* of discourse," in *Elements of Semiology*, 11.

Nevertheless, it is necessary to adjust performance theory somewhat for my purposes here, since many essential components of entertainments do not fit neatly into the notion of a “completed event” or set of embodied acts that are then remembered and interpreted. The great irony of entertainments is that they are thoroughly rooted in the historical density of an occasion, yet their constituent parts are nevertheless selectively *distributed* through and beyond the pageant day. As we have seen, elements of Lord

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[73] Schechner, *The End of Humanism*, 29. Schechner mentions the entertainment tradition only briefly (by the misnomer “the Elizabethan Masque”), suggesting that its “sensibility . . . has been reintroduced” in twentieth century “environmental theatre” including “discos, punk clubs, gay baths, sex theatres, theme parks, restored villages, wild animal parks and zoos” (28-29).

[74] Diamond, *Performance and Cultural Politics*, 1.

Mayor's Shows seem ready to show up anywhere: in a relic or ornament of a pageant float in Fishmonger's Hall; in drawings for a preliminary bidding process or for the halls of a livery company; in a printed pamphlet that scripts, informs or records a chaotic, noisy spectacle only by radically re-imagining it. The performative world of an entertainment is so complexly dispersed that it is, finally, misleading to suggest that it has a fixed center: however much they are grounded in, legitimized and defined by a specific place and time, entertainments are nevertheless highly *attenuated* through their environment. Latour's Actor-Network Theory is able to describe entertainments more accurately than performance theory because it is flexible enough to include any associations that introduce themselves into the fold without implying a discrete spatial center.

It is fitting that networked, distributed outdoor entertainments thrived in the rapidly expanding and continually changing collective of people, objects, spaces and associations that was early modern London. The Lord Mayor's Show, in particular, helps to show how the struggle for articulation and cohesion in early modern poesie – the process by which its Latourian "actors" assemble and define symbolic boundaries – went hand-in-hand with the City's own process of self-definition. Lord Mayor's Shows allowed London to announce itself as an increasingly powerful economic hub and – through allusions to royal and Ancient Roman processional traditions and through the display of City wealth – to assert its influence and legitimacy in relation to the Crown. They also provided a means of celebrating and demarcating the locations and people that defined London and held it together: the established parade route provided a means of imbuing with special significance the conduits, streets and gathering places through which it passed, and the organization of participants and spectators provided a means of acknowledging the hierarchy of stakeholders and residents involved (while City officials including aldermen and the mayor processed with the pageant floats, citizens and guildmen occupied frontal positions along the parade route).[75]

London was by no means the exclusive home of the outdoor entertainment tradition: the most elaborate inventions and extensive performative networks of the sixteenth century took place on the aristocratic estates that played host to Queen Elizabeth on her progresses through the country. But the later part of Elizabeth's reign saw fewer grand and expensive outdoor entertainments, partly because it was no longer necessary to use them as a means of brokering power and resolving tensions between the powerful nobles and the monarch. This shift was even more dramatic under King James; unlike Elizabeth (celebrated for her ability to negotiate large crowds, as in her famous speech to the soldiers at Tilbury in 1588), James tended to be impatient in unruly public settings including his own coronation pageant of 1604. The festivities of James's reign were defined, instead, by the masque, which quickly became the chief forum for the ceremonial display of state power and the cementing of bonds between aristocrats and the monarchy. Charles I continued this trend, presiding over notoriously lavish masques confined to Westminster and generally refusing to progress in public at all. Royal entertainments thus became increasingly insular during the early seventeenth century, no longer serving to arbitrate between courtly interests and those of wider publics ranging from boisterous popular crowds to the propertied classes (merchants, country gentry, Puritans) that ultimately prosecuted the Civil Wars.[76]

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[75] See Busino's description of the elaborate hierarchy of officials from mace-bearers to the lord mayor, and the guildmen in gowns who "line the sides of the streets . . . accompanied by footmen and other officers to protect them from the press of the crowd," in "Orazio Busino's Eyewitness Account of *The Triumphs of Honour and Industry*."

London had long been shaped by the competitive and co-dependent influences of Westminster and Guildhall, and pageantry was one means of working through this relationship.[77] The basic structure of the Lord Mayor's Show reflected a very old Crown-City dynamic by proceeding from the City of London toward the court, where the new mayor offered fealty to the monarch, and then returning through London in celebration. What changed during the early seventeenth-century were the increasingly elaborate allegorical tableau and parade floats that greeted the Lord Mayor upon his return to the City – a development that coincided with the City's growing commercial and political power. City funds were an important source of revenue for the Stuarts, and, in turn, City merchants depended upon the Crown's military and tariff protection in order to trade. The Lord Mayor's Show provided a forum for the negotiation of these and other concerns. It allowed guildmen who could afford company livery to assert themselves over less wealthy citizens; it provided a means of courting and cultivating relationships with trading partners and ambassadors from Holland to India, who were often in attendance; and it advertised the City's special ability to communicate with, and manage, the lowest strata of the social ladder: the noisy crowd that populated and animated the spectacle.

As the court lost interest in reaching broader spectrums of the population with its entertainments, the Lord Mayor's Show grew in size and scope – making plain how invaluable City officials could be to a court whose associations with corruption and Catholicism left London's populace wary and sometimes openly hostile. Pageants displayed the City's ability to arbitrate between the monarchy and London's wealthy citizens, and also to pacify London's crowds, which were central to the ceremonial idiom of Lord Mayor's Shows. Although the crowds would probably not have heard nor understood most of the speeches, moveable floats proceeded sequentially through the streets so as to allow everyone in attendance the opportunity to gather some sense of the overall symbolic program. This made a stark contrast with the masque, which was designed around the viewing position of the monarch and which Inigo Jones developed into an intricate proscenium stage with illusions of perspective that only those seated at the center of the hall could appreciate. Even Stuart royal entries and receptions in London, which (unlike the masque) came into contact with the threatening energy of public crowds, were designed and organized around the sovereign in a manner that was distinct from the Lord Mayor's Show. Divided into presentations at various stations or arches, the narrative of monarchal entries unfolded in such a way that only those in the ceremonial procession experienced the overall narrative. Although Lord Mayor's Shows imitated the conventions of royal pageantry at many levels, that is, their narrative structure was more openly accessible – bearing out, to some extent, the common rhetorical trope that a pageant is a gift to the City as a whole.

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[76] On the decline of monarchal progresses during the Stuart era, see Bergeron, *English Civic Pageantry*, 67-68, 76, 110-12.

[77] On relationship between Crown and City in the years preceding the Civil Wars, see Ashton, *The City and the Court 1603-1643*. On the ways in which this relationship was worked out through civic pageantry, see Manley, "Scripts for the Pageant."

Poets of Lord Mayor's Shows tend to be well aware of the City's special relationship to London's noisy crowds. Munday's emphasis on the "powerfull vertue of Poesie" in *The Triumphs of Re-United Britania*, for example, does not preclude him from reveling in the power of drums, trumpets and fireworks to articulate and "solemnize" the "generall mirth":

> [BOY.] Harke how the Drums and Trumpets cheerely sound,
> To solemnize the triumph of this day,
> Shall we do nothing, but be idle found,
> On such a generall mirthfull Holyday? . . .
> [MAISTER.] Gunner, see you ply
> Your Ordinance, and of fireworkes make no spare.[78]

In Middleton's *The Triumphs of Love and Antiquity* (1619), meanwhile, Orpheus exposes the power inherent in the "wild" commonwealth:

> Just such a wilderness is a commonwealth
> That is undressed, unpruned, wild in her health;
> And the rude multitude the beasts o'th' wood,
> That know no love, but only will and blood;
> And yet, by fair example, musical grace,
> Harmonious government of the man in place,
> Of fair integrity and wisdom framed,
> They stand as mine do, ravished, charmed, and tamed:
> Every wise magistrate that governs thus,
> May well be called a powerful Orpheus.[79]

Middleton is not interested in idealizing the "rude multitude" here, but in acknowledging its power in "will and blood" – and the readers of his pamplet, who would have experienced the uproar on the pageant day, may have sympathized with his desire to charm, tame and "ravish" this crowd. Notice, however, that Middleton's language by no means dismisses the importance of the crowd and its noise. On the contrary, Orphic music is employed as a means of re-appropriating the crowd's uncouth sounds, subsuming the subaltern into its assertion of power in a manner reminiscent of Prospero's *acknowledgment* of Caliban.

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[78] Munday, *The Triumphs of Re-United Britania*, A4v.
[79] Middleton, *The Triumphs of Love and Antiquity*, ll. 155-64.

By reminding us that Orpheus is a "great master both in poesy and harmony" (ll. 107-8), Middleton implies that his own poetic and "musical grace" is a valuable means by which the City is able to channel popular disorder to its own ends. The hint of self-promotion in these lines is typical of Middleton – as is the implication that the mayor had best compose and harmonize himself in the "fair example" of "integrity and wisdom" in order to succeed. Indeed, in Middleton's pageantry the crowd often functions not only as an instrument to express the authority of the City fathers, but as a discerning, even panoptic entity with the ability to monitor and expose corruption in powerful officials. Middleton's *The Triumphs of Truth* (1613), for example, exhorts the mayor to follow the "example" of the allegorical personage of Truth, who has "set thee high now . . . Fixing ten thousand eyes upon thy brow."[80] *The Triumphs of Integrity* (1623) develops this theme at greater length; Integrity's advice to the new mayor makes repeated reference to an intrusive and all-seeing crowd:

> Have you a mind, thick multitude, to see
> A virtue near concerns magistracy?
> Here on my temple throw your greedy eyes . . .
> 'Tis all transparent what I think or do . . .
> So manifest, perspicuous, plain, and clear,
> You may e'en see my thoughts as they sit here . . .
> I dare detraction's evill'st eye,
> Sore at the sight of goodness, to espy
> Into my ways and action, which lie ope
> To every censure.[81]

In these lines Middleton participates in the *laudando praecipere* tradition, in which frank and critical counsel is directed at a sovereign, by asking the mayor to feel upon him the entire crowd's censuring eyes – a synecdoche for all of London. The conclusion of the speech – "so must thy acts / Be all transluscent and leave worthy tracts / For future times to find, thy very breast / Transparent" (ll. 231-34) – is particularly effective in this regard since (as David Bergeron has noted) it echoes James I's well-known statement to Parliament on March 31, 1607 that "I would heartily wish my brest were a transparent glasse for you all to see through, that you might looke into my heart."[82] Middleton not only alludes to this royal ideal of proper and open governance; he implies that it has been neglected at court and that it is left for "the king's substitute," under the watchful eyes of London, to succeed where the monarch has failed. In this way, Middleton accomplishes the pageant's symbolic program with a searching insinuation about the City's integrity relative to a notoriously profligate court.

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[80] Middleton, *The Triumphs of Truth*, ll. 744, 746.
[81] Middleton, *The Triumphs of Integrity*, ll. 203-5, 209, 217-18, 225-28.

The subtly of this moment helps to explain why Middleton impressed his employers enough to take over from Anthony Munday as the chief poet of Lord Mayor's Shows by 1621. Yet the poet who was, perhaps, most adept of all at summoning up the energy of the crowd on Lord Mayor's Day and deploying it in the service of his poetic aims was Thomas Dekker, whom the guilds employed in 1612 and again each year from 1627 to 1630. Dekker was involved in fewer pageants than Middleton (perhaps because his panegyric is less urbane), but he is uniquely skillful at incorporating the noise of crowds, fireworks and instruments into his verse. In Dekker's 1612 *Troia-Nova Triumphans*, for example, Neptune reflects on the diverse effects of the noise of his Tritons (who, Dekker informs us, "are feyned by Poets to bee Trumpeters to *Neptune*") as well as on the influx of cheering and uproar from the crowd:

> Whence breaks this warlike thunder of lowd drummes,
> (*Clarions* and *Trumpets*) whose shrill eccho comes
> Vp to our Watery Court, and calles from thence
> Vs, and our Trytons? . . . what does beget

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[82] James I, "A Speach to Both the Houses of Parliament," 310. See Bergeron, Introduction to Middleton, *The Triumphs of Integrity*, 1766-68.

> These Thronges? this Confluence? why do voyces beate
> The Ayre with acclamations of applause,
> Good wishes, Loue, and Praises? what is't drawes
> All Faces this way? This way Rumor flyes,
> Clapping her infinite wings, whose noyse the Skyes
> From earth receiue, with Musicall rebounding,
> And strike the Seas with repercussive sounding.[83]

Neptune not only asks us to recognize the troubling and dangerous "thunder" of the crowd; he also draws out how close that "shrill eccho" is to the "acclamations," "Good wishes, Loue, and Praises" that are critical to the success and purpose of the pageant. Even Rumor, a element of misrule that threatens to erupt into disorder, has a "repercussive" and "Musicall" rhythm, connecting by way of counterpoint to the acoustic celebration of the occasion. This theme comes to a climax in the device involving Riot and Calumny, the deputies of the villainous Envy and (together with Rumor) allegorical figures associated with noisy disorder. Seeking to halt the mayoral procession, Envy invokes an infernal eruption of sound – "*Adders* shoote, hysse speckled Snakes . . . Vomit sulphure to confound her, / Fiendes and Furies (that dwell vnder) / Lift hell gates from their hindges" – after which "Omnes" or "All that are with Envy" proclaim, chant or sing "Shoot, shoot, &c" (ll. 297, 315-17, 323). Dekker is careful to note that these raucous lines, accentuated by strong alliteration, coincide with literal explosions – "Either during this speech, or else when it is done, certaine Rockets flye vp into the aire" (ll. 324-25) – and when Envy's minions "discharge their blacke Artillery" at the Chariot of Virtue, "their arrowes, which they shoote vp into the aire, breake there out in fire-workes" (ll. 288-89, 293-94). The scene is all the more suggestive given that, as in Neptune's speech, it is ultimately impossible to distinguish the sounds of misrule and disruption from those of celebration. Indeed, Envy and her "*Fort* of *Furies*" continue to parley with Virtue throughout the pageant, until, finally, “those twelue that ride armed discharge their *Pistols*, at which *Enuy*, and the rest, vanish, and are seene no more” (ll. 521-23) – vanquished not by musical harmony but by the same disorderly tools with which they are associated.

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[83] Dekker, *Troia-Nova Triumphans*, ll. 108-11, 116-23.

As early as 1612, then, Dekker was working drums, trumpets, shouts, applause, fireworks and gunfire into the fabric of a pageant invention – though it was only in the late 1620s that he was able to exploit the political potential of this noise to its full extent. By this time relations between the City and the Crown had grown quite tense: what were lukewarm relations under James I’s court took a volatile turn upon the accession of Charles in 1625, when the new privy council began to demand unprecedentedly large loans and levies from the City.[84] City authorities were reluctant to assist the Crown’s efforts to dissolve or avoid calling Parliament, since this incurred the ire of the House of Commons as well as many guildmen who resented being assessed for this purpose (and in some cases refused to pay, leaving the alderman who controlled the London municipality concerned that the money would need to come from their own coffers). The privy council responded to hesitations of the City with vituperations and threats, which threatened to alienate the court from the officials they required to raise funds from London’s citizens. Pageantry was a particularly sore spot in this conflict, since Charles had ordered City authorities to make preparations for his coronation entry into London only to cancel the event abruptly and order its arches (which had already been constructed at great expense) to be dismantled. The extent of the public relations disaster that this inspired can be gleaned from Venetian diplomatic records, which note that "five most superb arches in the streets, two erected by the citizens and three by divers other nations, at an expense of many thousands of ducats, will prove useless and they have already begun to dismantle them amid the murmurs of the people and the disgust of those who spent the money" – disgust, we can guess, particularly from the guildmen who were eventually assessed some 4,300 pounds in connection with a royal entry that never occurred.[85]

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[84] The privy council demanded loans of 60,000, 100,000 and 120,000 pounds between 1625 and 1628, in addition to ship levies and other exactions. In 1626 the City refused the loan of 100,000, advancing 20,000 instead in a compromise that infuriated both the privy council and Parliament. See Ashton, *The City and the Court*, 177-85.

It is in this context of anti-Caroline sentiment that Dekker's pamphlet record for *Britannia's Honor* (1628) asserts London as a state unto itself, a unified system that coexists on equal terms with the monarchy:

> *London*, and her Royall Daughter (*Westminster*) are the *Representative* body of the *general State*; for, here our *Kings* and *Queenes* keepe their Courts; here are our *Princes*, the *Peeres*, *Nobility*, *Gentry*, Lords *Spirituall* and *Temporall*, with the Numerous *Communalty*.[86]

The idea that London is a substitute for monarchal power at a local level is common in Lord Mayor's Shows: it becomes a way of asserting the City's authority and legitimacy within a standard political framework. But Dekker's suggestion here that Westminster is the *daughter* of London and that kings and queens operate *alongside* a broader "communalty" – as though the monarchy is simply one component of the "general state" as opposed to its head and master – is rather subversive. Dekker goes on to address the monarchy itself in a subtle but nonetheless provocative tone in a speech (printed in both

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[85] Hinds, ed., *Calendar of state papers*, Vol. 19, 464.
[86] Dekker, *Britannia's Honor*, ll. 3-7.

French and English) to be presented to Queen Henrietta Maria "If her *Maiestie* be pleased on the Water, or Land, to Honor These Tryumphes with her Presence":[87]

> Behold, the foure *Elements* waite vpon you to do you Honor: *Water* hath prouided Floating Tryumphes to Dance in the *Aire*: in the *Aire* are a Thousand Ecchoes with Musick in their Mouthes, to intice you to heare them: On the Shore shall ten thousand paire of hands giue you Plaudits in the *Citty*: The Element of *Fire*, Thunders aloud your welcomes. Thronges of Subjects here, are glad to see the *Graces* Inthroand on your *Forehead* . . .
>
> (ll. 127-33)

Dekker's ostensible claim here, of course, is that the "Thronges" of thousands of people produce their thunderous echoes in Henrietta Maria's honor – but this supposed compliment is laced with irony, given the facts that the ceremony was not intended to honor her and that (as Dekker notes) she may not even have been in attendance. The speech implies that the "Thousand Ecchoes" of subaltern voices "intice [the Queen] to heare them" – commanding royal attention to a burgeoning influence that it could not afford to ignore, especially in light of the increasingly uncooperative Parliament and its fear of Catholic influence at court. Again, that is, Dekker exploits the radical openness of a Lord Mayor's Show to its environment – this time channeling its sensory overload in the service of the City's expression of power and autonomy vis-à-vis the court.

A final example from *London's Tempe* (1629), which celebrates raucous noise more pointedly than any other Lord Mayor's Show of the period, will help to underscore how Deekker brought early modern civic pageantry to a kind of apotheosis – admitting the most immanent of environmental surroundings into the symbolic design and political assertion of the pageant. Like *The Tempest*, *London's Tempe* begins with reference to a storm accompanied by political upheaval, with Oceanus lamenting the fact that "*our*

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[87] Not that this suggestion that this speech may nor may not have been spoken, depending on the queen's presence, is further evidence that pageant pamphlets were normally typeset in advance of Lord Mayor's Day.

vnfaddomd World, Roares out with None / But Horrid Sea-fights."[88] But Dekker's pageant goes further than Shakespeare's play, not only laying bare the ways in which a ruler's bid for order is based on the uneasy incorporation of noise, but underscoring the shaping influence of a popular soundscape upon the exercise of power. Sponsored by the Ironmongers' guild, *London's Tempe* comes to a climax in a cacophonous and yet "concordant" and rhythmical version of a "Lemnian Forge" (l. 146):

> A fire is seene in the Forge, Bellowes blowing, some filing, some at other workes; Thunder and Lightning on occasion. As the Smiths are at worke, they sing in praise of Iron, the *Anuile* and *Hammer*: by the concordant stroakes and soundes of which, *Tuballcayne* became the first inuentor of Musicke.
> (ll. 151-55)

Alluding to Genesis, where Tubal-cain is "an instructor of every artificer in brass and iron," Dekker draws out a notion of "Musicke" and poesie based on *worke*.[89] This is a distinctive notion labor or "workmanship" – distant from Sidney's notion of musical *making*, for example, and also from Jonson's ideas about poesie as a *craft* that deracinates sound from its surroundings (as in Jonson's version of a fiery "workhouse" of furnaces in *Mercury Vindicated from the Alchemists at Court*, where the noisy toils of "metal-men" are re-appropriated within Jonson's allegorical system).[90] Dekker employs the sounds of the smiths in the service of his poetic program as well, but he does so with a sharply political edge, effacing divisions between the artifice of the allegorical spectacle and the lower orders of workers that financed the event and dominated the crowd. Accordingly, the song that the smiths sing in their forge takes the style of four-beat accentual couplets and a highly onomatopoetic refrain with which we might expect an audience to sing, stamp or shout along:

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[88] Dekker, *London's Tempe*, ll. 76-77.
[89] *The Bible*, Genesis 4:22.
[90] Jonson, *Mercury Vindicated from the Alchemists at Court*, ll. 44, 2. On poesie as a "craft" or "habit," see *Timber: or, Discoveries*, 445ff.: "Poesy is [the poet's] skill, or craft of making: the very fiction itself, the reason, or form of the work."

The Song.
Braue Iron! Braue Hammer! from your sound,
The Art of Musicke has her Ground,
On the Anuile, Thou keep'st Time,
Thy Knick-a-knock is a smithes Best Chyme,
Yet Thwick a-Thwack,
Thwick, Thwac a-Thwac-Twac,
Make our Brawny sinewes Crack,
Then Pit a-pat-pat, pit a-pat-pat,
Till thickest barres be beaten flat.
(ll. 156-65)

Onomatopoeia is already a uniquely indexical type of language (which is to say that its meaning always involves the literal trace of its signifiers, as in the knock on a door), and taken to this extreme it threatens not to *signify* an external or conventional meaning so much as render its sensory environs meaningful in themselves. What the smiths call the "*Ground*" – a term for the underlying melodic structure of a musical piece, and that continues to refer to an environmental or cultural background in contemporary media studies and psychology – thus becomes the "*Art of Musicke*" itself: the purpose, meaning or *figure* of the song.[91]

In this way, the pageant network of *London's Tempe* threatens to dissolve into London itself, its "text" admitting so much ambient noise that it finally cannot be theorized as a unified discursive system distinct from its occasion. Part of the broader unsettling of philosophies of poesie and mimesis that occasional performativity introduced throughout the period, this moment amounts to a representational as well as a political upheaval – one that even coincides with themes of military violence, as in the verse of the smiths' song that emphasizes their role in manufacturing munitions:

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[91] Note that "ground" can be a slippery term in early modern period, sometimes referring to the bass melody and sometimes more broadly to the harmonic structure that surrounds it; see the *Oxford English Dictionary* (accessed February 2011); and see Richard Hudson, "Ground," in *Grove Music Online*. On the ground/figure distinction in media theory, see McLuhan and McLuhan, *The Laws of Media*; and Cavell, *McLuhan in Space*, 138-42.

> Ioues *Roaring Cannons, and his Rammers,*
> *We beate out with our* Lemnian *Hammers,*
> Mars *his Gauntlet, Helme and Speare,*
> *And* Gorgon *Shield are all made here.*
> *Till thwick-a-thwack, &c.*
> (ll. 171-75)

Given that Lord Mayor's Shows of this period tend to usurp the symbolic capital of the Crown in order to celebrate and consolidate City power, it is tempting to think here of the important role that artillery played for the New Model Army just over a decade later.[92] This is not to say that *London's Tempe* is treasonous or even particularly dissentious: its programmatic interest is less in undermining the Caroline court than in advancing the interests of London's citizenry and corporate structure – including the interests of the guildmen at the menial, craft-based end of livery company hierarchies. But the disconcerting *semiotic* work of the smiths' song – in which the occasional environment of London amounts to an artisanal forge or engine for what Middleton had described as the "will and blood" of the "rude multitude" – is menacing in its own right, and it lays bare the volatile political contestation that often attended theories and practices of poesie during the period.

Occasional entertainments drifted toward diverse political extremes – channeling subversive and even violent noise; or, more often, legitimizing an imposition of order by defining it against the chaos of a performative environment. But even when an occasional atmosphere is ordered or coerced to silence – when, as in Middleton's pageant for the investiture of Prince Charles, the allegorical personage of London commands its subjects, “Let not your loving, over-greedy noise, / Beguile you of the sweetness of your joys. / My wish has took effect, for ne’er was known / A greater joy and a more silent one” – that “over-greedy noise” remains a threatening, irreducible force that precedes and shadows “silent” monarchal power.[93] Faced with a noisy, unstable literary field, poets find that they must constantly work to shore up the porous media network in which their endeavors were embedded – exploring new ways of ensuring that poesie achieves coherence, definition or authorial meaning. With this in mind, I turn in my epilogue to outdoor entertainments for monarchs including *The Magnificent Entertainment of King James*, the 1604 coronation entry into London whose poetic responsibilities were divided between Dekker and Jonson, and which (as such) expresses two of the most distinctive and influential early modern theories of the relationship between poesie and its environment. Within this royal entry, we see not only an arbitration of the early-seventeenth-century relationship between City and court, but a site in which radically distinctive poetic practices were articulated and set into conflict, from the inclusive, even anthropological celebration of London that characterizes Dekker’s portion of the entertainment, to the bibliographic, authorial, belletristic – but nonetheless *noisy* – style of Ben Jonson.

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[92] See Gentles, *The New Model Army in England, Ireland and Scotland*, 43-44, 354, 365, 372-4.

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[93] Middleton, *Civitatis Amor*, ll. 69-72.

Epilogue

“*Solus Rex, et Poeta*”: The Politics of Literary Form

If Dekker’s Lord Mayor’s Shows were among the most politically dynamic pageants of early modern England, the period’s most explicitly politicized – and infamous – outdoor spectacle was the 1649 beheading of Charles I. The king’s trial was designed as a highly stylized performance by the Parliamentary High Court, which opened the event to the public and furnished the Great Hall with great fanfare:

> THE *King* sitting in a large Elbow-Chair, covered with Crimson Velvet, with Gold Fringe and Nails, and a Velvet Cushion, in a distinct Apartment, directly over against the Lord President; between the space allotted for the Counsel of the Common-wealth . . . . The Lord President *Bradshaw* sitting in an Elbow-Chair, advanced upon the first rising of the Court, having a large Desk fixed before him, covered with a Velvet Fall, and a large Velvet Cushion thereupon.[1]

The execution itself, which took place outside the banqueting house at Whitehall on a “scaffold” (a term that denoted exhibition spaces including theaters), was commonly described and interpreted as a performance.[2] Charles seems to have played his part in a manner that was highly affecting; contemporary accounts emphasize his ability to connect with the crowds with statements such as, “For the *People*: And truly I desire their Liberty and Freedom as much as any body whomsoever.”[3] Later accounts of the episode, notably Marvell’s “Horatian Ode,” emphasize the dramatic performance of “the royal actor” on his “tragic scaffold”: “He nothing common did, or mean, / Upon that memorable scene.”[4]

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[1] Phelps and Nalson, *A True copy of the journal of the High Court*, image number 40.

Though it was quickly adopted as “tragic” theater, the outdoor event would also have called up the royal entries and progresses that the Stuarts had come to neglect, but which in this instance became an extremely powerful political tool. Philip Henry’s description of the execution resonates suggestively with the accounts of Lord Mayor’s Shows discussed above, deriving its suspense from the movement of the crowds, from attempts to marshal them into order, and above all from sound:

> On the day of his execution, which was Tuesday Jan. 30, I stood amongst the crowd in the street before Whitehal gate, where the scaffold was erected, and saw what was done, but was not so near as to hear any thing. The blow I saw given, & can truly say with a sad heart; at the instant whereof, I remember wel, there was such a Grone by the Thousands then present, as I never heard before & desire I may never hear again. There was according to Order, one Troop immediately marching *from-wards ch*aring-cross to Westm[inster] & another from-wards Westm[inster] to charing-cross purposely to masker the people, & to disperse & scatter them, so that I had much adoe amongst the rest to escape home without hurt.[5]

Henry was Charles II’s childhood companion and, like the many others who recounted the execution, had a vested interest in how it was remembered. But his description of a noisy, raucous and impressionable crowd, quickly drawn to sympathize with the tragic protagonist, is common across a range of political allegiances. Even as Milton lambasts the public reaction to the beheading, for example, he registers its capacity to arouse the murmurs and cries of those who had previously clamored against the king:

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[2] *Oxford English Dictionary*, accessed March 2012. On the ways in which “many Englishmen responded to the execution [of Charles I] as theater” (2), see Maguire, “The Theatrical Mask/Masque of Politics.” See also Zwicker, “The King’s Head and the Politics of Literary Property.”

[3] Phelps and Nalson, image 99. See also the descriptions collected in Howell, *Corbett’s Complete Collection of State Trials*, vol. 4, 989-1194.

[4] Marvell, “An Horatian Ode upon Cromwell’s Return from Ireland,” ll. 53-64.

[5] *Diaries and Letters of Philip Henry*, 12.

> The onely grief is, that the head was not strook off to the best ad-vantage and commodity of them that held it by the hair; an ingratefull and pervers generation, who having first cry'd to God to be deliver'd from thir King, now murmur against God that heard thir praiers, and cry as loud for thir King against those that deliver'd them.[6]

Indeed, when he critiques the maudlin frontispiece of *Eikon Basilike* (1649), the king's instantly and widely popular posthumous defense, Milton is explicit that it is the entertainment tradition that the execution managed to exploit: "quaint Emblems and devices begg'd from the old Pageantry of some Twelf-nights entertainment at *Whitehall*, will doe but ill to make a Saint or Martyr."[7]

Against Milton's hopes, this spectacle and its interpretations *did* make Charles into a martyr. The Parliamentarians (accustomed to the public fervor for execution) had likely hoped to use the performative qualities of the event to their advantage; but it was the Royalists who persistently and effectively appropriated it for their political ends. Printed polemics with titles such as *The famous tragedie of King Charles I*; *Regale lectum miseriae, or, A kingly bed of miserie*; and (echoing and embellishing Philip Henry's account of the "Grone by the Thousands then present") *A deep groane, fetch'd at the funerall of that incomparable and glorious monarch* were effective in casting the execution as a doleful, pitiful martyrdom.[8] *Eikon Basilike* went through thirty-five editions within a year of the beheading, Charles I was transformed in many people's imaginations from an corrupt despot to a saintly martyr, and in some ways Parliament found the king to be more unwieldy in the grave than he was while alive. In a similar way that the Lord Mayor's Show remade the traditional royal entry to suit the City's agenda and advance its interests vis-à-vis the Stuart court, Royalists took the performative language of the Parliamentary trial and execution, and refashioned it as a tragedy that required restitution and ultimately Restoration.

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[6] Milton, *Eikonoklastes*, 346.

[7] Milton, *Eikonoklastes*, 343. See also Milton, *A Second Defence of the English People*: "But I clearly see that you have determined to foist off on the ignorant a perfect Charles, if not this Stuart, at least some hyperborean and mythical one, painted with whatever false dyes you choose" (646).

This casting Charles as a tragic hero was not simply the product of the specific conditions of its immediate environment, but was, rather, the result of an elaborate process of remediation that had everything to do with the printed aftermath of the execution. Whereas London's livery companies adopted the entire performative apparatus of the royal processional as the model for the Lord Mayor's Show, Charles's execution became a tragedy primarily through print. This is not to discount the enormous impact of the event itself, including Charles's speeches at the trial and at the execution block, which surprised everyone by producing so much public sympathy. Charles's uncharacteristically charismatic demeanor seems to have made a mockery of the High Court of Justice and to have won over much of the crowd. Nevertheless, a great deal of cultural work outside of the events of 30 January 1649 was necessary to define the execution as a *tragedy*. After all, this specifically theatrical genre would have been even more incongruous outside the façade of the Whitehall banqueting house, where the execution occurred, than inside of it. Although the banqueting house probably still carried associations of the lavish indoor masques that it housed earlier in Charles's reign, it had been restricted to ceremonies of State by 1635, and its dramatic associations in earlier decades were more with comedy, romance and pastoral than with tragedy (*The Tempest*, for example, likely debuted there).[9] We might expect a scaffold with the banqueting house in the background to have been associated less with the most pitiful of contemporary tragedies than with (as Milton puts it) "some twelfthnight's entertainment at Whitehall." It is all the more interesting, then, that the form of the execution came to be defined as a tragedy despite its performance in an outdoor space associated with pageantry and public exhibition, and even as it circulated in printed polemics distant from the conditions of the theater. *Eikon Basilike* and other printed texts captured the public imagination with a new and improved version of the monarchy – a traditional hegemony rendered vulnerable and sacrosanct, over and against its prior associations with despotism and corruption. The execution was *remediated* as poesie: a new kind of script, in the tragic genre, postdated its performance and worked to reshape the bodies, events, ideas and technologies that, collectively, constituted it.

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[8] John Quarles, *Regale lectum miseriae, or, A kingly bed of miserie in which is contained a dreame, with an elegie upon the martyrdome of Charles, late King of England, of blessed memory* (1649); Henry King?, *A deep groane, fetch'd at the funerall of that incomparable and glorious monarch, Charles the First, King of Great Britaine, France and Ireland* (1649). Note that *The famous tragedie of King Charles I basely butchered by those who are, omne nesas proni patare pudoris inanes crudeles, violenti, importunique tyranni mendaces, falsi, perversi, perfidiosi, faedifragi, falsis verbis infunda loquentes* (1649) is structured as a five-act play. Additional examples include John Cleveland, *Monumentum Regale or a tombe, erected for that incomparable and glorious monarch, Charles the First* (1649); Robert Brown?, *The subjects sorrow: or, Lamentations upon the death of Britains Josiah, King Charles most unjustly and cruelly put to death by His own people, before His Royal Palace White-Hall*; and Anon., *A crowne, a crime or, the monarch-martyr* (1649). For a discussion of these and other examples, see Macguire, "The Theatrical Mask/Masque of Politics."

It would be difficult to name a more pivotal and volatile example of the struggle to define poesie than the beheading of the king. Yet Charles I's entertainment-cum-tragedy had a key precedent in the massive, sophisticated *Magnificent Entertainment* celebrating his father's coronation. Both involved a highly anticipated public display in the streets of London fixated on the body of the king; both were elaborately designed performances marked by eloquent oratory; and both were planned, executed and interpreted by a diverse host of designers and artificers including the leading poets of the day. The political circumstances of the two events and the emotional atmosphere surrounding them could not have been more different. But they were each defined as coherent forms through a process of selection, interpretation and mediation much like that which characterized early modern song. Just as the speaker of Donne's "The Triple Fool" finds that his sentiments are continually re-interpreted and reshaped as they circulate through their environment, the paramount performative spectacles of Stuart kingship underwent radical shifts in meaning and identity in the course of their migration through and beyond any original site or locus.

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[9] See Wickham, *Early English Stages*, vol. 2, part 2, 148-68.

In the case of James's 1604 *Magnificent Entertainment*, this process of mediation takes on the concrete quality of a "progress" through London. As mentioned above, royal entries unfolded through a series of presentations at distinctive arches, so that only the processional of court and nobility was able to appreciate the entire allegorical tableau. What is more, the unprecedentedly complex classical symbolism of the entertainment's speeches, inscriptions and architectural marvels would have been largely incomprehensible in the midst of the chaos of the day – which included wine flowing from the city conduits, fireworks, the tolling of church bells and innumerable other distractions. There seems to have been little question among those who described and interpreted the event that crowds were unable to appreciate its ornate allegory. In his account of the festivities, Gilbert Dugdale describes "the wylie Multitude" who "with such hurly burly [ran] up and downe with such vnreuerent rashnes, as the people of the

Exchange were glad to shut the staire dores to keepe them out, heare they lost the pleasing sight they might have enioyde but for their rashnes."[10] Dekker, who designed the grand entrance presentation and the devices at three of the arches, acknowledges in his printed record that "the multitude is now to be our audience, whose heads would miserably run a-wool-gathering if we do but offer to break them with hard words" (ll. 290-93) – which is to say that pedantic allusions and allegories are inevitably lost on a crowd with little sympathy for or interest in them. And Jonson's incredibly elaborate and belletristic account of his contribution to the pageant (which is what Dekker has in mind when he critiques such pedantry), goes even further:

> Neither was it becoming, or could it stand with the dignity of these shows, after the most miserable and desperate shift of the puppets, to require a truchman or (with the ignorant painter) one to write, 'This is a dog' or 'This is a hare', but so to be presented as upon the view they might without cloud or obscurity declare themselves to the sharp and learned. And for the multitude, no doubt but their grounded judgements gazed, said it was fine and were satisfied.
>
> (ll. 756-64)

This comment at the expense of the subaltern crowd should be contextualized in light of Jonson's concern to establish himself as a classicist and to distance himself from his background as a bricklayer. Nevertheless, it is further reason to believe that the symbolism of the royal entry was not even intended to be comprehensible to most of its audience.

In fact – despite Jonson's claim that the significance of the devices would be apparent to the "sharp and learned" – it would seem that even the processional of court and nobility for which the *Magnificent Entertainment* was designed would have grasped little of its overall symbolic program. Dugdale lets on that James, for one, was highly impatient with the crowd and eager to move through the chaos as quickly as possible:

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[10] Dugdale, *The time triumphant*, B1v. Unless otherwise noted, quotations from James's royal entry are taken from Dekker, et al., *The Whole Royal and Magnificent Entertainment of King James*, ed. Smuts, in *Thomas Middleton: The Collected Works*, and cited by line number. As Smuts notes, this edition "provides an ideal reconstruction, rather than an account of what anyone saw or heard on 15 March 1604," and for this reason I supplement my discussion of the pageant with quotations from primary texts including Dugdale's pamphlet.

> [The king] was never more delighted then seeing so many of divers and sundry Nations so well ordred and so civill one with the other, but with all discommended the rudenes of the Multitude, who regardles of time place or person will be so troublesome.[11]

Dekker, meanwhile, makes plain that James was bored with and sometimes dismissive of the verse that was recited to him, and that the bulk of the pageant verses were never performed:

> Reader, you must understand that a regard being had that his Majesty should not be wearied with tedious speeches, a great part of those which are in this book set down were left unspoken. So that thou dost here receive them as they should have been delivered, not as they were.
>
> (ll. 2720-24)

Even if the most "sharp and learned" members of the processional were able to hear the verses and view the artisanship, then, they may well have been uninterested in the details even of those portions that were actually performed. The same was true, no doubt, of the merchants, guildmen and laborers who lined the streets and were (therefore) privy to an even smaller fraction of the allegorical program. All of which is to say that, despite the richness of the royal entry's symbolism and iconography, its audience would have experienced it as a vague and discontinuous series of impressions.

It was precisely the function of the pageant records by Dekker, Jonson, Dugdale and Stephen Harrison (the chief "joiner" and architect of the spectacle, whose account includes lavish illustrations of the triumphal arches) to elucidate the significance and overall consistency of the *Magnificent Entertainment* above such discontinuity and noise.

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[11] Dugdale, *The time triumphant*, B2r.

Harrison's ornate arches also served this function by remaining in the streets to remind Londoners of the pageant in a physical and concrete manner, though an ode by Dekker, printed in Harrison's pageant record, suggests that even such architectural marvels are not up to the task:

> Babel that strove to wear
> A crown of clouds and up did rear
> Her forehead high,
> With an ambitious lust to kiss the sky,
> Is now dust or not at all
> (ll. 39-43)

Babel, "Proud Nimrod's wall . . . The sixteen curious gates in Rome" and many other monuments are now "all forgotten. / Only their names grow great; themselves be rotten": so that, Dekker implies, only poets are able to imbue a royal triumph with a great and lasting "name" (ll. 44, 49-50, 57-58). In the conclusion of his own record, Dekker makes this assertion of poetic influence explicit:

> Reader, the limbs of these great triumphal bodies, lately disjointed and taken in sunder, I have thou seest (for thy sake) set in their apt and right places again, so that now they are to stand as perpetual monuments, not to be shaken in pieces or to be broken down by the malice of that envious destroyer of all things, time.
> (ll. 2727-32)

Likewise, Jonson asserts his authorial prerogative when he notes that the symbolic invention of the entertainment cannot be satisfactorily unified, organized or explained except by the poet:

> The nature and property of these devices being to present always some one entire body or figure consisting of distinct members, and each of those expressing itself in their own active sphere, yet all with that general harmony so connected and disposed as no one little part can be missing to the illustration of the whole; where also is to be noted that the symbols used are not, neither ought to be, simply hieroglyphics, emblems or impresa, but a mixed character, partaking somewhat of all and peculiarly apted to these more magnificent inventions, wherein the garments and ensigns deliver the nature of the person, and the word the present office.

(ll. 744-55)

For Jonson, each iconographic detail (from triumphal arches to choral music) contributes to the symbolic program, but only the poet's "word" has the capacity to reveal how "that general harmony" is "connected and disposed." As with the Lord Mayor's Show, poets are not simply writers: Dekker portrays, in some detail, their collaboration with "sixteen committees, to whom the managing of the whole business was absolutely referred," "overseers and surveyors," "officers and workmen . . . employed in the framing, building and setting up of their five arches," and many others (ll. 2680-81, 2684-85, 2689-90).[12] Yet print is the most influential means by which a poet's "word" is disseminated, and printed records are what allow both Jonson and Dekker to stake out their influence and control over the form of the *Magnificent Entertainment*.

Dekker and Jonson also tend to agree on the importance of sound in the process of defining the royal entry. As the Genius of London puts it in Dekker's entry device (or rather, as she did not put it, since this part of the pageant was never performed), all of the noise and disorder of the event is resolved:

> When every tongue speaks music, when each pen
> (Dulled and dyed black in gall) is white again
> And dipped in nectar, which by Delphic fire
> Being heated, melts into an Orphean choir.
> (ll. 310-13)

Jonson's own Genius, in his device at Fenchurch Street, also emphasizes the harmony that comes of shared acoustic experience:

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[12] In keeping with his tendency to provide an almost anthropological account of the event, Dekker also acknowledges: "A clerk that attended on the committees," "Two officers that gave summons for their meetings etc.," "A clerk of the works," "Two master carpenters," "Painters," "those [seven] that gave the main direction and undertook for the whole business," 24 carvers, 80 joiners, 60 carpenters, 6 turners, 6 "Labourers to [the turners]," 12 sawyers, 70 "Labourers during all the time, and for the day of the Triumph," "the liveries of the companies" who displayed banners and policed the crowds, "two marshals . . . chosen for the day to clear the passage," and the numerous vocalists and instrumentalists responsible for "so much excellent music" (ll. 2691-2717, 2759, 2763-64, 2768).

> Let thronging joy, love and amazement meet.
> Cleave all the air with shouts, and let the cry
> Strike through as long and universally
> As thunder, for thou [London] now art blissed to see
> That sight for which thou didst begin to be.
> (ll. 775-81)

At Jonson's device at Temple Bar, Electra describes this "universal" harmony in terms of music: "All tumult, faction, and harsh discord cease, / That might perturb the music of thy peace" (ll. 2633-34); and Dekker echoes this sentiment in his account of the scene at Temple Bar, expressing pleasure that "his Majesty had left the city of London happy, by delivering it from the noise of tumult." (Additional Passage F, ll. 14-15).[13] In his device at Soper Lane, furthermore, Dekker provides what is perhaps the entertainment's fullest expression of the resolution of occasional noise into music:

> Fame sounding her trumpet, *Arbia Britannica* looks cheerfully up, the senses are startled, Detraction and Oblivion throw off their iron slumber, busily bestowing all their powers to fill their cups at the fount of malicious intention to suck it dry; but a strange and heavenly music suddenly striking through their ears, which, causing a wildness and quick motion in their looks, drew them to light upon the glorious presence of the King; they were suddenly thereby daunted and sunk down.
> (ll. 1479-87)

In pursuing this theme, Dekker employs speculative metaphors of music, as when the forces of royal harmony are able "To stop Fame's hundred tongues, leaving them mute / As in an untouched bell or stringless lute" (ll. 1467-68). Yet Dekker also brings out the role of practical, performed music in the occasional event: he reminds readers that choral music "sung by the choristers of the church, to the music of loud instruments" filled the air, and he incorporates this music into his devices, as at the pageant at Little Conduit, where the nine muses, played by "nine boys, all of them choristers of Paul's," sit "with musical instruments in their hands, to which they sung all day" (ll. 1925, 1699-1700, 1770-78).[14]

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[13] Middleton's portion of the device at Fleet Street picks up on this theme as well, when Zeal finishes its speech by proclaiming: "with reverberate shouts our globe shall ring, / The music's close being thus: God save our King!" (ll. 2180-81).

Although Jonson and Dekker both employ music as a means of articulating the structure and form of the royal entry, however, their respective accounts of this process are very different. For Jonson, noise is harmonized and beautified through a process of deracination, in which the many voices of pageantry ultimately defer, and offer their support, to a more meaningful and important sound. Perhaps the best example of this inclination comes at the conclusion of Jonson's "Panegyre" to James, printed at the end of his pageant record:

> Hereat, the people could no longer hold
> Their bursting joys; but through the air was rolled
> The lengthened shout, as when the artillery
> Of heaven is discharged along the sky:
> And this confession flew from every voice:
> 'Never had land more reason to rejoice.
> Nor to her bliss, could aught now added be,
> Save, that she might the same perpetual see.'
> Which when Time, Nature, and the Fates denied,
> With twice louder shout again they cried,
> 'Yet let blessèd Britain ask (without your wrong)
> Still to have such a king, and this king long.'
> *Solus Rex, et Poeta non quotannis nascitur*.
> [Only Kings, and Poets are not of everyday birth.][15]

Jonson does not dismiss or ignore these bursting joys and shouts; he re-appropriates their acoustic power in a manner that anticipates Prospero's acknowledgement of Caliban and Middleton's recognition of the "will and blood" of subaltern crowds, discussed above.

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[14] See also Dekker's description of the choristers' song for the device at Little Conduit: "At the shutting up of this speech his Majesty (being ready to go on) did most graciously feed the eyes of beholders with his presence, till a song was spent: which to a loud and excellent music, composed of violins and an other rare artificial instrument, wherein besides sundry several sounds effused (all at one time) were also sensibly distinguished the chirpings of birds, was by two boys (choristers of Paul's) delivered in sweet and ravishing voices" (ll. 1525-33).

[15] Jonson, "A Panegyre, on the Happy Entrance of James," ll. 151-63. Originally printed in *B. Ion: his part of King Iames his royall and magnificent entertainement* (London, 1604).

Where Jonson is rather distinctive, however, is in the egoistic and even bombastic concluding epigraph of his Panegyre, in which he suddenly and explicitly removes kings and poets from the crowd, subordinating the entire, noisy environment of 15 March, 1604 into the background of his authorial agenda: *Solus Rex, et Poeta non quotannis nascitur*. Anticipating the arc of transformation that will come to characterize his courtly masques, in which the splendid array of spectacle created by a host of artisans supposedly gives way to an allegorical and belletristic vision, Jonson asserts his idea of poetic form as something guaranteed by, and yet fundamentally removed from, its performative occasion.

Dekker's account of the mediation of the royal entry through the pen of a poet envisions no such removal. Concerned less to subordinate the environment of the entertainment to its symbolic program than to establish their collaboration and unification, Dekker portrays the *Magnificent Entertainment* as a contiguous ecological system involving speech, music, architecture, city streets, participants' bodies, penned verses and other "workmanship":[16]

> Many days were thriftily consumed to mould the bodies of these triumphs comely and to the honour of the place, and at last the stuff whereof to frame them was beaten out: the soul that should give life and a tongue to this entertainment being to breathe out of writers' pens, the limbs of it to lie at the hard-handed mercy of mechanicians.
>
> (ll. 382-88)

To be sure, Dekker privileges the "soul" that "writers" provide to the event, using the printed record to underscore how indispensible his own profession is to the overall endeavor. Unlike Jonson, however, Dekker's primary goal is to *express* the manifold, bustling activity that produces and surrounds the royal entry, rather than eclipse it:

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[16] As Dekker notes of arch at Little Conduit, "His Majesty dwelt here a reasonable long time, giving both good allowance to the song and music, and liberally bestowing his eye on the *workmanship* of the place" (my emphasis, ll. 1917-19).

> In a moment, therefore, of time are carpenters, joiners, carvers, and other artificers sweating at their chisels. *Accingunt Omnes operi*. Virgil [All equip themselves for the work] . . . . The streets are surveyed: heights, breadths, and distances taken, as it were to make fortifications, for the solemnities . . . . The streets seemed to be paved with men; stalls instead of rich wares were set out with children; open casements filled up with women . . . . He that should have compared the empty and untrodden walks of London, which were to be seen in that late mortally-destroying deluge, with the thronged streets now, might have believed that upon this day began a new creation and that the city was the only workhouse wherein sundry nations were made.
>
> (ll. 389-91, 396-99, 415-17, 421-26)

There is an almost cartographic level of detail to Dekker's celebration of the populace and infrastructure of London at such moments. He goes on to describe the occasion meticulously and quantitatively, down to the exact dimensions of arches including that of Londinium at Fenchurch Street (which was crowned by a model of the entire city in perspective).[17] Even Dekker's statements of unified purpose and symbolic coherence sometimes give way to a more pressing concern to express and record the nature of London itself, as in the following description of the synchronization of voices honoring the king:

> Nothing that [the multitude] speak could be made anything, yet all that was spoken was sounded to this purpose, that still his Majesty was coming. They have their longings. And behold, afar off they spy him, richly mounted on a white jennet.
>
> (ll. 441-45)

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[17] For example, Dekker describes the arch at Soper Lane as follows: "The stately entrance into which was a fair gate in height eighteen foot, in breadth twelve; the thickness of the passage under it being twenty-four. Two posterns stood wide open on the two sides, either of them being four foot wide and eight foot high. The two portals that jutted out before these posterns had their sides open four several ways and served as pedestals of rustic to support two pyramids, which stood upon four great balls and four great lions: the pedestals, balls and pyramids, devouring in their full upright height, from the ground line to the top, just sixty foot" (ll. 1361-71).

Dekker is careful to point out that what seem to be diverse and impenetrable sounds and desires are, in fact, uniformly focused on James. Yet the possibility that the crowd may have had little interest the monarch, and were celebrating any number of other things (from the day free from work to the limitless wine), is lurking in non sequiturs such as "They have their longings."

Dekker's and Jonson's different outlooks on how to remember, inscribe and interpret the royal entry erupt into an outright quarrel when Dekker mocks Jonson's penchant for glossing and allusion:

> To make a false flourish here with the borrowed weapons of all the old masters of the noble science of poesy, and to keep a tyrannical coil in anatomizing *Genius* from head to foot, only to show how nimbly we can carve up the whole mess of the poets, were to play the executioner, and to lay our city's household god on the rack, to make him confess how many pair of Latin sheets we have shaken and cut into shreds to make him a garment.
>
> (ll. 278-86)[18]

For Dekker, Jonson's deferral to "all the old masters of the noble science of poesy" amounts to a sacrifice of his very subject, here the Genius or essential spirit of London. Dekker thus provides a variation on one of his favorite metaphors, in which the *Magnificent Entertainment* is a corporeal system: Jonson's elaborate "anatomizing" of London's Genius obscures her true nature, covering her with an awkward "garment" of quotations and allusions. Dekker is less forthcoming about his own means of "anatomizing" the entertainment, from his interest in unifying the innumerable forces and events involved into a comprehensive authorial record, to his assertion of a vernacular poetics rooted in London's continual and industrious "workmanship." Yet the very similarities between Dekker's and Jonson's assertions of authorship may be what aroused their enmity most of all. Both poets, after all, are quite bold in their respective visions as to how the royal entry can be reconciled with or appropriated into literary form.

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[18] Dekker goes on to paraphrase Horace's *Epistles*, I.19.37, "*nunc ego ventosae plebis suffragia venor*" [I am now to hunt for the votes of a fickle public], substituting *nunc* (now) for *non* (not). As Smuts notes in *The Magnificent Entertainment*, ll. 288-89n., this is "probably another barb aimed at Jonson, who liked to call himself the English Horace and who shared Horace's disdain for popularity."

Dekker's comparison of a pedantic author like Jonson to an executioner returns us, in an uncanny way, to the beheading of Charles I as a site of entertainment and (as it was redacted in print) tragedy. To say this is, of course, to take Dekker too literally, and to stray from his conceit that dropping the blade on the "sheets" of poesie alienates an author from his true subject by carving it into the shreds of "the whole mess of the poets." But comparing the reshaping and consolidation of poetic form to an execution serves as a vivid reminder of the *struggle* that so often attended the formation of "the noble science of poesy." Defining poesie involved a process of mediation that included not only negotiations and transactions among humanist coteries, bibliographic marketplaces, popular balladeers and livery companies, but also powerful political forces with vested interests in what came to be understood as a "Magnificent Entertainment" or a "tragedy." The radical diversity of priorities and agendas among the poets, publishers and compositors involved in the production of pageant records is only a fraction of a much larger struggle – one which involved everything from the shove of a whiffler entrusted with policing the crowds to the celebration, execution or martyrdom of a king.[19]

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[19] The contrasting priorities of those involved in recording and fashioning the royal entry are apparent even in the pamphlet titles. Dekker's title, *The magnificent entertainment giuen to King Iames . . . As well by the English as by the strangers*, makes note of the Italian and Dutch involvement of the festivities, in keeping with his interest in providing a comprehensive survey of the entire field of activity. Jonson's pamphlet title emphasizes his personal stake in the events, *B. Ion: his part of King Iames his royall and magnificent entertainement*; Harrison's account brings out his professional status: *The arch's of triumph . . . Invented and published by Stephen Harrison ioyner and architect*. Dugdale's pamphlet, entitled *The time triumphant declaring in briefe, the ariual of our soueraigne liedge Lord, King Iames into England . . . Shewing also, the varieties & rarieties of al the sundry trophies or pageants, erected by the worthy Cittizens of the honorable Cittie of London*, hints at his interest in recording the reactions and contributions of "Cittizens" who would otherwise have gone unheard. Perhaps the most memorable episode that Dugdale records (or

If poets participated in the wider stakes of this literary and political struggle, so did the vocalists, instrumentalists, composers and versifiers of early modern song. Dekker's thoroughness in recording every possible contributor to the "limbs of these great triumphal bodies" – from poets and architects, to carvers and "other artificers, as plumbers, smiths, molders," to the "sweet and ravishing voices" of choristers – helps to indicate the great variety of professions involved in the production of poesie (ll. 2727, 2718-19, 1532-33). Even Jonson's testiness over the distinctiveness of poets, and his constant need to differentiate between learned, belletristic authors and their innumerable competitors and collaborators suggest that his outlook was anything but secure. Jonson's direct participation in printing his *Workes* (1616), the closing of the theaters during the Interregnum, an increasingly monolithic bibliographic marketplace, and many (much later) developments including the rise of the modern academy helped institutionalize "literature" as a predominantly written form. Throughout the early modern period, however, what Dekker calls "the whole mess of the poets" continued to be mediated through voices, instruments, declamations, explosions, whispers, melodies and innumerable other sounds.

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possibly invents) is the intended speech of a "man with a white beard" who wished to address the king, but because of the "noyse of the showe, that oppertunitie was not fauourable to him, so that the King past by; yet noting his zeale I have publiquely imprinted it, that all his fellow Subiectes may see this olde mans forwardnes, who myst of his purpose by the concourse of people, beside the King apointed no such thing but at several stays & appointed places" (B3r-B3v).

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