

TWO 'TRANSITIONAL' LATE PLAYS AT THE GLOBE: AN EVALUATION OF
THE SCHOLARSHIP OF GLOBE RECONSTRUCTION AND ITS BEARING ON THE
ORIGINAL STAGING OF SHAKESPEARE'S THE WINTER'S TALE AND
CYMBELINE

by

GABRIEL IGNATIUS EGAN

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Arts
of the University of Birmingham
for the degree of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Shakespeare Institute
School of English
Faculty of Arts
University of Birmingham
September 1997

1369794

23581697



ABSTRACT

Chapter 1 considers the notion of 'theatre specificity' and the transfer of plays between venues. Recent evidence for the opening dates of the Globe and Blackfriars playhouses is considered, and from these dates and an analysis of textual provenance a list of reliable 'Globe plays' is derived. Chapter 2 considers aspects of staging which are unrelated, or only indirectly related, to playhouse design. Chapters 3 and 4 describe and evaluate the scholarship of Globe reconstruction before and during the Wanamaker project, leading to a theoretical model of the Globe and its practices which is described in chapter 5.

Chapters 6 and 7 provide scene-by-scene reconstructions of the original staging of Shakespeare's The Winter's Tale and Cymbeline. Chapter 8 draws conclusions about the importance of playhouse design in the study of original staging.

The first appendix considers the evidence for the dating and provenance of the 29 plays claimed by Richard Hosley as 'Globe plays'. The second appendix considers Thomas Platter's account of his visit to a London playhouse in 1599. The third appendix considers the location of the 'Lords Room'. The fourth appendix assesses and explains John Orrell's trigonometric analysis of the Hollar sketch of the second Globe and Peter McCurdy's work on the 'jetties' at the Globe.

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my wife Joan Fitzpatrick whose thesis on Edmund Spenser's terror of all things female and Irish is a model of politically-engaged criticism which shames the dry empiricism herein.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Throughout the production of this work Professor Stanley Wells of the Shakespeare Institute, Stratford on Avon, was ceaselessly radical in his sceptical commentary while utterly supportive in words and actions. Under his guidance I learnt how to research and how to write, for which I am inexpressibly grateful.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION	10
1.1 Bibliographical Note	10
1.2 Aims and Methods	11
1.3 The Limits of Theatre-Specificity	14
1.4 Dating the Acquisition of the Globe and the Blackfriars	17
1.4.1 The Beginning of the Globe-Only Period	17
1.4.2 The End of the Globe-Only Period	24
1.5 Establishing the Canon of 'Globe Plays'	31
1.6 The Textual Status of <u>The Winter's Tale</u> , <u>Cymbeline</u> , and <u>The Tempest</u>	38
1.7 Limitations upon Recovery of the Staging of the 'Transitional Phase' Plays	41
CHAPTER 2. STAGING ISSUES NOT RELATED TO PLAYHOUSE DESIGN	45
2.1 Costuming	45
2.2 Acting Styles and Conventions	58
2.3 Monoscenic versus Polyscenic Staging	71
2.4 The Use of Stage Furniture	77
2.5 The Logic of Stage Entrances	84
CHAPTER 3. RECONSTRUCTING THE GLOBE PLAYHOUSE PART 1: SCHOLARSHIP BEFORE THE WANAMAKER PROJECT.	94
3.1 E. K. Chambers's Views on Elizabethan Playhouse Design	95
3.2 J. C. Adams's Model of the Globe	104

3.3	Reactions to Adams's Model: I. A. Shapiro; C. Walter Hodges; Richard Southern; A. M. Nagler; Warren D. Smith; George F. Reynolds; J. W. Saunders	117
3.4	Richard Hosley's Demonstration of the De Witt Swan's Sufficiency for Globe Plays	124
3.5	Were Elizabethan Playhouses Largely Alike?: W. F. Rothwell and Richard Southern	130
3.6	Hosley's Globe	133
3.7	The 'Evolution' of Playhouse Design	143

CHAPTER 4. RECONSTRUCTING THE GLOBE PLAYHOUSE PART 2:

	SCHOLARSHIP OF THE WANAMAKER PROJECT	147
4.1	Reading the Hollar Sketch: C. Walter Hodges	147
4.2	<u>Ad quadratum</u> Relationships in the Playhouse Contracts and Pictures: John Orrell	148
4.3	Hollar's Use of a Perspective Glass: John Orrell	151
4.4	Deriving the Shape of the Globe from the Hollar Sketch: Richard Hosley	154
4.5	Refining the Triogometric Reading of the Hollar Sketch and Determining the Orientation of Playhouse Stages: John Orrell	159
4.6	The First ISGC Seminar (1983): Justifying the Position of the Academic Committee	162
4.7	The Second ISGC Seminar (1986): Settling the Design of the Stage Cover	169
4.8	Martin Clout's Demurral	175
4.9	Discovery of the Rose Remains	176

4.10 Interpreting the Rose Remains and Discovery of the Globe Remains	178
4.11 Construction of the First 2 Bays of the Wanamaker Globe	180
4.12 Interpreting the Globe Remains	183
4.13 The Third ISGC Seminar (1992): Choosing between Hildy's 90' and Orrell's 100' Diameter Globes .	185
4.14 New Objections to Orrell's Reading of the Hollar Sketch	189
4.15 ' <u>Within</u> the Wooden O': Defending the Interior Decoration of the Wanamaker Globe	195
4.16 Workshop Season 1995: Re-positioning the Stage Posts	199
4.17 Further Defence of the Interior Decoration of the Wanamaker Globe	200
4.18 Making Use of the Scholarship of the Wanamaker Globe	208

CHAPTER 5. THE HYPOTHETICAL GLOBE OF THE 1610s AND EARLY 1620s	209
5.1 The Auditorium Frame	210
5.2 The Stage	210
5.3 The Tiring House	211
5.4 The Stage Cover	213
5.5 Staging Practices	214

CHAPTER 6. THE ORIGINAL STAGING OF <u>THE WINTER'S TALE</u> AT THE GLOBE	217
6.1 The Status of the Text	217

6.2	Before the Start of the Performance	217
6.3	Scene-by-Scene Reconstruction of the Original Staging	221
CHAPTER 7. THE ORIGINAL STAGING OF <u>CYMBELINE</u> AT THE GLOBE		305
7.1	The Status of the Text	305
7.2	Before the Start of the Performance	305
7.3	Scene-by-Scene Reconstruction of the Original Staging	305
CHAPTER 8. CONCLUSION: THE IMPORTANCE OF PLAYHOUSE DESIGN IN THE STUDY OF ORIGINAL STAGING		382
8.1	The Wanamaker Globe and the Politics of Historicism	382
8.2	The Methodology of Early Modern Theatrical and Dramatic Historicism: 'Typicality' versus 'Specificity'	387
8.3	What Has Been Learnt About Shakespearian Staging in this Thesis	388
8.4	<u>The Winter's Tale</u> and <u>Cymbeline</u> Staged Elsewhere	392
APPENDIX 1: ESTABLISHING THE LIST OF 'GLOBE PLAYS' . . .		394
9.1	The 'Globe Play' Candidates	394
9.2	Taylor's Act-interval and Scene-interval Tests	396
9.3	The Shakespearian Globe Plays	400
9.4	The Non-Shakespearian Globe Plays	412
9.5	The Reliable Globe Plays	444

APPENDIX 2: INTERPRETING THE PLATTER ACCOUNT	445
APPENDIX 3: THE SITUATION OF THE 'LORDS ROOM': A REVALUATION	453
11.1 Lawrence's Problematic Designation of the Stage Balcony	453
11.2 The Origins of Sitting on the Stage	457
11.3 'Over the Stage'	458
11.4 Evidence for the Location of the Lords Room	460
11.5 <u>The Guls Horne-booke</u>	467
11.6 Weighing the Evidence	472
APPENDIX 4: TRIGONOMETRIC ANALYSIS OF THE HOLLAR SKETCH, AND THE <u>AD QUADRATUM</u> RELATIONSHIP OF THE UPPERMOST GALLERY	476
12.1 Orrell's Trigonometric Analysis of the Hollar Sketch	476
12.2 Determining the Orientation of the Stage from Hollar's Sketch	499
12.3 McCurdy's Re-introduction of <u>Ad Quadratum</u> Design at the Globe Using Jetties	500
FIGURES	502
WORKS CITED	504

CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Bibliographical Note

All citations will be made using the author-date variant of the Modern Language Association style (Gibaldi & Achtert 1988). For early printed texts mentioned in citations, and in the list of works cited which appears at the end of the thesis, the names of authors and their works will follow the form of the entries in the Short Title Catalogues (Pollard & Redgrave 1986a; Pollard & Redgrave 1986b; Wing 1972; Wing 1982; Wing 1988). In author-date citations of early printed texts, and in some modern transcriptions (for example, Arber 1876), signatures will be cited instead of page numbers. The use of signatures is indicated by a final 'r' or 'v' to denote recto or verso. The First Folio of Shakespeare is quoted from the Norton facsimile (Shakespeare 1968) and using the Through Line Numbering (TLN) of that edition. In all quotations the spelling and orthography of the original is retained with the exception of the substitution of a modern 's' for long 's' and of individual types for all ligatures. To avoid clashing with editorial expansions marked by angle braces ('<' and '>') which are preserved in quotations, expansions originating in this thesis will be marked with chevrons ('«' and '»'). Where it is necessary to summarize the arguments of others which were made using modern editions these are altered to citations of early printed texts except in direct quotation of the argument. Where such alterations force a choice between

multiple early editions of Shakespeare which have roughly equal authority, and no other principle of selection is dictated by the argument being made, the early modern text chosen as control text for the Oxford Complete Works (Shakespeare 1986) is used. For non-Shakespearian cases of the same decision the text closest to the first performance text is chosen for dramatic works and the first printing is chosen for non-dramatic works.

1.2 Aims and Methods

The aim of this thesis is an analysis of the original staging of two plays by Shakespeare at the first and second Globe playhouse in the light of new knowledge about these buildings. The plays to be considered are The Winter's Tale and Cymbeline and they will be taken in this probable chronological order (Wells et al. 1987, 131-2). Although it is not clear exactly when the King's men gained access to the Blackfriars playhouse, it is unlikely that this occurred while Shakespeare was composing any play before The Winter's Tale and equally unlikely that it occurred while he was composing any after play Cymbeline. These two plays were written in what might be termed the 'transitional phase' before which the company had only one permanent venue, the Globe, and after which it had two.

When the King's men had only the Globe as their permanent venue any new play must have been written with a view to performance either there, or at court, or in a private hall,

or on tour, or a combination of these four. Of these potential venues, we have reason to believe that the Globe was of prime importance as the main source of the company's income, and that performance elsewhere was of secondary importance. Once the Blackfriars became available, however, the situation changed. It is possible that this change in the conditions of composition affected the working dramatists. When analysing the staging of the late plays two distinct venues, and three other types of venue, could be considered: the Globe, the Blackfriars, the court, private halls, and the touring spaces. The texts we have of Shakespeare's plays might, depending on their provenance, reflect conditions at one or more venues. Moreover, the texts might reflect conditions some time after initial composition. Such factors must be taken into account in the reconstruction of the staging of any play. But the late plays by Shakespeare command special attention because of the additional problem of the availability, at the time of composition, of two dissimilar permanent venues. It is beyond the scope of this thesis to consider staging at the Blackfriars, which would require as many words again as are used here.

To speculate about the staging of the late plays at the playhouse for which the King's men's dramatists had been writing for many years, the Globe, is to consider them as though they formed a continuum with the earlier works. In some sense they must, since the habits and practices of a team of theatrical workers cannot alter overnight. But the special interest of The Winter's Tale and Cymbeline is that they are

located at or near the origin of what must have become a bifurcation in the theatrical tradition of early modern London, since the expensive indoor playhouses like the Blackfriars eventually replaced the outdoor playhouses.

Before an analysis of the available texts can be undertaken, it will be necessary to consider the current scholarly consensus on the design of the two Globe playhouses and the staging practices that obtained in them. Over the past thirty years a considerable body of new material has been added to the scholarly project to determine the design of the Shakespearian playhouses; some of it is new interpretation of old evidence, but a significant amount is previously unavailable primary evidence. Much of the new material has yet to be fed back into analysis of the staging of particular plays, and this work is intended to further that process for the plays considered.

One of the forces behind the recent acceleration of work on the design of the Globe playhouses has been the project to build a replica of the first Globe near to the site of the original on Bankside in London. This project is officially the International Shakespeare Globe Centre, but will be referred to here by the name of its founder, Sam Wanamaker. The intention is to build the most authentic practical reconstruction of the original building. Much of the evidence used in this thesis arises from the scholarly symposia convened in the 1970s, 80s, and 90s to arrive at a consensus about the probable design of the original. The records of these meetings show that unanimity was seldom reached, but

over the years the points of disagreement became finer and, to non-expert eyes, increasingly trivial. Because the intention was to build a single functional building rather than delineate a set of hypothetical alternatives, it became necessary finally for the academic committee of the Wanamaker Globe to reject many plausible possibilities and privilege one design. This thesis is not constrained by the same practical considerations and attention will be given to the plausible alternatives that were not constructed. For the staging of particular events in certain plays it will be legitimate to describe a range of possible practices even though not all of them could be accomplished within any single design for a playhouse.

The overall structure of the thesis will be this: first a consideration of the staging practices, for example costuming, which are not directly related to the design of the playhouse, followed by a consideration of the current scholarly consensus on the design of the Globe, and then a scene by scene analysis of the staging of each play.

1.3 The Limits of Theatre-Specificity

It is important to bear in mind that plays of the period were usually written for a playing company and not necessarily for a particular playhouse. Play texts were part of the capital of a playing company and would need to be usable where the company played, but this was not always a single venue. Until 1594 companies moved between different city inns in

winter, and the suburban playhouses in the summer (Gurr 1996a, 105). In 1594 the privy council banned all playing at city inns and allowed only two companies, the Admiral's men and the Chamberlain's men, at two specified suburban venues: the Rose and the Theatre, respectively. Before this enforced settlement, companies tended not to stay at a particular venue for long (Gurr 1996a, 22-5), and hence when commissioning plays they did not have a specific venue in mind. Even after 1594 there was considerable movement between playhouses, and an added complication is that touring was the norm, and not an exception forced on the companies by plague restrictions (Gurr 1996a, 52-4; Somerset 1994, 50). Performance at court and in private halls must also be considered. Although a play might not be written specifically for one venue, an extant play text might accurately reflect staging practice at one venue if it is based upon a theatrical text annotated for use there.

All this makes the use of terms such as 'Globe play' or 'Blackfriars play' more problematic than was hitherto believed. However, for plays after 1594 we often know with some certainty which playhouse was a particular company's primary home when a given play was written, and it seems reasonable to assume that a knowledge of the venue affected the working dramatist. There is no point in writing a 'descent' into the text if you know the company's venue cannot run to such an effect. But the degree to which the effect was integrated into the dramatic action might have determined whether the play was toured, and conversely the anticipated use might well have conditioned the composition.

Problems arise in our efforts to make use of reasonable assumptions such as these. The greatest temptation is to run the analysis in reverse and infer from an effect in the extant text that, at the date of composition, the company's primary venue was capable of staging such an effect. However, texts do not necessarily have a single date of composition. Even leaving aside the problem of plays being reconstructed from the recollections of the actors involved, there is authorial and non-authorial revision to consider as well as alteration by scribes, composers, and editors. Most suspect of all, perhaps, is the kind of analysis this thesis attempts, in which staging is conjectured from hypothetical playhouse design, which is itself partially dependent on the evidence of play texts. The possibility for circularity is obvious: Antony might be said to be winched to the top of Cleopatra's monument because the winch was there to be used, and the winch might be said to be there because this scene needs it. Circular logic has plagued the scholarship of Globe reconstruction and staging but the danger can be minimized. In this introduction the accepted canon of 'Globe plays' will be examined to see if it is contaminated by texts which might reflect staging conditions before or after the period when the Chamberlain's/King's men had only the Globe as a permanent venue. In chapters 3 and 4 arguments about the design of the Globe will likewise be examined for signs of scholarly wish-fulfilment and reluctance to accept the limitations of evidence. A physical reconstruction of a building cannot embody uncertainty but the scholarly para-text which

accompanies it may do so and one of the aims of this thesis is to explore the staging possibilities produced by the inconclusivity of the evidence for playhouse design and playing practice.

1.4 Dating the Acquisition of the Globe and the Blackfriars

1.4.1 The Beginning of the Globe-Only Period

The period during which the Chamberlain's men had only the Globe as their permanent venue is bounded by two dates: completion of the building sometime in 1599 and acquisition of the Blackfriars sometime in 1608. Shortly before completion of the Globe a dramatist writing for the company could reasonably expect a play he was working on to be performed at the new venue, and likewise the Blackfriars was acquired during a period of plague closure so the re-opening of the playhouse was probably anticipated by those close to the company. For the purpose of determining which plays were written for performance at the Globe it is important to determine not the dates upon which the Globe and the Blackfriars were actually opened, but the dates after which a dramatist working for the Chamberlain's/King's men could reasonably expect their work to be performed at these venues. In this thesis the period during which a dramatist could reasonably expect his play to be performed primarily at the Globe will be called the 'Globe-only' period and this is roughly the first and second

quarter of 1599 to the third quarter of 1608. The periods before and after this will be called 'pre-Globe-only' and 'post-Globe-only' respectively.

The Theatre was disassembled and removed from the land of Giles Allen in Shoreditch in December 1598 and January 1599. The likeliest period is the week or two following 28 December 1598 (Berry 1987, 4-7). It is not clear how long the Burbages had been planning the removal of the playhouse, but once it began any dramatist writing for the Chamberlain's men could reasonably expect that a successful play would be performed first at the Curtain, which the company had been using since the lease on the Theatre expired on 13 April 1597 (Chambers 1923b, 383-404), and then at the new venue. In 1585 the Curtain was described as an "Esore" to the Theatre (Wallace 1913, 149). It is not clear what "esore" meant, but William Ingram argued that Burbage and Brayne purchased the Curtain from Henry Lanman over the period 1585-92 (Ingram, William 1979). An unsuccessful play written while the Globe was under construction might not remain in the repertory long enough to be performed there, and only after the Globe was completed could a dramatist writing for the Chamberlain's men be sure that his play would be performed at the new venue. Unfortunately, the date of opening of the Globe is uncertain.

C. W. Wallace published a document he discovered in the Public Record Office which described the Globe as "una Domo de novo edificata" on 16 May 1599 (Wallace 1914a) and hence this is often cited as the terminus ad quem of the construction period (for example, McCurdy 1993, 6). However, the phrase

"novo edificata" does not indicate that the building was complete and in use and may refer to the incomplete structure. Steve Sohmer argued that the first play performed at the new Globe was Julius Caesar, and that Shakespeare wrote it specially for the opening day, 12 June 1599 (Sohmer 1997a). Sohmer's argument depended upon a collection of allusions and chronological correspondences which suggest that the play took advantage of the discrepancy between the Gregorian calendar, in use in England, and the Julian calendar in use in the rest of Europe. The combined weight of the allusions claimed by Sohmer is considerable but it is not dependent upon performance at the Globe: the effect would be largely the same if Julius Caesar was performed at the Curtain instead. In an online discussion Sohmer argued that the Capitol of the play is associated with the Tower of London and that this makes the Globe a likelier venue than the Curtain (Sohmer 1997b). Casca reports to Cassius "Against the Capitoll I met a Lyon" and Cassius confirms the presence of lions at the Capitol by alluding to a man who "roares, / As doth the Lyon in the Capitoll" (Shakespeare 1968, TLN 452, 513-4). Stow's Annals indicates that lions were kept at the Tower of London and that on 5 August 1604 one gave birth (Stow 1605, Uuuu3r). Sohmer noted that in other Shakespeare plays the Tower was associated with Julius Caesar. If the Capitol/Tower association is accepted then Casca's "high East / Stands as the Capitoll, directly heere" becomes a gesture towards the Tower which was directly east of the Globe, but was almost directly south of the Curtain.

Sohmer noted that the lease for the land upon which the Globe stood was signed on 21 February 1599 and that scholars usually assume the construction took 28 weeks since that is period of time allowed for the construction of the Fortune the following year (Sohmer 1997a, 6-7; Chambers 1923b, 415). Sohmer argued that the Globe would have taken less time to build than the Fortune because its timbers, recycled from the Theatre, did not need to be cut and shaped. For this reason the Globe's construction schedule should not be derived from that of the Fortune but rather from that of the Hope playhouse, which was built from the timbers of the old Beargarden. The contract for the building of the Hope (transcribed in Greg 1907, 19-22) allowed 13 weeks for the job. Sohmer assumed that the same amount of time was needed to erect the Globe which could therefore have been completed by 3 June 1599. In fact the job of constructing the Globe was unlike the job of constructing the Hope because the latter was to be built "neere or vppon the saide place, where the saide game place did heretofore stande" (Greg 1907, 20). The Globe was built from timbers which went together exactly the same way they had been taken apart because its frame was simply that of the Theatre re-assembled on a new site, and hence its foundations were identical to those of the old building (Smith, Irwin 1952). At the Hope the builder Gilbert Katherens was allowed to choose the site for himself and hence the foundations of the old "game place" were not being reused. The contract allowed Katherens to "take downe or pull downe" (Greg 1907, 19) the Beargarden, presumably a choice of demolition

method left to the builder's discretion, and to use what timber he could salvage. The involvement of a master carpenter such as Peter Street in the dismantling and transport of the timbers of the Globe indicates that this was no job of mere salvage but a careful relocation of a dismantlable building. Katherens's contract to build the Hope on roughly the spot on which the Beargarden had stood cannot be used to conjecturely reconstruct the lost Globe contract.

It is not clear why the Hope took only 13 weeks to build while the Fortune needed 28 weeks. A possible explanation is that Katherens was beginning in the summer (the contract was signed on 29 August 1613) and so he could begin laying his foundations right away. Katherens subcontracted this work to the bricklayer John Browne on 8 September (Warner 1881, 241). The Fortune and the Globe were begun in the month of January and John Orrell noted that contemporary books on construction advise against laying foundations until the danger of frost is passed (Orrell 1993b, 130-1, 131n18). Orrell conjectured that Street put off laying the foundations until the warm weather and used the time from January to April to cut and shape the timbers needed for the Fortune. If Street followed the same practice a year earlier the advantage of having pre-cut timbers disappears since, apart from surveying and trench-digging, nothing could have been done until the danger of frost had passed. If, as Orrell thought, the weather played an important part in setting the completion date, then the Fortune contract gives a reasonable model for Globe and the Hope contract is irrelevant. The Fortune contract's 28 week

schedule puts the opening of the Globe in early September 1599. Thomas Platter's account of a performance of a play about Julius Caesar might be a description of Shakespeare's play, in which case the Globe was open by 21 September 1599 (Schanzer 1956). Platter's account is considered in detail in appendix 2 at the end of this thesis. Thus the earliest the Globe could have been used is early June 1599, as maintained by Sohmer, and the latest is September 1599, or October 1599 if Elizabethan builders' schedules slipped as modern builders' schedules are prone to do and if Platter saw a non-Shakespearian play about Julius Caesar.

The earliest Shakespeare play that might have been written with the Globe in mind is Much Ado About Nothing. The preceding play, 2 Henry 4, must be earlier than Henry 5 which continues the story of Falstaff after his rejection by Prince Hal (Wells et al. 1987, 120-1). Much Ado About Nothing was not mentioned by Francis Meres amid a list Shakespeare's works in Palladis Tamia which was registered on 7 September 1598 (Meres 1598, Oo2r; Arber 1876, 41r). The 1600 quarto of Much Ado About Nothing was based on foul papers (Wells et al. 1987, 371) in which William Kemp's name appears in speech prefixes for Dogberry (Shakespeare 1600c, G3v-G4v). This indicates that the play was written before Kemp's departure from the Chamberlain's men early in 1599 around the time he sold his share in the Globe (Chambers 1923b, 325-7, Wiles 1987, 35-6; Gurr 1996a, 291). In order to allow Shakespeare time to write 2 Henry 4 before it and Henry 5 after it, the Oxford editors assigned composition of Much Ado About Nothing to 1598. It is

possible that Shakespeare had a detailed knowledge of the plans for the new playhouse--or as much as Burbage himself might know during the planning phase--but there is no reason to think Shakespeare looked beyond the immediately available venue, the Curtain, when writing the play.

The next play in the Oxford chronology of Shakespeare's work is Henry 5, which is frequently described as his first play for the Globe. Gary Taylor noted that the optimistic allusion to Essex's expedition to Ireland in the final chorus (Shakespeare 1968, TLN 2850-96) could not have been made before November 1598 or after midsummer 1599 (Shakespeare 1982, 4-5). Taylor assumed that the play about Julius Caesar seen by Platter on 21 September 1599 was Shakespeare's Julius Caesar, which pushes the date of composition of Henry 5 towards the earlier end of the period November 1598 to June 1599 if Shakespeare is to be allowed sufficient time to write Julius Caesar. As we shall see, the assumption that Platter saw Shakespeare's play is not sound and his account is considered in detail in appendix 2 at the end of this thesis. The earliest date of completion of the Globe is early June, which matches the latest date of completion of Henry 5. For plays after Henry 5 it becomes difficult to conjecture reasons why Shakespeare might not anticipate performance at the Globe. An arbitrary decision must be made about Henry 5 and, although it was probably in performance before the Globe was ready, it seems unreasonable to exclude the play from a list of those written with performance at the new venue in the dramatist's

mind. For our purposes, Henry 5 will be assumed to be the first of the 'Globe plays'.

1.4.2 The End of the Globe-Only Period

In order to see why The Winter's Tale was the first Shakespeare play written with performance at the Blackfriars a possibility, we must consider the two preceding plays in the Shakespeare canon, Pericles and Coriolanus. Pericles was written some time before it was entered into the Stationers' Register on 20 May 1608 (Arber 1876, 167v). It was seen at the Globe by the Venetian ambassador Giustinian, according to a witness for the defence of the ambassador Foscarini who was charged with several kinds of misconduct (Hinds 1908, 593-600). One of the charges against Foscarini was that he "made attempts upon the virtue of a spiritual daughter of [a] monk, sometimes attending the public comedies and standing among the people on the chance of seeing her" (Hinds 1908, 593). The defence witness swore his belief that

all the ambassadors who have come to England have gone to the play more or less. The Ambassador Giustinian went with the French ambassador and his wife to a play called 'Pericles,' which cost Giustinian more than 20 crowns. He also took the Secretary of Florence. (Hinds 1908, 600)

This is only a defence if the untainted Giustinian went to the same kind of playhouse, and hence it was at the Globe that Giustinian saw Pericles. Matching the dates when the French

ambassador, Antoine LeFevre de La Boderie, was in London with the dates of Giustinian's presence and excluding periods of plague closure, Leeds Barroll concluded that "Giustinian and La Boderie could have seen Pericles together at three different times: May and June 1606, one week in April 1607, or April through mid-July 1608" (Barroll 1991, 193). Only the last of these is even near to the date when the Blackfriars became available (discussed below), but Giustinian saw Pericles at the Globe. Even assuming the latest possible date of composition, immediately prior to the entry in the Stationers' Register, it is difficult to imagine Shakespeare anticipating performance at the Blackfriars, for reasons best discussed in relation to the next possible candidate for the first play to be written after the Blackfriars was available, Coriolanus.

The impresario of the Children of the Blackfriars, Henry Evans, surrendered the Blackfriars lease to Richard Burbage in August 1608 (Chambers 1923b, 54), but it is possible that Burbage got occupancy before the official termination. David George argued that Burbage took possession as soon as the Children of the Blackfriars disbanded in March 1608 and that the King's men were using the Blackfriars by June 1608 (George 1991, 491). By ascribing the date of composition of Coriolanus to early 1608, George argued that it was the first play written for the Blackfriars. E. K. Chambers believed that plague kept the theatres closed continuously from July 1608 to December 1609 and that the King's men probably did not occupy the Blackfriars until autumn 1609 (Chambers 1923b, 214), and

Barroll's more recent detailed study has confirmed this view of plague closure (Barroll 1991, 173). Irwin Smith also reached the same conclusion, and pointed to evidence that repairs would have been needed before the playhouse could be used again (Smith, Irwin 1964, 247-8). If so, this closes George's narrow window of opportunity between March 1608 (when the children left) and July 1608 (when the playhouses were closed). Even with this window of opportunity left open--after all the Children of the Blackfriars were able to use the playhouse in its allegedly dilapidated state--it would have been remarkably prescient of Shakespeare to write a play so specifically aimed at the Blackfriars audience as George claimed. The availability of the Blackfriars could scarcely be more than a remote possibility at the time of composition, although Evans's readiness to give up the lease might have been known to a company and playhouse shareholder such as Shakespeare. The departure of the Children of the Blackfriars followed the general closure provoked by their performance of Chapman's Conspiracy and Tragedy of Byron (Chambers 1923b, 53-4), and Shakespeare could hardly have anticipated this turn of events. Only if the composition began after the disbanding of the Children of Blackfriars, which would provide Shakespeare with reason to suspect that the King's men would get the Blackfriars, and was completed in time for a run before the plague closure of July 1608, could Shakespeare have written the play for a Blackfriars audience in the way George claimed. This is not impossible but it seems more likely that Shakespeare would have written for the more certainly

available venue, the Globe, rather than the merely possible Blackfriars. For the Globe to be the intended venue, the composition must be merely sometime in early 1608--"coale of fire vpon the Ice" (Shakespeare 1968, TLN 184) being an allusion to the frost of December 1607-January 1608--before the plague closure of July 1608. Since the closure lasted until at least December 1609, composition later than July 1608 would be difficult to reconcile with the topical allusions. If Shakespeare wrote Coriolanus in the spring of 1608 it is scarcely possible that he was at the same time writing Pericles, which cannot be dated later than 20 May 1608, when it was entered in the Stationers' Register. Therefore Pericles precedes Coriolanus and was composed before the end of 1607, and predates the availability of the Blackfriars by an even greater period.

With the plays that follow Coriolanus it becomes increasingly likely that, during composition, Shakespeare might anticipate performance at the Blackfriars. There is no certainty in these matters, but as Gurr pointed out (Gurr 1988, 9) the formation of a syndicate in August 1608 for the co-ownership of the Blackfriars, of which Shakespeare was a member, was the same arrangement as had been used to manage the Globe when it was built in 1599. This strongly suggests that the intention was to use the Blackfriars as the company's second permanent home. So, from August 1608 on, Shakespeare (or any other dramatist writing for the King's men) could expect that his plays would be performed at the Blackfriars once the plague restrictions were lifted, and in all

likelihood the first play that Shakespeare wrote with this expectation in mind was his next play, The Winter's Tale.

There is no internal evidence to support this conclusion, however, and we might consider that Shakespeare did not react immediately to the new possibilities. There is, however, internal evidence to support the view that The Tempest was the first play written specifically to take advantage of the Blackfriars. Gurr argued that "it was conceived with act breaks in mind", partly on the evidence of a violation of the Law of Reentry (Gurr 1989, 93). Prospero and Ariel enter together at the beginning of Act 5 having left together at the end of Act 4 (Shakespeare 1968, TLN 1944-6) which according to this rule can only be permitted if there was an interval. Gurr asserted that Shakespeare "has the same characters leaving and re-entering like this in none of his other plays", but William Montgomery pointed to several examples in The First Part of the Contention (Montgomery 1989, 20) and commented that these "tend to undermine the so-called 'Law of Reentry'" (Montgomery 1989, 20n12). Gurr thought The Tempest to be "uniquely a musical play" written to take advantage of "the consort of musicians at Blackfriars [which] was justly famous" (Gurr 1989, 92).

Whichever was the first play to take advantage of the Blackfriars, it is certain that a play for the King's men must have been performable at the Globe, since this playhouse continued to be highly profitable for many years after the company took over the Blackfriars. That the Globe was as important as the Blackfriars to the King's men is indicated by

their decision to rebuild it after the fire of 1613, at twice the cost of the original construction (Berry 1987, 151-246). Contemporary accounts show that Shakespeare's post-Globe-only plays played at the Globe. We know from Forman's notes that The Winter's Tale played at the Globe in May 1611 (Chambers 1930b, 337-41) and Forman also reports Globe performances of Macbeth and a play about Richard II. He reports seeing Cymbeline too, but without naming the venue. One could argue that the omission is indicative of some anomaly regarding this report (a different venue?) just as easily as one could argue that the four reports are alike (suggesting the same venue). Several accounts of the Globe fire mention that it began during a performance of All is True, and it is described as a new play in two of them (Chambers 1923b, 419; Cole 1981). We have no direct evidence that The Tempest or The Two Noble Kinsmen ever played at the Globe, but Taylor noted that "until the 1630s, the Globe and Blackfriars repertoires seem to have been almost identical" (Taylor & Jowett 1993, 36). Gurr agreed that initially there were identical repertories, but located the eventual bifurcation somewhat earlier than Taylor, in the period 1620-5 (Gurr 1996a, 131, 367). This initial unity of repertories must be reconciled with Gurr's belief that The Tempest shows signs of being written for the Blackfriars:

The opening storm scene with its uproar and confusions was a deliberate shock tactic. It threw an amphitheatre spectacle of noisy running-about at a Blackfriars audience that had just been lulled by the soft harmonies of music and song from the

Blackfriars consort of musicians, who stayed at the playhouse when the boy company left. This says more about the new kind of audience than the plays do. It suggests that the audience had an identity different from the Globe's, and that its new caterers were confident that they could satisfy their tastes without surrendering much from the old traditions. With the roofed hall, music was now available, for instance, so they used it. But the old repertory was used too. (Gurr 1996a, 367)

There is some tension in Gurr's argument, since the stronger the case that the signs of theatre-specificity are detectable, the weaker must be the argument that the Globe and Blackfriars repertories were identical. At the very least Gurr's thesis suggests that The Tempest did not achieve all of its potential artistic effect when it was performed at the Globe. Brian Gibbons argued precisely the opposite theatre-specificity for this play, suggesting that the storm in The Tempest makes use of the likeness of the fabric of

the Globe to the fabric of a ship. Although the Blackfriars probably contained a considerable amount of wood, the Globe was visibly a timber-framed structure and had the advantage of being open to the elements, like a ship, and of being within sight and sound of the river. (Gibbons 1995)

The question of theatre-specificity, both in the general degree to which plays were written for a venue, and in the particular attributions of extant texts, is very far from

ettled. It is sufficient for the work undertaken in this thesis that transference of plays between the King's men's two playhouses is accepted. Arguments based on an assumption that a play was written for a particular theatre must be tempered with an awareness of the range of potential venues. Claims such as George's that Coriolanus shows incidental signs of indoor performance such as the use of cornets (George 1991, 92) cannot stand without a consideration of the provenance of the extant text. If a printed play text appears to be directly based on pre-theatrical copy then it can reasonably be said to reflect anticipated performance conditions around the time of composition. Otherwise we must consider all the possible sources of alteration between composition and printing, and attempt to date them. The staging needs of plays thought to have been written for the Globe have been used by Richard Bosley, Bernard Beckerman, and others as evidence for and against certain features in hypothetical and real reconstructions of the Globe. Because this method of investigation also bears upon our analysis of the extant texts of The Winter's Tale and Cymbeline it is worth considering here the theatre-specificity of the plays in the Bosley-Beckerman Globe-only canon.

1.5 Establishing the Canon of 'Globe Plays'

Having set our boundaries for the Globe-only period we can use the plays written for the Chamberlain's/King's men in this period to determine the needs which a faithful

reconstruction of the Globe would have to satisfy. A play can be assumed to be a Chamberlain's/King's men play if it mentions the company on its title page or if it was written by a dramatist known to be writing exclusively for the company during the Globe-only period (for example, Shakespeare). Hosley assumed that any Chamberlain's/King's men play which can reasonably be ascribed a composition date between 1599 and 1608 is eligible and he arrived at the following list, showing dates of publication of primary texts:

- 1 Shakespeare As You Like It, F (1623)
- 2 Jonson Every Man out of His Humour, Q (1600); F (1616)
- 3 Shakespeare Henry 5, Q (1600); F (1623)
- 4 Shakespeare Julius Caesar, F (1623)
- 5 Anon. A Larum for London, Q (1602)
- 6 Shakespeare Hamlet, Q1 (1603); Q2 (1604-5); F (1623)
- 7 Shakespeare Twelfth Night, F (1623)
- 8 Shakespeare Merry Wives of Windsor, Q (1602); F (1623)
- 9 Dekker Satiromastix, Q (1602)
- 10 Anon. Thomas Lord Cromwell, Q (1602)
- 11 Shakespeare Troilus and Cressida, Q (1609); F (1623)
- 12 Shakespeare All's Well That Ends Well, F (1623)
- 13 Jonson Sejanus, Q (1605); F (1616)
- 14 Anon. The Merry Devil of Edmonton, Q (1608)
- 15 Anon. The London Prodigal, Q (1605)
- 16 Anon. The Fair Maid of Bristol, Q (1605)
- 17 Shakespeare Measure for Measure, F (1623)
- 18 Shakespeare Othello, Q (1622); F (1623)
- 19 Shakespeare King Lear, Q (1608); F (1623)

- 20 Jonson Volpone, Q (1607); F (1616)
- 21 Shakespeare Macbeth, F (1623)
- 22 Anon. A Yorkshire Tragedy, Q (1608)
- 23 Tourneur (?) The Revenger's Tragedy, Q (1607-8)
- 24 Barnes The Devil's Charter, Q (1607)
- 25 Shakespeare Antony and Cleopatra, F (1623)
- 26 Wilkins The Miseries of Enforced Marriage, Q (1607)
- 27 Shakespeare Coriolanus, F (1623)
- 28 Shakespeare Timon of Athens, F (1623)
- 29 Shakespeare Pericles, Q (1609)
- (Hosley 1975a, 181-2)

The simplest objection to Hosley's list is that the evidence dating the composition of the plays is insufficient. Hosley appears to have relied on Annals of English Drama 975-1700 (Harbage 1964) for the dates, and to have accepted Harbage's 'first performance' speculations as though these indicated date of composition. In earlier work (1959; 1960) Hosley used the same list with one additional play, A Warning for Fair Women, which is excluded from the above list, although intervening revision of Harbage's Annals had left the entry for this play unchanged (Harbage 1940, 66-7; Harbage 1964, 70-1). Beckerman undertook a project similar to Hosley's and tried to define a body of plays written for the Globe from which he could determine the typical staging of plays there (Beckerman 1962). Beckerman arrived at almost exactly the same list of plays as Hosley, but excluded Henry 5 and included Marston's The Malcontent (Beckerman 1962, ix-xvi). The exclusion is argued on the basis of the allusion to Essex in

Ireland which clearly predates his failure. The inclusion of Marston's play, which Beckerman admits was not written for the company but rather was "'found' and played by the King's men" (Beckerman 1962, xvi), is difficult to reconcile with Beckerman's description of his as a "list of extant works first produced at the Globe" (Beckerman 1962, xvi).

Another charge of unwarranted assumption, in addition to the problem of dating composition, can be levelled at the lists of Hosley and Beckerman. The nature of the manuscript underlying the printing must be taken into account. Plays written and printed while the company had access to the Globe alone as its primary playing space must reflect the conditions either there, or on tour, or at court, or in a private hall. It appears that plays to be shown at court were first performed, perfected, and their success established in the public playhouse (Barroll 1991, 199-200). We can assume therefore the playhouses could run to every effect available at court. It seems likely that the venues used when touring were not better equipped than the permanent London playhouses. A play written specially for performance in a private hall, as Troilus and Cressida has often been thought to be, might take advantage of conditions unique to the particular venue. Thus the danger of mistaking a touring or court text for a playhouse text is not grave, since the play will merely lack effects which we might, from other evidence, believe to be realizable, but a play specially written for performance in a private hall must be treated with great care since it might give a misleading impression about typical staging conditions.

If the printed text is directly based on authorial papers it can be expected to reflect the dramatist's anticipation of conditions, although some conservatism might be normal at this stage of creation, with the fullest exploitation of effects being achieved during practical rehearsal. An experienced dramatist is unlikely to anticipate something which turns out to be unachievable. If the printed play is based on a text that has been used in the playhouse then we have even better evidence for the kinds of staging realized at the Globe. But not all of the plays in the lists of Hosley and Beckerman were printed while the Globe was the company's only venue, and those printed after the acquisition of the Blackfriars might reflect conditions there rather than at the Globe.

Before examining the provenance of the texts claimed by Beckerman and Hosley to have been written for the Globe, it is worth applying to Hosley's list the necessary removals and additions. A Warning for Fair Women must be added because Hosley failed to explain its exclusion from a revised version of his list. Henry 5 should be retained for reasons given above in the section '1.4.1 The Beginning of the Globe-Only Period'. Marston's The Malcontent should be excluded because, as Beckerman noted, it was not written for the Globe. The Oxford editors dated The Merry Wives of Windsor to 1597-8 because rare vocabulary tests associate it with the two Henry 4 plays (Wells et al. 1987, 120); for this reason it is excluded from this discussion. For each of these plays we must examine the nature of the printed text in order to ensure that post-Globe-only practice has not contaminated the evidence.

For some of the texts there is no danger of this since the play was printed within the Globe-only period, but for others the textual situation is complex. In Appendix 2 at the end of this thesis the revised list is reproduced and each of the plays is considered in turn in order to reject those which cannot be securely declared free of post-Globe-only contamination. The list which results is this:

- 1 Jonson Every Man out of His Humour, Q (1600)
- 2 Shakespeare Henry 5, Q1 (1600); F (1623)
- 3 Shakespeare Hamlet, Q2 (1604-5)
- 4 Shakespeare King Lear, Q1 (1607-8)
- 5 Jonson Volpone, Q (1607)
- 6 Anon. A Yorkshire Tragedy, Q (1608)
- 7 Shakespeare Antony and Cleopatra, F (1623)
- 8 Wilkins The Miseries of Enforced Marriage, Q (1607)
- 9 Shakespeare Timon of Athens, F (1623)

20 plays have been eliminated from initial list of 29. Where multiple early printings exist the unreliable printings, if any, have been removed from this list. The removal of 20 plays from the list used by Hosley forces reappraisal of the conclusions he drew from the internal evidence of plays he thought were written for the Globe. This reappraisal is undertaken in chapter 3 'Reconstructing the Globe Part 1: Scholarship before the Wanamaker Project'. An important consequence of rejecting A Larum for London from Hosley's list is that only Antony and Cleopatra remains as an example of the use of suspension equipment at the Globe (Hosley 1975a, 192-3). That the hoisting of Antony to the top of Cleopatra's

monument was achieved by lines from the stage cover is uncertain and, perhaps sensing the vulnerability of his hypothetical flight machine at the Globe, Hosley produced a paper showing why his conjectured staging is the likeliest solution (Hosley 1964). As will be seen in the detailed examination of Hosley's work, the trap in the floor of the stage and the elevator mechanism underneath it are in similar danger from a rigorous application of Hosley's method. Scholars have used a wider base of evidence than the needs of Globe plays to produce a hypothetical model of the Globe and the limitations of Hosley's method confirm that it is necessary to do so.

We drew an arbitrary line at the beginning of the Globe-only period to include Henry 5 but at the end of the period there is only the 'transitional phase' during which The Winter's Tale and Cymbeline were written. The former is the earliest play and the latter the latest play which might have been composed with performance at the Blackfriars in mind. The kind of analysis of the nature of the early printed text undertaken above for the 'Globe plays' will now be applied to these 'transitional phase' plays, and the one which followed them, The Tempest.

1.6 The Textual Status of The Winter's Tale, Cymbeline,
and The Tempest

The Winter's Tale

The play must have been written sometime prior to the performance witnessed by Simon Forman at the Globe on 15 May 1611 (Chambers 1930b, 340-1). The play was first printed in the First Folio (Shakespeare 1623) from what appears to be a transcript made by the King's men's scribe, Ralph Crane (Wells et al. 1987, 20-2, 601). The nature of the text that formed Crane's copy is not clear, but the absence of unplayable inconsistencies points away from a pre-theatrical draft. The dance of the satyrs in 4.4 may be a late addition derived from Jonson's Masque of Oberon (Jonson 1616, Nnnn2r-6r) performed on 1 January 1611, in which case Crane was copying a prompt-book and the play was composed before the end of 1610. Crane undoubtedly altered plays as he transcribed them, and the extent to which this occurred to The Winter's Tale is uncertain. Crane's interference is considered in the context of an alternative thesis that his copy was derived from foul papers in Howard-Hill 1972. There is little to indicate how closely the text we have reflects playhouse practice at the time of composition. Crane's copy might in some respects reflect conditions prevailing at any time prior to the transcription, and his sophistication as he worked further removed the copy text, whatever it was, from its original state.

Cymbeline

Forman's report of the play puts the first performance some time before his death on 8 September 1611 (Rowse 1974, 258; Chambers 1930b, 338-9), and stylistic evidence locates composition about 1610-11 (Wells et al. 1987, 131-2). The play was first printed in the First Folio (Shakespeare 1623). There is some evidence for Ralph Crane's involvement in preparation of the copy for the Folio, with his copy being an earlier scribal transcript by two hands (Wells et al. 1987, 604). It is impossible to determine whether the manuscript from which the Folio copy was prepared was pre- or post-theatrical, and hence we cannot say how closely it reflected the author's original staging expectations.

In an edition of Cymbeline currently in press, Roger Warren dates Cymbeline using evidence from Heywood's The Golden Age (Shakespeare 1998, 80-6). Warren notes that the title page of Heywood's play has two dates on it: a printer's date of 1611 and, after a Latin epigraph, 1610 (Heywood 1611, A1r). In the epistle Heywood wrote that The Golden Age was "the eldest brother of three Ages, that have aduentured the Stage" (Heywood 1611, A2r) which indicates that all three plays were written and performed before 14 October 1611, when the "eldest" was registered before being printed (Arber 1876, 212v). Warren works back from late 1611 "allowing time (just) for the other two plays to be written and performed as well" (Shakespeare 1998, 83) to arrive at a date of 1610 for the composition of The Golden Age, which matches the date after

the Latin epigraph. Warren notes borrowings from Shakespeare's earlier plays in The Golden Age: "I'le kisse thee ere I kill thee" (Heywood 1611, C3r) echoing Othello's "I kist thee ere I kild thee" (Shakespeare 1622, N2r), and Heywood's Clown borrowing the Jupiter/gibbet-maker wordplay from Shakespeare's Clown in Titus Andronicus (Heywood 1611, F3v; Shakespeare 1594, H1v). For Warren these borrowings from earlier Shakespeare make it likely that the obvious parallels between Cymbeline and The Golden Age, especially the flying of Jupiter in the plays' final acts, are also borrowings from Shakespeare (Shakespeare 1998, 84-5). If The Golden Age was written in 1610 then Cymbeline must have been in performance no later than autumn 1610 to allow Heywood time to see and borrow from it. Warren's dating of the play confirms the hypothesis that Cymbeline preceded The Tempest since the latter is indebted to sources unavailable before September 1610 (Wells et al. 1987, 132).

The Tempest

Composition preceded the first known performance on 1 November 1611, and dependence upon sources unavailable before September 1610 makes this the earliest possible date (Wells et al. 1987, 132). The first printing was in the First Folio (Shakespeare 1623) from a Crane transcript (Wells et al. 1987, 612-3). The influence of Crane makes the nature of his copy difficult to discern, but Howard-Hill and Jowett favoured foul papers (Howard-Hill 1972, 105-12; Jowett 1983). If so the text

would be good evidence for the staging conditions prevailing at the time of composition, were it not for Crane's habitual embellishments. Howard-Hill pointed out that the transcript for the Folio is unlikely to have been made before 1619 and argued that the unusually literary stage directions must have stood in Crane's copy, and hence are Shakespeare's own. His reasoning is that the performances we know of, in 1611 and 1613, would have faded from Crane's mind by the time he came to do the transcription for the Folio (Howard-Hill 1972, 155n113). Jowett took the view that performances in the late 1610s might have been recalled by Crane and used to remedy deficiencies in the stage directions of the foul papers. In a tentative effort to differentiate the Crane embellishments from other stage directions Jowett acknowledged that "there is no reason why most of his changes should be detectable" (Jowett 1983, 118) and hence we cannot reliably determine the authorial staging expectations at the time of composition.

1.7 Limitations upon Recovery of the Staging of the 'Transitional Phase' Plays

The Winter's Tale and Cymbeline survive in a form which does not give us access to the dramatist's original expectations about the staging. Both might include modifications to the staging brought about in the playhouse long after composition, but no later than the printing of the Folio in 1623. For the purpose of determining the facilities of the Globe and Blackfriars playhouses these texts are poor

evidence. Plays written for the Chamberlain's/King's men while they had only the Globe, and available to us in texts not influenced by later practice, are better for determining the facilities of that playhouse. Likewise, plays written for the boy players at the Blackfriars between 1600 and 1608 are to be preferred as evidence of its facilities. In each case the provenance of the extant text must be considered to determine the likelihood of contamination by later practice.

There is no danger of circular argument in considering the staging of the plays which are the subject of this thesis. We have discounted their relevance to any argument which tries to determine the design of playhouses from the internal staging requirements of extant texts. This is an important freedom and also a constraint. Arguments about the staging of these plays must fill in the indeterminacies using other evidence about the design of playhouses, which will be drawn from other plays' needs and also from external evidence. This keeps the present study clear of the accusation of inventing its own evidence to support a wished-for staging. But it also entails a recognition that 'original staging' cannot be used in the sense of 'first staging'. The closest that we can get to the way these plays were first performed is an argument about the way things were done in the 1610s and early 1620s.

To study the staging of King's men's plays in the 1610s and 1620s requires knowledge of venues available. In this thesis staging at the Globe playhouses will be the primary subject, with brief consideration given in the final chapter to other possible venues. Having accepted that we cannot

specify the period whose staging practices are reflected in the extant texts any more precisely than to say 'the 1610s and 20s', and having determined to confine our attention to the Globe, a problem arises with the destruction of the Globe by fire in 1613. If the rebuilt Globe was markedly different from the building it replaced then the imprecision in dating the origins of the Folio texts of these plays would present a barrier to speculation about staging. We would have no way of knowing if the extant text called for an effect only achievable at the later, improved, building. Fortunately there is extremely good evidence that the second Globe was in many important aspects like its predecessor. Indeed, the Wanamaker Globe's claim to be a reconstruction of the first Globe, that is, Shakespeare's Globe, depends upon the two buildings being alike. There is considerably more evidence available concerning the design of the second Globe than the first, including a precise topographical view made with specialized equipment, and this evidence has formed the basis of the Wanamaker Globe (Orrell 1983b). That the two Globes were sufficiently alike for the view of the later building to be used as the model for a reconstruction of the earlier has not been universally accepted, however, and C. Walter Hodges argued that any reconstruction should claim to represent only the second Globe (Hodges 1981). For a time it appeared that a rival project to rebuild the second Globe in Detroit might interfere with, and draw attention and resources away from, the Wanamaker Globe (Day 1996, 81-4). There will be more to say about the likeness of the two Globe playhouses in the

chapters on the scholarly projects to hypothetically, and more recently materially, reconstruct these buildings.

CHAPTER 2. STAGING ISSUES NOT RELATED TO PLAYHOUSE DESIGN

It is an essential premise of the Wanamaker project thesis that playhouse design had a recoverable influence upon the staging of Shakespeare's plays. There are, however, matters of staging which are not directly influenced by the design of the playhouse and these will be considered in this chapter. These issues will be categorized under 5 headings: costuming; acting styles and conventions; monoscenic versus polyscenic staging; use of stage furniture; the logic of stage entrances. For each category it is necessary to survey and evaluate the scholarly debate to arrive at a model of how such matters were handled at the Globe around the time that Shakespeare's late plays were written.

2.1 Costuming

The stock of costumes held in common by a playing company appears to have been the largest component of the capital tied up in the venture. Indeed, unless the company owned its own playhouse, the costumes and the play texts constituted virtually all the capital involved. The remaining capital would have consisted of the properties, ranging in size from hand-held items to large pieces of furniture, miscellaneous containers such as costume baskets, carts for transportation on tour, and possibly musical instruments. There is no clear direct evidence for the ownership of musical instruments, but we might reasonably expect some to belong to the musicians and

others to belong to the company. If the practices of the modern music industry were followed, expert players of portable instruments (for example cornets) would have owned high quality instruments which they preferred to play, while non-experts of all instruments and both experts and non-experts of larger instruments (for example large percussion) would have used instruments belonging to the venue in which they played. The actor, shareholder, and manager Augustine Phillips owned musical instruments and arranged their disposal in his will:

Item I giue [vn]to Samuell Gilborne my Late
Aprentice the some of ffortye shillinges and my
mouse Colloured veluit hose and a white Taffety
dublet A blacke Taffety sute my purple Cloke sword
and dagger And my base viall Item I giue to Iames
Sandes my Aprentice the some of ffortye shillinges
and a Citterne a Bandore and a Lute, To be paid and
deliuered vnto him at the xpiracon of his {terme of}
yeares in his Indentur or Aprenticehood

(Honigmann & Brock 1992, 73)

Presumably Phillips passed his instruments to his apprentices because he considered them to be theatrical capital. As we shall see in the next two chapters, playhouse music was used more frequently and was of higher quality after the opening of the second Blackfriars theatre in 1600.

As with the enforced settlement at particular playhouses discussed in the preceding chapter, the imposition of state control in the form of licensing created the conditions which

favoured companies able to accumulate capital. This primary accumulation in the second half of the sixteenth century can be seen as the key to the flourishing of London-based theatrical ventures towards the end of the century. William Ingram argued that the decree issued in 1550 by the London Court of Aldermen banning 'common' players (those without a patron) from performing in the City was the beginning of the end for the loosely organised transient troupes which had played in London since at least the 1520s (Ingram, William 1992). These companies had access to costume collections available for hire to supplement whatever stocks they collectively possessed. Ingram cited evidence of private commercial activity in costume hire from the 1520s, and, more surprisingly, state-run costume hire by 1560 (Ingram, William 1992, 15-8). The latter involved the Yeoman of the Revels allowing playing companies to use costumes from the stock of the Revels office, and Ingram used this to argue that, by the middle of the century, playing was a respectable and organised entertainment industry. The requirement for patronage and the licensing of performance made informal practices untenable, since the documents of authority named the individual men permitted to perform. With the loosely organised troupes effectively prohibited, the market was left open to better organised and financed professionals.

To appreciate the importance of capital accumulation in the form of costumes we must recognise the extraordinarily high cost of individual pieces. S. P. Cerasano noted that Chambers's estimated valuation of the contents of a tiring

house as £500 to £1000 is about the same as the construction cost of an outdoor playhouse such as the Rose (Cerasano 1994, 51). The numerous individual items listed amongst Henslowe's theatrical purchases allowed Cerasano to find some typical values: "The average cost of a doublet was £3. Most women's gowns ranged from £4 to £7 (with the odd £2 spent for a gown), and the average set of skirts cost £2" (Cerasano 1994, 52). To gain a sense of the social prestige usually associated with such buying power one needs only to recall that the master of the Stratford Grammar School was at this time paid £20 per year, which was above the average for similar posts (Chambers 1930a, 7-10).

The high cost of costumes presumably reflected their importance within the theatrical event. The representation of characters of high social rank, especially monarchs, seems to have achieved a degree of naturalism by the use of appropriately luxurious clothing. The hiring of items from the Revels Office, noted by Ingram, substantiates this. It is also evidenced in Thomas Platter's eyewitness account of a performance:

The play-actors are dressed most exquisitely and elegantly, because of the custom in England that when men of rank or knights die they give and bequeath almost their finest apparel to their servants, who, since it does not befit them, do not wear such garments, but afterwards let the play-actors buy them for a few pence.

(Schanzer 1956, 466)

Platter's report of costumes changing hands for very little money is at variance with Henslowe's vast expenditure. It may be that servants had to accept prices well below market value because they were not supposed to sell the items bequeathed to them. Henslowe's expenditure is for items bought for specific purposes, and presumably from legitimate suppliers, rather than snapped-up bargains. The likeliest explanation is that Platter was merely repeating hearsay, and using "a few pence" in a semi-metaphorical way which exaggerated the depreciation. The evidence from Henslowe must be given greater weight since he had every reason to be accurate.

The availability of certain costumes might well condition the composition of a play. As we shall see in chapter 6, the costumes for the 'bear' who kills Antigonus and for the satyrs who dance at the sheep-shearing festival in The Winter's Tale might have come into the hands of the King's men because several of the players performed in Jonson's masque Oberon and kept their costumes. Likewise the costumes of Caliban and Ariel-as-sea-nymph in The Tempest seem to have come from a sea-pageant performed to celebrate the investiture of Henry as Prince of Wales in 1610 (Saenger 1995). We tend to think of costuming as part of the process of execution of an artistic intention, but the available evidence suggests that in Shakespearian dramatic practice the means might, on occasion, strongly condition the artistic ends. We must bear in mind that the costume stock might be as valuable as the playhouse if we are to grasp the difference between the early modern sense of theatrical 'ends' and 'means' and our own.

Peter Stallybrass asserted that costumes, and not characters, should be the basic units of our analysis of early modern drama (Stallybrass 1996). The traditional view is that actors in major roles did not 'double', that is, they played only one role each, but actors in minor roles might take several such roles with a different costume for each. Stallybrass argued that actors of major roles are also in a sense doubling when they change costume within their character. In an attempt to clear away modern anachronistic notions of identity, Stallybrass repeated the assertions of C. J. Sisson and David Bradley that the prompt book of Massinger's Believe As You List indicates that three actors took the part of Demetrius. In fact Bradley and Sisson saw this as highly unusual, and perhaps an exceptional response to the limitations of a particular cast (Massinger 1927, xxxiii; Bradley 1992, 36). Stallybrass argued that our conception of the possibilities of doubling needs to be revised: the relations between actors and roles might not have been restricted to the one-to-one and one-to-many relationships, but might also have included many-to-one and many-to-many relationships. However, T. J. King showed this to be an error and re-asserted the impossibility of many-to-one and many-to-many actor/role relationships (King 1992, 46). King's explanation for the anomalous appearance of three actors' names for the part of Demetrius treats the prompt book as a working document which might well contain inconsistencies, which therefore would not be indicative of actual practice. This view of prompt books is typical of recent bibliographical

scholarship. Stallybrass's wider argument that in drama names attach to costumes rather than bodies is nonetheless valid. In performance the strongest visual signal which identifies an individual is costume, and the singularity of name provided by the written text sometimes erases the uncertainty concerning identity which can be part of the intentional artistic effect in performance.

Richard Fotheringham provided an alternative explanation for the splitting of the part of Demetrius in Believe As You List (Fotheringham 1985). Fotheringham believed that the playing companies would never use hired men if they could avoid the expense, and so all non-speaking roles would be taken by someone who already had a speaking part. The total number of actors in the cast was always the minimum required to take all the speaking parts, doubling where necessary, and only if this number exceeded the size of the company would additional men be hired. If a dramatist failed to make sure that there was a speaking actor free to take a non-speaking role, the company would cut the mute character rather than pay a hired man for something so trivial. The reason three actors took the part of Demetrius, Fotheringham argued, was that the company were engaging in some drastic doubling and preferred to split the role rather than hire another man. By tracing the signs of such alterations to the text, Fotheringham showed that, contrary to the assumption of David Bevington, doubling did not die out in the Jacobean period, and moreover it was always a practical consideration and not a thematic one. We might tend to seek doubling in roles that are alike in some



way, for example the Fool and Cordelia are 'children' of Lear, but Fotheringham argued that quite the opposite aesthetic operated in Elizabethan and Jacobean drama: doubling was an opportunity for an actor to show off his ability in different roles. A. C. Sprague found the opposing impulses of concealment and ostentation in the practice of doubling by eighteenth and nineteenth-century playing companies (Sprague 1966). Some playbills and programmes drew attention to the doubling, which suggests the management were proud of it, and others concealed it behind false names and an abbreviated dramatis personae. The possibility that stage history might meaningfully be extrapolated to the practices of Shakespeare's period was, however, "in the case of doubling very remote indeed" (Sprague 1966, 33). Sprague's terminology nonetheless usefully distinguished between 'deficiency' doubling, undertaken when there were fewer actors available than the ideal, and 'emergency' doubling which occurred when the convention was stretched to its limits by extreme shortage (Sprague 1966, 14). Particularly relevant to the discussion here is Sprague's insistence that deficiency doubling and virtuoso doubling are two distinct explanations for a single observed phenomenon: one actor playing two or more highly unlike roles (Sprague 1966, 16). Fotheringham's attempt to distinguish the deficiency doubling from virtuoso looked for signs that the dramatist wrote self-reflexive dialogue drawing attention to the practice, and he found examples in Jonson's Volpone and The Alchemist, Marston's Antonio and Mellida, and Webster's The Duchess of Malfi (Fotheringham 1985, 22-5).

However, as Fotheringham acknowledged, the active role of the dramatist in shaping the material to allow and even promote doubling does not clarify the line between deficiency doubling and virtuoso doubling since the dramatist might simply be making a virtue of a necessity communicated to him by the company.

The pictorial evidence of theatrical costuming is scant, and is collected together with the pictorial evidence of the theatres in Foakes's Illustrations of the English stage 1580-1642 (1985). The most important evidence for Shakespearian costuming is the Peacham drawing depicting characters from Titus Andronicus. Since the picture shows classical Roman characters we might hope to gain from it a glimpse of the costuming of the Romans in Cymbeline. Although the characters in the Peacham drawing appear to be interacting, it is difficult to find a moment in Titus Andronicus which matches the depiction, and hence Foakes argued that the drawing is most likely to be a conflation of individual character sketches made consecutively during a performance (Foakes 1985, 50). Jonathan Bate considered the drawing to be an emblematic representation of the whole play:

To read it from left to right is like reading the play from first act to fifth. One begins with two Roman soldiers, who represent Titus' victory in war and service to the state; they may be thought of as members of his ceremonial procession. One then sees the figure / of Titus himself. . . . The opposed gestures of Titus and Tamora are also the central

gestures of the play: authoritative command against supplication on knees with hands in a gesture of pleading. . . . The two youths behind Tamora become emblems of all the play's sons: they are simultaneously a kind of doubled Alarbus on the way to execution, Chiron and Demetrius pleading together with their mother for their brother's life, and Titus' two middle sons, Quintus and Martius, whose death is a quid pro quo for that of Alarbus (and for whom Titus later kneels in supplication, echoing Tamora here). Aaron is instrumental in their execution, and so it is that the eye then moves to him. (Shakespeare 1995, 41-2)

The range of historical periods represented by the costuming in the drawing is striking. The central male figure, presumably Titus, is wearing an ancient Roman toga. The nearer of the two figures to his left wears Elizabethan military dress with a helmet, breast-plate, and straight sword, and the other wears an Eastern-style military costume with a curved sword. Locating the style of the central female figure is difficult, with one commentator deciding that the costume could well resemble any English woman's ornate gown; and in its overall effect it quite resembles the style of gowns in portraits of the queen during the 1590s. (Cerasano 1994, 47)

Another commentator thought rather that "her costume bears no resemblance to contemporary female outer garments, and must symbolise her barbarity" (Wilson 1995, 112). What is clear is

that the Peacham drawing shows some characters wearing authentic costumes from the period in which the play is set, and others wearing Elizabethan 'modern dress'. Foakes concluded that this indicates a casual attitude towards historical accuracy (Foakes 1985, 51), but Bate suggested a link with Shakespeare's deliberate compression of historical time:

The Peacham drawing provides us with valuable evidence about costumes: as the play addresses issues in contemporary history via a Roman setting, so the costumes mingle ages. (Shakespeare 1995, 43)

This implicitly related the Peacham drawing to Bate's thesis that the play's oft-commented inclusion of all the political institutions known to Rome has a specific function:

Far from being a matter of anxiety or youthful incompetence, the eclecticism is deliberate. Shakespeare is interrogating Rome, asking what kind of example it provides for Elizabethan England; in so doing he collapses the whole of Roman history, known to him from Plutarch and Livy, into a single action. (Shakespeare 1995, 17)

If Bate is correct, then the Peacham drawing is depressingly untypical--most plays do not compress historical time in this way--and hence its evidence is of little general value.

S. P. Cerasano offered an explanation which related the strange mixture of costume styles to the financial constraints under which the players operated, and so provided a rationale for what Foakes took to be the lack of concern for historical

accuracy. When recording expenditure on a costume for a production, Henslowe obligingly noted which character was to wear it. By correlating this expenditure with the list of performances, Cerasano was able to conclude

that only two or three new costumes were purchased for most productions, that these were tailored for lead actors or for unusual characters (clowns, devils, and such), and that the other actors were attired from the stock of the tiring house.

(Cerasano 1994, 53)

Hal H. Smith reached the same conclusion from the same evidence (Smith, Hal H. 1962). In the absence of any contrary evidence, and because it provides a convincing solution to the puzzle of the Peacham drawing without treating it as a special case, the concentration of expenditure on the most important characters in the play will be accepted as a general principle in this thesis.

In an attempt to fill in the detail of theatrical costuming of characters from earlier cultures, Jean Wilson drew upon non-theatrical contemporary drawings. Portraits of contemporary aristocrats dressed as historical figures, especially when the occasion is a masque, are particularly illuminating of the Elizabethan conception of earlier costuming. In a range of such drawings Wilson detected a tendency to express the past in a more or less fantastic version of the costume known from Roman remains--in the case of Biblical figures, often with the addition of elements of costume associated with

the contemporary Levant, such as turbans. . . . This type of costume, which should perhaps be described as 'classical-cum-eastern', may have been adopted in plays dealing with the Levant. A portrait of Tamerlane from Richard Knolles' The Generall Histories of the Turkes (1603) is no longer accepted as representing Edward Alleyn in the role of Marlowe's Tamburlaine, but is consistent with other contemporary depictions of Levantine costume, such as that of Ptolomy [sic] on the monument to Sir Henry Savile in Merton College Chapel, Oxford. . . . [A]lthough the sleeves of the costume . . . follow a contemporary pattern, the doublet looks as though it is skirted below the waist, and resembles elements in Vecellio's and Boissard's pictures of Turkish costume. The loose coat which Tamerlane wears over his doublet is an element which seems to have been particularly associated with near-eastern costume, while the elaborate cut edges of the over-sleeves and front of the garment are elements more often found in contemporary masque costume than in everyday dress. (Wilson 1995, 120-1)

It is beyond the scope of this thesis to consider all the evidence for contemporary costuming, but Wilson's conclusion seems reasonable and will be accepted here. The principle of adding pieces to existing costumes to denote regional and ethnic origin will assist in speculation about the costuming of The Winter's Tale and Cymbeline although the Peacham

drawing cannot be used as direct evidence for the appearance of Elizabethan stage Romans.

2.2 Acting Styles and Conventions

Much of what has been written about Elizabethan acting is speculation derived from comments made by one character upon the demeanour of another. Daniel Seltzer attempted a thorough speculative analysis of the acting of Shakespeare's last plays and reached the following conclusion:

The fact that the stage at Blackfriars was shallower than that in the Globe probably did not much affect the basic moves of stage 'blocking'. . . . No doubt the acoustics in Blackfriars allowed a new range of volume and less full projection than at the Globe. . . . (Seltzer 1966, 164)

This really amounts to nothing more than the supposition that an intimate theatre promotes quieter acting. Using the evidence of Shirley's prologue to his The Doubtful Heir which was intended for the Blackfriars but first performed at the Globe, and in which the Globe audience is warned "we [the players] have no Heart to break our Lungs" (Shirley, James 1652, A3r), William Armstrong made the same point concerning the different styles used on the public and private stages (Armstrong 1958, 16). This distinction of public from private theatre style is of little use in determining the precise nature of either.

Keith Sturgess attempted to use external evidence for a comparison of public and private theatre acting styles. First he analysed the poses and proximities of the players in the De Witt drawing:

A boy-actress sits stage centre on an unnecessarily long bench, her spread arms and skirt giving her substantial presence. A boy-actress in attendance stands upstage and to one side, with arms again widely spread. And a man with a staff stands several metres downstage of the seated 'lady' and some distance to the other side, in a straddle-legged gesture of (apparent) obeisance. The whole grouping of only three actors, even allowing for De Witt's usual liberties with proportion, contrives to occupy a good deal of the key acting area downstage of the stage pillars; it stretches in both directions as though to fill as much space as possible.

(Sturgess 1987, 50)

Sturgess compared this representation with the gestures and proximities of Falstaff and the Hostess in the illustration from The Wits:

The two are pressed as far downstage as possible and, engaged evidently in some stage business over a wine cup, have taken up positions 'naturally' close to each other; they occupy realistic space (and the horizontals are not accentuated as they are at the Swan). Only the cup is exaggerated in size, presumably a comic prop. The Falstaff actor, far

from filling space, appears to be playing as small as possible in exchanging a sidelong look with the audience members at his feet. (Sturgess 1987, 50)

Sturgess reproduced a version of the illustration from The Wits which appears as the frontispiece to Francis Kirkman's edition of 1672 (Anon. 1672). John Astington showed that this was a coarse copy of the engraving which appeared in the 1662 edition printed by Henry Marsh (Anon. 1662; Astington 1993). Sturgess wrongly labelled his reproduction "the frontispiece to Francis Kirkman's The Wits, 1662" (Sturgess 1987, 33) but only the date has to be altered to 1672 to correct this. However, the earlier version of the picture should be preferred over the derivative. Only in the inferior copy used by Sturgess is there the "sidelong look" in Falstaff's eye, and hence it is a feature of the copying process, not the subject matter. Astington showed that the 1662 engraving is itself derivative of several non-theatrical pictures, and hence is of no value to theatre history. Even without this scholarly detection, we can note that the picture represents on a single stage scenes from a number of plays, since it is these that the book contains. The disposition of characters and their proximities are at least in part determined by the number of characters the illustrator must cram in, and thus the engraving is poor evidence of the original staging of any one of these plays, or of any composite made from them.

One of the reasons offered by Sturgess for the style of acting in indoor theatres being different from that used in the outdoor theatres is the altered disposition of the

audience around the auditorium, which altered the actors' choices of where to stand. In the public amphitheatres the most dominant position was the extreme downstage centre (because this is approximately the centre of the 'O'), but in the indoor theatres the audience had its centre of mass in the pit and hence the actor must have played more 'out-front' than 'in-the-round'. This moved the location of the most dominant position further upstage (Sturgess 1987, 54). Sturgess was careful to point out that this was not an entirely new development:

In the private hall, the players had customarily performed with their backs to the buttery screen and with the high table, where the important spectators sat, in front of them on the opposite short wall.
(Sturgess 1987, 54)

This conclusion is essentially valid, although recent scholarship has questioned the use of the hall screen as a back-drop and shown that the reverse arrangement, with the actors at the upper end and the spectators in front of the screen, was frequently employed (Nelson 1992). Nonetheless, when on tour the London companies must have adapted their performance to the shape of the venue, and hence whatever style they used for performance in outdoor amphitheatres, they must have been able to adapt it for indoor hall performance at need. As a corollary, it should be noted that the movement of plays between the Blackfriars and the Globe when both were in use by the King's men was merely the regularization of a process with which the players must already have been familiar

from their provincial tours. The word 'transfer' is unhelpful in describing the movement of plays between the Blackfriars and the Globe since it might suggest the strenuous upheaval sometimes required for a change of venue in modern theatrical practice. There is no evidence that movement of plays between venues in Shakespeare time was as difficult as it is today.

Recent scholarship has re-asserted the importance of the spectators in the stage balcony at the outdoor playhouse in determining the direction towards which the actors projected their performance. Andrew Gurr argued that although few in number, the spectators in the stage balcony were of the highest social class amongst those present, and so they commanded particular attention (Gurr 1996b). Gurr believed that the spectating position referred to in contemporary documents as the Lords Room was in the stage balcony, and hence the most important spectators sat there. There is, however, good reason to suspect that the Lords Room was elsewhere, perhaps in the lowest auditorium gallery nearest the stage. The location of the Lords Room is discussed in full in appendix 2. Leslie Hotson was the first to suggest that the Elizabethan amphitheatre performances were essentially 'in the round', that is, with the audience completely surrounding the players so that the performance could not be projected in any one direction (Hotson 1954). This was refuted by Bernard Beckerman who argued that the few dozen spectators in the stage balcony could not command as much attention as those in other, more densely packed, parts of the auditorium (Beckerman 1962, 101). Richard Hosley took Beckerman's position and

characterised the amphitheatre stage as not an 'arena' stage (fully surrounded) but an 'open' stage (surrounded on three sides). If Gurr is right that those in the stage balcony were the wealthiest and most important spectators present, the actors might take care to direct their performance in that direction more often than the relative fewness of these spectators would otherwise justify. Indeed, going beyond Hotson's argument that greater importance countered relative fewness of number to give an 'in the round' balance of forces, Gurr argued that parallels between the aristocrats depicted in the plays and the real aristocrats in the stage balcony were exploited by the actors in their staging of certain events. Because of the evidence against Gurr's conclusion that the Lords Room was in the stage balcony, his dependent argument that performance was disproportionately directed towards the stage balcony will not be accepted here.

There appears to be little recoverable evidence concerning the direction, or range of directions, in which actors would have projected their performance. This provides an important justification for the Wanamaker Globe project because it can reasonably be hoped that experimentation in a faithful reconstruction of an Elizabethan playhouse will provide answers unattainable from the textual evidence. However, this will only occur if an open mind is kept about the distribution of the audience around the playhouse: if we assume that the most important spectators sat in a particular part of the playhouse it is likely that experiments will confirm that actors played to this part of the 'house'. Social

status need not be the only criteria of importance which might bias the experiments since a decision to play to those in the yard at the expense of those in the gallery will likewise distort the picture.

There is more surviving evidence for gestures and movements of actors than for direction of 'projection'. Beckerman refuted the theory of T. W. Baldwin that particular actors specialised in particular kinds of roles, and that there were therefore 'lines' of characters traceable through the work of each company (Baldwin 1927). Beckerman pointed out that The Merry Wives of Windsor was performed about the time of Hamlet, and Volpone about the time of King Lear, and hence the leading actors must have been able to switch genres and styles with ease. Also, Baldwin's notion of an actor's 'temperament' determining which roles he played can hardly be reconciled with our knowledge that Burbage played Richard 3, Hamlet, Othello, and Lear (Beckerman 1962, 134-6). Beckerman sought a more subtle model of the acting style and thought the term 'romantic' a suitable alternative to the rigid and anachronistic polarity of 'formalism' versus 'naturalism' (Beckerman 1962, 109-56). The evidential basis of Beckerman's ideas about acting was a synthesis of contemporary guides to oratory with contemporary ideas about human personality, but the evidence available will not support the weight of interpretation Beckerman placed upon it.

On the question of delivery of asides Beckerman was more successful in his use of the internal evidence of Globe plays to determine the means by which these were made. Beckerman

divided the material into two categories: the conversational aside (one character speaking to another in such a way that the others present appear not to hear), and the solo aside (speaking to the audience but apparently not heard by anyone present on the stage). An example of a conversational aside is Rosencrantz's question "What say you?" to Guildenstern when Hamlet asks if they were sent for (Shakespeare 1968, TLN 1336). An example of a solo aside is Iago's remark made as Othello and Desdemona embrace after the sea voyage: "O, you are well tun'd now, / But I'll set downe the pegs, that make this musique, / As honest as I am" (Shakespeare 1622, E1v). Of the conversational aside Beckerman noted that it is "usually introduced by some transitional phrase which enables the speaker to move away from the rest of the actors" (Beckerman 1962, 186). The solo asides can be further subdivided according to whether any realistic distraction makes the aside naturalistic:

In one type [of solo aside] the other characters are occupied in conversation or business so that it is reasonable for them not to hear the aside. They may actually turn away from the actor or they may be at some distance from him. Arranging the delivery of asides in this way shows some attention to creating an illusion of actuality. In the second type the other characters are fairly near the speaker; in fact they may be actually speaking to the person who delivers the aside. It is understood, of course, that they do not hear the aside, even in certain

cases when the aside is delivered directly to them. This kind of solo aside relies heavily upon the convention of unheard speech, for which presumably there were conventional means of delivery.

(Beckerman 1962, 188-9)

However, Beckerman did not believe that the solo asides in the first category were acted differently from those in the second, pointing out that realistic distraction might simply supplement whatever conventional means were used for the second category. That conventional means were necessary is indicated, Beckerman argued, by two examples. The first is from Timon of Athens:

2[nd gent.] The Swallow followes not Summer more willing,
then we your Lordship.

Tim. Nor more willingly leaues Winter, such Summer
Birds are men. Gentlemen, our dinner will not re-
compence this long stay:

(Shakespeare 1968, TLN 1412-6)

The sentence "Nor more willingly leaues Winter, such Summer birds are men" is clearly not to be heard by the lords, but it is immediately followed by a sentence which addresses them directly. A similarly embedded aside occurs in The Merry Wives of Windsor:

Page. That silke will I go buy, and in that time
Shall M. Slender steale my Nan away,
And marry her at Eaton: go, send to Falstaffe straight.

(Shakespeare 1968, TLN 2199-2201)

The clause "and in that time / Shall M. Slender steale my Nan away, / And marry her at Eaton" is not to be heard by the others present. Beckerman concluded that

the actor had no time realistically and credibly to leave the individual or group to whom he was speaking. A slight turn of the body or face or a change in voice had to suffice. . . . The abundance of asides is sufficient testimony that their delivery was not slighted. However, instead of suggesting by the division of solo asides into two groups that there were two methods of delivery, I suggest that the first group, for which the evidence is negative, were staged in the same way as the second, that is, not realistically but conventionally. (Beckerman 1962, 190)

Beckerman did not see the conversational aside as genuinely realistic either, since there is seldom an attempt to "make the motivation for separating the speaker and nonspeaker credible" but rather the separation is merely "to indicate which actors are supposed to hear the conversation" (Beckerman 1962, 192). Beckerman concluded that both solo asides and conversational asides use conventions of delivery (for example, the turned head) and staging (for example, the separating of characters into groups) with no regard for naturalism; both are merely "variant methods to further the narrative" (Beckerman 1962, 192).

Humphrey Gyde's work on asides and soliloquy attended closely to the occasions when these privileged utterances,

which seem free from the usual laws for aural reception, are noticed, or are feared to be noticed, by those for whom they are not intended (Gyde 1990). Gyde argued that the aside and soliloquy were part of a single convention of delivery in which a small movement, a turn of the head or a step nearer to the edge of the stage, was sufficient to signal to the audience the transition into this special mode. Indeed, this step to the side is what gave the aside its name (Gyde 1990, 50). Gyde drew upon examples of perceived aside such as Margaret noticing that Suffolk "talkes at randon" in 1 Henry 6 (Shakespeare 1968, TLN 2522) and Lussurioso noticing that Vindice is talking but unable to see to whom when the former makes an aside in The Revenger's Tragedy (Tourneur 1608, D2v), to show that asides are not representative of inner thought, but are frank communication with the audience (Gyde 1990, 53-5). Thus Gyde modified Beckerman's terminology and renamed 'solo asides' as "audience-directed asides". Gyde rejected the usual sliding scale of which inner communion formed one pole and frank address to the audience formed the other, and along which each speech might be said to take a position. Instead Gyde offered a sliding scale of which the poles were total immersion in the play-world and total acknowledgement of the presence of the audience (Gyde 1990, 45-6). The notion of inner communion was, he insisted, a post-Romantic anachronism foistered on the drama. Rather, the continuous implicit injunction made by the audience was 'tell us how you feel'.

Taking a range of examples, Gyde showed that what really matters is the 'represented awareness' of the speaker (Gyde

1990, 60-78). Soliloquies may be overheard if the speaker wrongly believes himself to be alone. When they know themselves to be in company, the conventional turn of the head and step away allows the speaker to address the audience without being detected. Similarly if they are actually alone on stage they can address the audience. Only if their 'represented awareness' of others fails them, and they wrongly believe themselves to be alone, can they be heard. The examples from 1 Henry 6 and The Revenger's Tragedy show that the person making the aside is speaking from inside the play-world to the theatre-world outside it, but the interlocutor (the audience) is invisible to those who have not chosen at that moment to straddle the divide between the play-world and the theatre-world by means of the convention. It is the fear of being perceived talking with the audience that makes the speakers of some soliloquies silence themselves when someone else enters, as with Richard's "Diue thoughts downe to my soule, here Clarence comes" in Richard 3 (Shakespeare 1968, TLN 43) and Banquo's "But, hush, no more" in Macbeth (Shakespeare 1968, TLN 991; Gyde 1990, 62-3). This single convention also explains the

gulling of Malvolio in Twelfth Night and the enamoration of Benedick in Much Ado About Nothing. Beckerman calls such episodes "observation scenes"; and yet it is important to note that they are scenes of overhearing, as this provides evidence that the "soliloquy" was, like the aside, audible speech

rather than self-directed "thought" on the part of the character. (Gyde 1990, 58)

Gyde noted that soliloquies, as we now call them, are not distinguished by the criterion of 'alone-on-stage', nor are they necessarily longer than asides, and hence there is no reason to assume that different conventions governed the soliloquy and the aside (Gyde 1990, 58-60). Gyde's 'represented awareness' criterion explains all the known cases of both kinds of speech. Gyde brilliantly applied his convincing theory to the scene in Hamlet in which the prince encounters Claudius at prayer and with it he provided a consistent explanation for these problematic speeches (Shakespeare 1968, TLN 2311-73; Gyde 1990, 63-8). Gyde did not consider the possibility that an aside maker might be aware of some of the persons present and unaware of others, and that this might cause an audience-directed aside to be overheard by the latter person or persons. This appears to happen in The Winter's Tale 4.4 when Autolycus fails to leave the stage after saying "Adieu, Sir" to Camillo and later appears to be in possession of knowledge which could only be gained by eavesdropping on Camillo's audience-directed aside "What I doe next, shall be to tell the King . . . I haue a Womans Longing" (Shakespeare 1968, TLN 2541-9). In private correspondence Gyde accepted a modification to his model of the convention in order that groups of onstage characters might be affected in different ways by the same aside (Gyde 1997). With this modification, Gyde's model of the aside/soliloquy convention will be adopted in this thesis.

2.3 Monoscenic versus Polyscenic Staging

Unless a play is set entirely in one place, or in no particular place, students of staging must attend to the problem of how the actors moved the imaginary location of the events. E. K. Chambers outlined two modes of scene-changing which he called 'successive' and 'continuous' staging (Chambers 1923c, 43, 88, 123, 138-45). 'Successive' staging uses the whole of the stage to represent each location in turn, with an imaginative leap from location to location occurring at the scene-boundary. In 'continuous' staging-- which Chambers also called 'synchronous', 'concurrent', and 'multiple' staging (Chambers 1923c, 88, 123, 136, 142)--the stage is divided into zones, one for each of the locations needed in the play, and the actors walk across the stage to begin a scene at a new location. Chambers believed that 'successive' staging was increasingly used, and that the 'continuous' staging mode began to be neglected, towards the end of the sixteenth century in all types of venues: public, private, court, university, and touring (Chambers 1923c, 121-2). In place of Chambers's variety of names, this thesis will use the terms 'monoscenic' and 'polyscenic' staging, coined by A. M. Nagler (1958b), to distinguish between the practice of making the entire stage represent each location in turn, and the practice of simultaneously representing different locations in different parts of the stage. Chambers offered a model of dramaturgical development in which the preservation of unity of place, common in drama of the

mid-sixteenth century, was stretched beyond breaking point by the romance plots of the later Elizabethan period. Until this development, a single stage could contain all the locations needed because the real-world distances involved (for example, between adjacent houses in a street) could be represented at a scale of almost 1:1. When plays began to call for locations which in reality were separated by distances much greater than could be realistically represented on a stage the solution of monoscenic staging was increasingly used.

Chambers's primary evidence for the use of polyscenic staging was the abundant record of expenditure on stage furniture for court performances in the early Elizabethan period. The records show the cost of the labour and materials (mostly wood and canvas) for the construction of what are called 'houses' which represent man-made structures such as aristocratic homes, bourgeois shops, and monarchial palaces. Less regularly shaped, but also made of wood and canvas, were the structures used to represent natural features such as rocks, hollow trees, and caves (Chambers 1923a, 229-34). That many such items were constructed for a single play indicated to Chambers that they were simultaneously present on stage. Chambers took his detailed analysis of court staging no further than the end of the sixteenth century, when monoscenic staging appears as an alternative to extreme foreshortening of distance (Chambers 1923c, 43). In his analysis of private theatre practices, Chambers concluded that Paul's and Blackfriars continued to use polyscenic staging well into the seventeenth century, long after the public theatres had

switched to monoscenic staging (Chambers 1923c, 130-54). One of the difficulties with this thesis is that the large stages of the public theatres would have been better able to accommodate the multiple settings needed for polyscenic staging than would the small stages of the private theatres. Indeed W. J. Lawrence saw the lack of space on the private theatre stages, crammed as they were with spectators and multiple settings, as an important reason for the abandonment of polyscenic staging (Lawrence 1912, 235-6), but Chambers insisted that monoscenic staging, which allows the actors more room to work, prevailed only on the large public theatre stages which, by this reasoning, least needed it.

Amongst the first to challenge Chambers's conclusions was George F. Reynolds, who pointed out that the use of different modes of staging would have made the transfer of plays between public theatre and court difficult (Reynolds 1940, 1). Reynolds was also the first to apply strict criteria of relevance in deciding which plays were useful as evidence for a particular theatre. Reynolds chose to consider plays for the Red Bull theatre for four reasons: they were less well known than plays for other theatres (hence few unwarranted assumptions had already been made), there were few of them (compared to other theatres' plays), they were relatively rich in stage directions, and it was fairly easy to decide which are most securely known to have been performed at the Red Bull.

Reynolds's major contributions to the subject of staging were the formulation of rigorous rules of applicability with

which to filter the evidence, and his rejection of the methodology--practised by Chambers, Lawrence, and John Cranford Adams--which posited a real referent for every dramatic allusion. Because his work was primarily concerned with the Red Bull plays, which attract less academic interest than plays associated with the Globe and hence with Shakespeare, Reynolds's methods and conclusions were undervalued until recently. Reynolds found that many plays which were certainly performed at the Red Bull between 1605 and 1625 used polyscenic staging, and hence Chambers was wrong to conclude that monoscenic staging prevailed at all public theatres by the end of the sixteenth century (Reynolds 1940, 147-54).

The use of polyscenic or monoscenic staging is intimately connected to the use of stage properties, since the former demands that some 'dressing' of the stage take place, while the latter may be used on an entirely bare stage. Reynolds decided that many plays used 'stage booth' properties which could be brought on to represent objects such as a 'state' (a formal seat consisting of a chair placed on a dais), an arbour, a cave, or a shop (Reynolds 1940, 52-87). Not only did one property have many uses, but conversely "the same words refer at different times to different things" (Reynolds 1940, 76). This principle formed part of Reynolds's larger thesis:

Examination of all the plays given in a definite period at a single theater shows--not what one might expect, a series of customary stagings for similar scenes, but rather the opposite--that similar scenes

were often staged differently. . . . Unsatisfactory as such a conclusion is for guidance, it at least guards one against dogmatism. (Reynolds 1940, 188)

This need not lead to despair if we can determine that the Globe plays do not require polyscenic staging, and hence that the stage can remain mostly bare of stage furniture. Having shown that polyscenic staging was necessary for some Red Bull plays, Reynolds reconstructed the staging of Shakespeare's Troilus and Cressida, and concluded that a composite arrangement of polyscenically arranged booths and monoscenic, scene-setting, door labels would do admirably (Reynolds 1948). Reynolds decided that the claim made in the epistle to the second issue of the 1609 quarto that the play was "neuer stal'd with the Stage, neuer clapper-clawd with the palmes of the vulger" (Shakespeare 1609a, A1r) indicated that it was written for performance somewhere other than the Globe. This conclusion has since been supported by Gary Taylor, with a strongly argued conjecture that the epistle was written in 1603, when its claim was true (Taylor 1982, 118-21). However, Taylor argued that after performance at its original venue, probably an Inn of Court, the play would have been performed at the Globe and hence Reynolds's polyscenic staging cannot easily be reconciled with other evidence that monoscenic staging prevailed at the Globe. It seems that Reynolds found irresistible the intellectual attraction of applying his rigorously derived principles concerning Red Bull staging to Shakespeare's work, despite the lack of evidence for the scheme which he posited, and his weak claim that he was

considering a non-Globe play cannot stand. A judicious application of Occam's useful razor will allow more firmly grounded conclusions to be drawn about the minimum requirements for Globe plays, even if there can be only supposition about supplementary effects and properties. This is a reasonable procedure since we may safely assume that when touring the company travelled fairly light, and yet touring was not considered a poor alternative to permanent residence. This is discussed above, in the chapter 1 section '1.3 The Limits of Theatre-Specificity'.

Richard Hosley used Reynolds's methodology to produce a list of plays which he considered might reasonably be called Globe plays. As outlined in the chapter 1 section '1.5 Establishing the Canon of 'Globe Plays'' and demonstrated in detail in appendix 1, Hosley's list contains many plays which ought to have been excluded. Even with an inflated list Hosley showed that every Globe play could be staged on the bare stage represented in the De Witt drawing of the Swan (Hosley 1975a, 176, 195-6). None of the plays needs the simultaneous display of two geographically distant locations and hence, despite Reynolds's conclusions about the Red Bull plays, we can safely assume that monoscenic staging was the norm at the Globe between 1599 and 1608. There are moments, however, when characters display an unrealistic failure to notice what is nearby on stage. Beckerman noted two examples among the Globe plays (Beckerman 1962, 159). In the King Lear quarto of 1608, Kent, asleep in the stocks, is not noticed by Edgar who enters to give a soliloquy (Shakespeare 1608b, E3r). Similarly, in As

You Like It, a banquet seems to have been brought on stage towards the end of what is now usually known as 2.5, judging from Amiens's comments "Sirs, couer the while" and "Ile go seeke the Duke, His banket is prepar'd" (Shakespeare 1968, TLN 918, 947-8). Before the Duke arrives, however, the hungry Orlando and Adam have a scene in which, if the banquet is present onstage, their failure to notice it suggests that they and it are in different parts of the forest. Beckerman considered these to be exceptional moments of polyscenic staging within a norm of monoscenic staging. An even clearer example of polyscenic staging is the simultaneous representation of the camps of Richard and Richmond before the battle at the end of Richard 3, a pre-Globe play, which allows the ghosts to address first Richard and then Richmond (Shakespeare 1597, L2r-L4v). The reconstruction of the staging of Shakespeare's late plays at the Globe in this thesis will assume that monoscenic staging was the norm, but polyscenic arrangement might be used occasionally to make a visually striking change.

2.4 The Use of Stage Furniture

The use of polyscenic staging implies the employment of properties, but the use of monoscenic staging does not indicate the reverse, that properties were not used. Henslowe's inventory of furniture in the possession of the Lord Admiral's men includes items which appear to be stage furniture, for example "j rocke, j cage, j tombe, j Hell

mought" (Greg 1907, 116). Much has been made of these items, but Beckerman pointed out that

The heading of the inventory claims that all the properties are listed. Of set properties there are only twenty-one. . . . In any case the list substantiates the conclusion that Elizabethan stage production employed few properties and reinforces the warning that we should not insist upon finding others where they do not appear.

(Beckerman 1962, 75)

Beckerman's comments must be placed in the context of his larger thesis which refuted claims that stage furniture was vital to Elizabethan dramatic practice: "It is time to revive an old cry. The pendulum has swung too far. It is time to reassert that the Globe stage was bare" (Beckerman 1962, 108). The treatment of stage furniture in this chapter, which extracts it from the larger body of scholarship concerning the design of the Globe (the subject of the next two chapters), necessarily draws an artificial distinction between what is, and what is not, 'related to playhouse design'. This distinction is necessary because, taken together with the speculative arguments for competing designs of the Globe, the evidence for stage furniture (which often forms part of such speculations) loses its factual value. That is to say, scholars have tended to buttress arguments for and against particular playhouse designs with arguments about the use or absence of stage furniture. This thesis keeps these matters separate, with the unfortunate consequence that several

important scholarly works will be reviewed twice: once here and again in the chapters on the design of the Globe.

In support of an argument that the Shakespearian stage was not bare, A. M. Nagler suggested that multi-purpose stage booths, of the kind proposed by Reynolds for use in Red Bull plays, were commonly used at the Globe. As well as scenic items as in Henslowe's lists, booths provided the discovery space which earlier reconstructors located inside a recessed alcove stage in the back wall (Nagler 1958a, 26-9). Nagler's primary aesthetic concern was that visually impressive discoveries should be presented on the main stage for all to see, but his positive evidence was slight. Fynes Moryson's description of English travelling players in Germany performing without costumes or stage-furniture ("ornament of the Stage") was read by Nagler as "indirect proof of the use of properties" on the London stage, "substantiating our conclusions from Henslowe's inventory" (Moryson 1903, 304; Nagler 1958a, 37). Nagler also drew upon the Platter account and argued that Platter's use of the words "die Zelten" (the tents) indicated that booth-like properties were used. Platter's account is considered in detail in appendix 2 and Nagler's assumption that Platter was referring to theatre-world properties rather than play-world locations is found to be correct.

Leslie Hotson took Reynolds's theorising about stage booths to its logical limits, and then far beyond them. Hotson reconstructed the original staging of Twelfth Night at Whitehall with the audience surrounding the actors on every

side because Don Virginio Orsino's eyewitness account records that the "gradi con dame" ('degrees with ladies') stood "atorno atorno" ('completely around, on every side'). Hence "the first performance of Twelfth Night [was] presented by Shakespeare completely 'in the round'" (Hotson 1954, 67). Hotson thought that this arrangement would fit the evidence for public theatre staging too: Platter's reference to 'tents', the absence of the recessed alcove stage in the De Witt drawing, and the presence of spectators where the upper stage should be all seemed to Hotson to confirm his discovery. In Hotson's view the stage doors shown by De Witt had no dramatic function but merely provided access for stage hands to change the set. The actors entered from the understage area to the stage via traps which opened to the inside of stage booths left in place throughout the performance (Hotson 1954, 72-5). With the staging needs of Twelfth Night to guide him, Hotson decided that each booth represented a location in the play-world, at least until it was called upon to represent another location, and hence Hotson's model was essentially one of polyscenic staging. Success with Twelfth Night encouraged Hotson to provide a more detailed extension of his model of Elizabethan public theatre staging with the tiring house in the cellarage (Hotson 1959, 119-54).

The absurdities of Hotson's model are so obvious that little refutation is needed, but it is worth noting that A. M. Nagler kicked away the single plank of positive evidence upon which Hotson had built his model by pointing out that "atorno atorno" does not mean 'on every side' (Nagler 1956). Hotson's

objection to models which posited an inner stage recessed into the back wall was, however, quite reasonably based on the lack of such a feature in the De Witt drawing. Throughout the 1950s there grew a reaction to the elaborate models of John Cranford Adams and Irwin Smith which provided a literal referent for every allusion to furniture in the dialogue of Globe plays. These models will be discussed in detail in chapter 3. The most careful and evidentially rooted argument against these models came, as we shall see, from Richard Hosley. Using the criteria of applicability employed by Reynolds for Red Bull plays, Hosley showed that none of the plays written for the Globe between 1599 and 1608 called for discovery or concealment which could not be achieved by use of a stage door and, if necessary, a curtained stage booth (Hosley 1959). Hosley's aim was to show that the bare stage of the De Witt drawing could, with the addition of a few portable properties, stage the Globe plays, and hence the Globe was probably similar in design. Because the booths were only brought on when their functionality was needed, Hosley's model was one of monoscenic staging. It must be noted that Hosley's use of stage doors for discoveries, which is necessary because the De Witt drawing shows no large central opening, made the visibility of discoveries highly dependent upon the degree to which the frons projected beyond a chord drawn between the intersections of the tiring house and the gallery bays on either side of it. This matter will be considered in detail in chapter 3.

Although little new evidence has been added to the body of material which supports the use of stage booths at the Globe, scholars have found booths helpful in reconstructing particular plays. Surveying a range of staging problems involving elevation, Warren D. Smith decided that some kind of portable stage scaffolding was required for Shakespeare's Hamlet, Richard 2, 1 Henry 6, King Lear, Troilus and Cressida, Julius Caesar, and Antony and Cleopatra, and was probably used also for Love's Labour's Lost and The Winter's Tale (Smith, Warren D. 1951). C. Walter Hodges was persuaded by the practical utility of such a structure, as well as Reynolds's and Hosley's arguments, and included the use of booths in his reconstruction of the Globe (Hodges 1968, 54-8). Likewise D. F. Rowan reconstructed the staging of The Spanish Tragedy using a booth to represent the bower in which Horatio is hanged (Rowan 1975) and G. Harold Metz found the need for one in Titus Andronicus (Metz 1981). Lawrence J. Ross resolved the staging difficulties of the final act of Othello by positing the presence of a booth, placed against the frons, within which Desdemona's bed was concealed (Ross 1961).

Finding that booths solve difficult staging problems is not, however, strong evidence for their use. Albert Weiner addressed an awkward problem associated with the hypothetical use of stage booths: they are either brought on and off the stage between scenes, or else left in place during scenes in which they play no part (Weiner 1961). Weiner's solution was an ingenious arrangement in which a collapsible booth structure was attached to the frons and had legs which tuck

away underneath allowing the whole thing to fold down flat against the wall when not in use. A pair of stage hands could raise the structure in a few seconds, and if it was called upon to represent a tent, a curtain attached to the stage balcony and the front edge of the booth would lie flat against the frons when it was down, and would drape convincingly like the cover of a pavilion when the booth was raised. Only the absence of evidence stands in the way of the acceptance of this delightful design.

Work by Scott McMillin provided much-needed evidence for the use of stage booths. McMillin considered the staging needs of the known Rose plays and how well the configuration shown in the De Witt drawing of the Swan would satisfy them (McMillin 1992). McMillin noticed that a group of Rose plays need a deeper 'above' than that provided by the boxes in the frons shown by De Witt, and that the same plays also have a significantly greater number of 'enclosure' and 'discovery' scenes. A simple hypothesis explains the coincidence of extensive use of 'above' and 'enclosure' spaces: a single piece of stage furniture, the stage booth, provided both facilities. McMillin was unsure that the structure was permanent, but its non-use in some plays suggests that it was temporary. In this thesis it will be assumed that, when no other means of staging a particular scene is apparent, a temporary stage booth may have been used. In The Winter's Tale the discovery of the supposed statue of Hermione might be achieved by use of a booth, although as we shall see in chapter 6 this 'solution' brings with it considerable

problems. Likewise the 'cave' of Belarius, Guiderius, and Arviragus in Cymbeline might have been represented by a stage property although, as discussed in chapter 7, simpler solutions were available.

2.5 The Logic of Stage Entrances

An important piece of early evidence, Sidney's The Defence of Poesie, condemns both polyscenic and monoscenic staging in favour of unity of place which needs neither technique because the depicted locality remains unchanged throughout the scene. The Defence of Poesie was probably written between 1581 and 1583 (Sidney 1965, 1-4), but not published until after his death in 1586, and in it Sidney mocked polyscenically staged plays where

you shall haue Asia of the one side, and Affricke of the other, and so manie other vnder Kingdomes, that the Player when he comes in, must euer begin with telling where he is, or else the tale will not be conceiued. (Sidney 1595, H4r)

Since unity of place (which he called "Aristotles precept") was unlikely to be maintained, Sidney made a qualified defence of a conventional device for indicating location in monoscenically staged drama: "What childe is there, that coming to a play, and seeing Thebes written in great letters vpon an old doore, doth beleeeue that it is Thebes?" (Sidney 1595, G1r). As Chambers noted, this forms part of a defence of dramatic conventions, which, because understood by all, are

not lies (Chambers 1923c, 50). The particular convention was that entrance through a labelled door indicated that the scene was set in the locality named in the label. Lawrence traced this convention from its origin in Tudor court drama which used polyscenically arranged 'mansions' which were labelled, and found some evidence for the persistence of both title and locality labels in Elizabethan and Jacobean court and private theatre performance (Lawrence 1912, 43-71). Lawrence conjectured that polyscenic staging evolved into monoscenic staging:

On the whole, there seems some reason to believe that the players, either during the inn-yard phase of their history or shortly after the building of The Theater and the Curtain, made serious attempts to adopt the simultaneous setting in its literality, but finding the conjunctive properties inconvenient, began piecemeal to substitute inscribed locality boards for the cumbersome scenic symbols. In this way the stage would be gradually cleared of its obstructions without much change being effected in the conventions belonging to the original method.

(Lawrence 1912, 60)

Attractive as this explanation is, Lawrence was forced to admit that there is little evidence either for or against the use of locality labels in the public theatres (Lawrence 1912, 70-1). One piece of evidence against the routine employment of labels in the public theatres is the self-consciously exceptional use of both stage booths and labels in Bartholomew

Fair, first performed at the Hope in 1614, which forms part of a complex allusion to old-fashioned theatrical practices (Egan 1996).

Reynolds found little reason to believe that doors were labelled in the staging of Red Bull plays, although locality boards might usefully have indicated to an audience where the scene was set on the rare occasions when the dialogue neglects to do so (Reynolds 1940, 111-2). Finding no labels, Reynolds sought the conventions which might have indicated to the audience when they were to imagine that the location had changed. Unable to draw any firm principles from the Red Bull evidence, Reynolds suggested two conventions: 1) opening a curtain moved the location from outside to inside a house, or from one room to an adjoining one, and 2) exit at one door followed by rapid re-entrance at another moved the location to the place on the opposite side of the first door, for example, a move from outside to inside a city's walls (Reynolds 1940, 113-4). Reynolds's examination of the conventions of scene-changing was manifestly incomplete, but this was not unreasonable given his views on the limits of our knowledge and his conclusion that the Red Bull used a composite technique of monoscenic and polyscenic staging devices.

Reynolds's reconstruction of the staging of Shakespeare's Troilus and Cressida relied upon the use of booths, labelled doors, and the convention of scene-setting by entrance through a particular door (Reynolds 1948), but Beckerman pointed out that a stage direction in 4.1 specifying entrance at two doors violated the conjectured convention (Beckerman 1962, 73). To

illustrate the paucity of evidence for this convention, Beckerman suggested that equally strong evidence existed for a theory that all entrances were made via one door and all exits by another, in every scene of a play. Although Beckerman made clear that he offered this suggestion "not as a theory but as a warning against such reconstructed staging as Reynolds proposes", he later decided that it was a practicable arrangement and offered it as a possible convention (Beckerman 1989).

A belief that the stage shown by De Witt, with only two entrances, would be inadequate for the drama of the period prompted J. W. Saunders to posit another means of entry: climbing onto the stage from the yard, with the assistance of small portable steps placed wherever needed (Saunders 1954). Saunders found occasion for this technique in Henry 8, Antony and Cleopatra, Pericles, 1 Henry 6, Coriolanus, The Merry Devil of Edmonton, The Merry Wives of Windsor and Hamlet. As with the use of stage booths, this theory is difficult to prove or disprove, and must be relegated to the status of a possibility which can be revisited when all other practices seem unsuitable for a particular staging problem.

David Bradley considered the use of stage doors from the actor's perspective and sought to formulate a convention that would, in the absence of labels or textual signs (of which extant documents are innocent), tell an actor which door to use to enter or exit. Bradley conjectured a simple rule: "he re-enters the stage through the door he last left by. That ensures . . . that on the whole . . . he becomes identified

with his entering side" (Bradley 1992, 32). Since an actor following this rule could exit/re-enter first on one side and then the other, Bradley presumably means that he is identified with one side of the stage while absent from it. Bradley argued that his rule operated in the absence of other instructions, but the actor had also to follow the play and note the occasions when the stage doors were made to seem to lead somewhere. If, whilst backstage awaiting an entrance, an actor was joined by colleagues who had just left the stage because they were to be imagined going to a particular place, the waiting actor would use the same door they used if he wanted to seem to have come from that place, and perhaps have passed them on the way. If, on the other hand, he wished to appear to have come from elsewhere, he would avoid the door they used and take another. In essence, Bradley's model posited mental labels being temporarily affixed upon the stage doors by the dialogue of the play, and being removed or replaced by dialogue which indicates a change of assignment.

Another scholar who sought a simple rule which told the actors which door to use was Tim Fitzpatrick. He believed he had found it in the principle he called triangulation:

In cases where the stage can be seen as an intermediate place between an offstage place which is 'further inwards' and another offstage place which is 'further outwards', it is always the same stage door which leads 'inwards', and the other door always leading 'outwards'. Characters therefore enter via one or other of the doors according to

whether they are coming out from 'within' or in from 'without'; similarly they exit via one or other of the doors according to whether they are going in to 'within' or out to 'without'.

(Fitzpatrick 1995, 214)

Fitzpatrick found the directionality required for triangulation in many scenes in many plays. His analysis of Macbeth indicated that 22 of its 29 scenes are triangulated, and he reported the following proportions for other Shakespeare plays: The Taming of the Shrew (13/14), Othello (15/15), Romeo and Juliet (21/23), Much Ado About Nothing (16/17), The Winter's Tale (12/15) (Fitzpatrick 1995, 217n12). One possible criticism of Fitzpatrick's work is that he found the sense of direction necessary to his principle of triangulation because he went looking for it, and an unbiased observer might record fewer instances. In the reconstructed staging presented in this thesis, scenes in which triangulation might be operating will be noted.

Mariko Ichikawa took Beckerman's simple principle of 'one door in, one door out' and attempted to define the minimum number of additional rules necessary to make it applicable in all Shakespearian staging (Ichikawa 1996). Ichikawa found that the following rules were needed:

Moves made in Different Directions:

a) Simultaneous Entrances: Where two enterers meet on the stage, the two stage doors

represent different directions, and one or the other enterer uses the 'exit door'.

b) Simultaneous Exits: Where two characters separate to depart in different directions, one or the other must exit from the 'entrance door'.

c) Entrances and Exits of Two Opposing Characters or Groups: Where two opposing characters or groups make entrances or exits simultaneously or successively, they very likely use different doors.

Moves Making up a Continuous Action:

d) Entrance and Immediate Exit: Where a character enters and immediately exits, unless the dialogue implies the character's move over the stage, it may be more natural for the character to exit from the door through which he has just entered.

e) Exit and Immediate Re-entrance: Where a character absents himself from the stage for a very short time, unless his offstage move is implied in the dialogue, his exit and

re-entrance are certainly intended to be made through the same door.

f) Exiting to Fetch Something and Re-enter with it: In most such cases, the exit itself presages that its related re-entrance will be made through the same door.

g) Summoner's Exit and Summoned Character's Entrance: The summoned character would naturally enter through the door from which the summoner has exited.

h) Summoner's Entrance and Summoned Character's Exit: It is natural that they should exit through the door from which the summoner has entered.

Moves Related to Particular Places:

i) Entrance and Exit by a Door Representing the Entrance to a Particular Place: The entrances and exits related to the place are made from that door.

(Ichikawa 1996, 5-12)

It may be noted that Fitzpatrick's triangulation rule is merely an application of Ichikawa's rule (i) to most scenes. Ichikawa took no account of the passage of fictional time, and

assumed that doors were primarily practical means of entry rather than representations of playworld portals or directions. Fitzpatrick's work was clearly influenced by theatre semiotics and treated the doors as signs within a signifying system. In this thesis, Ichikawa's modifications of Beckerman's rule will be applied consistently.

In Ichikawa's rules governing the use of the two stage doors practical considerations take priority over symbolism: the doors are primarily non-directional and functional. A third portal, the central opening, provides opportunities for symbolism and for the assigning of a place and directionality to a portal. Ichikawa noted that positive evidence for use of the central opening was scant but speculated that the central opening might have been used to provide relief from the exit/entrance convention and to charge exits and entrances with symbolic meaning. This speculation led to 6 tentative conclusions:

- 1) that the central opening would have represented the entrance to a recessed place and the gates of a fortress;
- 2) that the action of hiding behind the hangings could have been regarded as an exit;
- 3) that the central opening would have been effectively used for masques and shows;
- 4) that the central opening might have been used for special figures, such as supernatural beings and Choruses;
- 5) that the centre would have been most appropriate for formal and ceremonial processions;
- and 6) that the

central opening would have served a symbolic function. (Ichikawa 1997b, 13)

The opportunities to use the central opening in such ways will be noted in this thesis.

The principles and practices outlined in this chapter are sufficient to reconstruct original staging in a given theatre space. The next two chapters, 3 and 4, examine the scholarship concerned with the design and facilities of the Globe. In chapter 5 the use to be made of this scholarship is outlined in the form of a theoretical model of the Globe as it existed and was used in the 1610s and early 1620s.

CHAPTER 3. RECONSTRUCTING THE GLOBE PLAYHOUSE PART 1:
SCHOLARSHIP BEFORE THE WANAMAKER PROJECT.

The history of scholarly efforts to reconstruct the Globe playhouse can be divided into two parts: the work done before the Wanamaker Globe project and the work done during it. The Wanamaker project can be credited with the achievement of accelerating research into the design and operation of the Globe so that in the thirty years since Wanamaker began to convince scholars that a full-size replica could be built the size of the body of knowledge on the subject has more than doubled. Whether or not the reconstructed building itself aids scholarship the research underlying its claim to authenticity represents a considerable return on the capital outlay. This chapter surveys the research prior to the Wanamaker project and the next will survey the research undertaken since the commencement of the project, whether or not it was part of the project. Reconstructions which attempted to give a full account of the design of the Globe will be the primary interest here. Partial reconstructions of the Globe and full or partial reconstructions of other playhouses (including 'typical' playhouses) will be considered only insofar as they bear upon full reconstructions of the Globe.

The Globe playhouse is of particular interest to anyone concerned with the cultural construct 'English Literature' since the centrality of Shakespeare's works within this construct is inescapable. A full-scale reconstruction of the Globe is likely to appeal to a wider cross-section of society

than that of any other playhouse because of the Globe's close association with the works of Shakespeare. The reconstructions of other playhouses have usually been incomplete, or purely academic, or both. Unfortunately the body of evidence upon which to base a reconstruction is smaller for the Globe than for several other playhouses of the period. In such a situation there is a danger of stretching what little evidence is available beyond the bounds of reason, and using irrelevant material in place of absent details. Doubts about the intellectual viability of the Wanamaker project have been raised by scholars and the danger of overstretching the evidence will be noted in the surveys of both the pre-Wanamaker and Wanamaker periods.

3.1 E. K. Chambers's Views on Elizabethan Playhouse Design

The first scholarly reconstruction of the Globe was undertaken by E. K. Chambers in his The Elizabethan Stage. Earlier work by Cecil Brodmeier and his student Victor E. Albright, and by John Quincy Adams is excluded here because it was overshadowed by Chambers's immense work of scholarship which made all earlier efforts appear incomplete and, in some cases, amateurish. Although Chambers was more concerned with the staging effects which could be achieved than with the precise configuration of any particular playhouse, he produced diagrams showing his conception of a typical square playhouse and of a typical octagonal playhouse, and he labelled the

latter "e.g. Globe" (Chambers 1923c, 85). Chambers argued that the movement of playing companies between different playhouses, especially in the period prior to the construction of the Globe, suggests standardization of design (Chambers 1923c, 50). Chambers noted that the Theatre and Curtain were built at about the same date and commented that

although there was room for development in the art of theatrical architecture before the addition of the Rose, I am unable, after a careful examination of the relevant plays, to lay my finger upon any definite new features which Henslowe can be supposed to have introduced. (Chambers 1923c, 50)

Chambers's view has not been universally accepted. Glynne Wickham argued that the Rose was the first playhouse to have a stage cover and the first to have a descent machine in the heavens (Wickham 1979). Chambers also found few differences between late sixteenth-century plays and early seventeenth-century plays that might be taken to indicate that the Globe or Fortune differed substantially from their predecessors (Chambers 1923c, 103-4). Two small changes were noted by Chambers. The stage balcony declined in popularity as a spectating position after 1600, and the companies took advantage of this to write larger and more frequent 'aloft' scenes (Chambers 1923c, 119-20). The other change found by Chambers from evidence of the plays was a decline in the use of the alcove (1923c, 120-1). The general principles and features of the Elizabethan public theatre were, however, carried into the Jacobean era.

In Chambers's view the single most important piece of evidence of the design of playhouses was the De Witt drawing of the Swan (Foakes 1985, 52-5). Chambers established that the contemporary pictures of London support the evidence of prologues and epilogues which often refer to the roundness of the auditorium and he decided that the playhouses were, with the exception of the square Fortune, either circular or polygonal with so many sides as to be nearly circular. De Witt's use of the term "amphiteatra" (sic) for the Theatre, Curtain, Rose, and Swan supports this view (Chambers 1923b, 524). The pictures of London also support the evidence of construction contracts which indicate that all the playhouses were made of timber until the Fortune was rebuilt in brick in 1623. Turning to the De Witt document in detail, Chambers confirmed that the seating capacity of the Swan might be as high as the 3000 given there, and that other playhouses might be of a similar size (Chambers 1923b, 526). In an unusual interpretation of the stage shown by De Witt, Chambers decided that "the breadth is perhaps rather greater than the depth" and estimated the height to be 3 or 5 feet above the ground (Chambers 1923b, 528). De Witt appears to show that the Swan was thatched, as was the Globe according to accounts of the fire, whereas the Fortune and Hope contracts indicate that these were tiled (Chambers 1923b, 531).

Chambers believed that the persons shown in the stage balcony in the De Witt drawing were spectators and that this spectating position corresponds to what contemporary documents call "over the stage" and in "the lords room" (Chambers 1923b,

534-5). Appendix 3 at the end of this thesis offers a full examination of the 'lords room'. In the De Witt drawing there are two openings which lead from the yard to the lowest gallery, one of which is labelled 'ingressus'. Chambers saw no incompatibility between this feature and the Hope contract's instruction to emulate the Swan's external staircases: the staircases, and the upper galleries to which they gave access, were reached by first entering the yard (via the main entrance) and then exiting the yard via an 'ingressus' (Chambers 1923b, 538). The wall upon which De Witt has the label "mimorum aedes" (actors' house) was both the front of the tiring house and the back wall of the stage (Chambers 1923b, 538). The hut which forms the highest point of the playhouse in the De Witt drawing was partly over the stage and within it were the machines which managed ascents and descents from the heavens (Chambers 1923b, 546). Throughout his interpretation of the De Witt drawing Chambers drew upon the supporting evidence of contracts and play texts where these appeared to confirm the evidence of De Witt, but did not allow any such material to supersede De Witt. However in other chapters (discussed below) Chambers found the evidence for some kind of alcove between the two stage doors to be overwhelming even though De Witt shows none.

Chambers's description of the staging facilities implied by the plays of the period is a useful starting point from which to explore reconstructions of the Globe. Having considered the different kinds of fictional location in late sixteenth-century plays, for example 'indoor', 'outdoor

street', and 'unlocalized' (Chambers 1923c, 47-72), Chambers turned again to the De Witt drawing of the Swan to look for correspondence between the staging needs of the plays and the facilities shown in the picture. The correspondence of the stage doors in the De Witt drawing with the needs of the plays is easily established, since many plays have stage directions of the kind "enter at one door . . . and at the other". However, many stage directions are of the kind "enter at one door . . . and at an other" which suggests three or more doors (Chambers 1923c, 73-5). The substantial stage posts shown by De Witt are consistent with the references and allusions to posts and trees in plays, many of which suggest the imaginative incorporation of an immovable part of the playhouse fabric into the dramatic action (Chambers 1923c, 75-6).

The stage cover and superstructural hut shown by De Witt provide the means for the flying of players required in the drama (Chambers 1923c, 76-7). Chambers noted that several pieces of evidence pointed to a chair being let down from above. Robert Greene's Alponsus, King of Aragon has the tentative stage direction "Exit Venus. Or if you can conueniently, let a chaire come downe from the top of the Stage, and draw her vp" (Greene 1599, 13r). Henslowe's expenditure of 7 pounds 2 shillings for "mackinge the throne In the heuenes" for the Rose, paid on 4 June 1595 (Foakes & Rickert 1961, 7) seems to indicate the kind of machine envisaged by Greene. Chambers wondered if Henslowe's use of the word 'throne' might indicate that the chair of state was

routinely put into place by descent. In support of this idea Chambers cited Jonson's sneer concerning plays in which a "creaking throne comes down" (Jonson 1616, A3r) and the stage direction "Musicke while the Throne descends" (Marlowe 1616, H2r) among the late additions to Doctor Faustus (Chambers 1923c, 77n2-5). The means by which 'descents' were made has a bearing on the reconstruction of Globe staging of Cymbeline which is the first of Shakespeare's plays to explicitly use this effect. The descent of Jupiter in Shakespeare's Cymbeline is considered in the light of possible alterations to the Globe after the acquisition of Blackfriars in chapter 6.

Although De Witt does not show them, the Swan must have had curtains of some kind because these were described as being damaged in a riot at the Swan in 1602 (Chambers 1923c, 500-3). Richard Vennar circulated a playbill describing an entertainment called England's Joy, "to be Played at the Swan this 6 of Nouember, 1602". Having received the take Vennar tried to flee without providing a performance but he was pursued and caught. In a letter dated 19 November 1602 John Chamberlain described to Dudley Carleton the ensuing riot:

. . . in the meane time the common people, when they saw themselves deluded, revenged themselves upon the hangings, curtaines, chaires, stooles, walles and whatsoever came in theyre way very outragiously and made great spoyle: there was great store of good companie, and many noblemen.

(Chamberlain 1939, 172).

From the references in the drama to various kinds of curtain, and the need to provide the means for 'discovery', Chambers concluded that the frons scenae was usually covered by an arras which hung from a projecting rail (Chambers 1923c, 80-1). The projection produced a small 'corridor' between the stage doors and this could be used for the concealment and discovery of small objects and persons. If more space was needed there is no reason why the curtains should not have covered "a quite considerable aperture in the back wall, and an alcove or recess of quite considerable size lying behind this aperture" (Chambers 1923c, 82). The interior walls of this enclosed space, which lies wholly within the tiring-house itself, might be "nothing but screens covered with some more arras . . . put up when they were needed for some particular scene" (Chambers 1923c, 82). Chambers acknowledged that on the evidence of the De Witt drawing "we cannot . . . assert that the Swan had an alcove at all; and if it had not, it was probably driven to provide for chamber scenes by means of some curtained structure on the stage itself" (1923c, 86). This 'curtained structure' theory has been fully developed as a solution to many of the staging problems of the period, as we saw in chapter 2. Unlike Brodmeier, Chambers did not think that his 'alcove' inner stage was the necessary location for all scenes set indoors (Chambers 1923c, 86-7).

Chambers explicitly distanced himself from the view of G. F. Reynolds that properties were allowed to stand on the stage in scenes for which which they were incongruous, because either left over from a previous scene or needed for a

subsequent one (Chambers 1923c, 88-9). Chambers felt that this was incompatible with the 'successive' (monoscenic) mode of presentation used at the public theatres. The properties which might be most difficult to move were the royal seat and trees. The throne could be put in place and removed by descent from above, Chambers argued, and the trees could be raised and lowered by traps in the stage floor. Chambers offered three examples of the sudden appearance of a tree or arbour which he suspected were achieved using a trap (Chambers 1923c, 89n3). In A Looking Glasse for London and England is a stage direction "The Magi with their rods beate the ground, and from vnder the same riseth a braue Arbour" (Lodge & Greene 1594, C2v). In Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay is a stage direction "Heere Bungay coniures and the tree appeares with the dragon shooting fire" (Greene 1594, E4r). In A Warning for Fair Women is a stage direction which includes the instruction ". . . suddenly riseth vp a great tree betweene them . . ." (Anon. 1599, E3v).

The De Witt drawing shows persons sitting in the gallery above the stage and Chambers took these to be spectators (Chambers 1923c, 90). The use of this location for spectators had to be reconciled with

the equally clear indications that this region, or some part of it, was available when needed, throughout the whole of the period under our consideration, as a field of dramatic action.

(Chambers 1923c, 91)

Chambers suggested that this location began as a spectating space but was increasingly used by the players. This process was initiated by the use of the stage balcony by 'presenter' characters as a vantage point from which to watch the drama they presented. Chambers found examples of this in the plot of The Battle of Alcazar and in the play texts of James 4, A Looking Glass for London and England, The Spanish Tragedy, and The Taming of the Shrew (Chambers 1923c, 91-2). The presence of these "idealized spectators" brought about a change in the status of the stage balcony, which came increasingly to be considered a normal part of the playing area rather than part of the auditorium. For some time this location was available, at the management's discretion, for either purpose (Chambers 1923c, 92-5), but by the early seventeenth century the stage balcony had lost its popularity as a spectating position and was used exclusively as a music room and upper playing space (Chambers 1923c, 119-20). For use as a playing space the stage balcony might have had both stairs and a trap providing communication with the alcove below, and an independent curtain in the line of the frons scenae to provide for discoveries (Chambers 1923c, 95-6). For the provision of battlements and walls which could be overleapt (such as the orchard wall in Romeo and Juliet) Chambers imagined a structure "drawn forwards and backwards, with the help of some machine, through the doors or the central aperture" and then he chastised himself for straying into conjecture (Chambers 1923c, 97-8). Equally conjectural was the imagined third level

above the stage gallery and hidden from view by the stage cover in De Witt's drawing of the Swan.

Chambers's drawings of two typical outdoor playhouses, one square and one octagonal (Chambers 1923c, 84-50), were not precisely defended in his text. The drawings were intended to be schematic rather than architectural, and showed neither the dimensions nor the arrangement of structural members. Chambers was concerned not with the design of a particular playhouse but with the general features common to a category of playhouses. He explicitly maintained that precise differences between particular playhouses are not recoverable. It is worth noting, however, that his octagonal playhouse which was supposed to be Globe-like and typical seems dependent upon Visscher's engraving. The Visscher engraving had not yet been shown to be derivative of other works, and of the several pictures which suggest that the Globe had as few as six or eight sides, it enjoyed the highest status. That the Globe was six sided was supported by the report of Hester Thrale who, in 1819, recorded having seen its uncovered foundations some fifty years before (Chambers 1923b, 428). Interest in finding corroboration for Thrale's claim has continued (Clout 1993).

3.2 J. C. Adams's Model of the Globe

In 1942 was published John Cranford Adams's The Globe Playhouse: Its Design and Equipment and in 1950 Adams and Irwin Smith completed a scale model of the First Globe to represent Adams's conception in three dimensions (Smith, Irwin

1956, xiii). Adams's book and the scale model were highly influential in shaping ideas concerning the staging of Elizabethan drama. Laurence Olivier based the Globe seen in his 1945 film of Henry 5 upon Adams's work. The chief attraction of the scale model was the beauty of its construction and it was immediately incorporated into a public display at the Folger Library in Washington. However, the scholarship underlying both book and model was deeply flawed. Convinced that the Visscher engraving of 1616 was accurate and that the Hollar engraving was not, Adams made his Globe octagonal. Using the contracts for the Fortune and the Hope Adams showed that the Globe was "84 feet across between outside walls, 34 feet high to the eaves, and 58 feet across the interior yard" (Adams, John Cranford 1942, 3). Adams's deduction of the size of the Globe was derived from the specification in the Fortune contract that the galleries should be 12 feet 6 inches deep (Adams, John Cranford 1942, 20-1). Adams assumed that this included 6 inches for the outer wall, and the real centre-to-centre spacing of the posts was 12 feet. The Fortune would have been constructed from regularly shaped units, Adams reasoned, and the simplest arrangement would have been to repeat the bays that formed the corners of the auditorium. Since the centre-to-centre depth of a gallery was 12 feet, a corner bay would have measured 12 feet between centres in both directions in order to provide 12 feet of depth to each of the gallery ranges of which it formed the intersection. This 12 feet square could easily be tessellated to form the entire auditorium by using six and a

half such bays to form each range. The half bay would be placed in the middle of the range and in one of the ranges it would be left open to form an entrance to the playhouse. Six and a half such bays form a structure 78 feet between centres or 79 feet externally (assuming foot-square posts were used), and when the depth of the exterior covering is added at either end, the external dimension becomes the 80 feet specified in the contract (Adams, John Cranford 1942, 21). The width of the enclosed yard would be that of four and a half bays, 54 feet between centres, or 55 feet if the measurement were taken from the furthest edges of the posts. This matched the 55 feet specified in the Fortune contract, giving Adams confidence that he had correctly deduced the groundplan.

Having derived the unit bay used for the Fortune, Adams applied it to the Globe. Adams assumed that the Globe galleries, like those of the Fortune, were 12 feet between centres from yard-wall post to exterior-wall post. Likewise, each post of the inner wall was 12 feet from the next. Three such posts, the inner one 12 feet away from each of the outer two, formed each of the eight sides of the yard. It was as though each of the eight sides of the auditorium was made from two of the Fortune's 12 feet square bays with the outer walls extended to meet the adjacent range. Adams calculated that this would give the Globe an external diameter of 84 feet including the six inches of outer covering at either end (Adams, John Cranford 1942, 21). This calculation was in error and Adams's octagonal Globe actually measured 83 feet across. Adams constructed his Globe's stage from a line connecting

"the middle post of one sector across to the middle post of the next sector but one" (Adams, John Cranford 1942, 22, 90) which gave a width of 43 feet. That this special number should arise so readily from a simple conjecture about the playhouse frame seemed significant to Adams:

This precise coincidence of the estimated width of the Globe platform and the given width of the Fortune platform shows, I believe, that the estimated spacing of the gallery posts in the Globe is correct and that the building as a whole took the form I have outlined.

(Adams, John Cranford 1942, 22)

The obvious inference was that the Fortune contract specified 43 feet because this was the width of the stage at the Globe, upon which its design was based. Using the $12\frac{1}{2}$ feet gallery depth of the square playhouse Adams had made a series of plausible assumptions about the closely analogous design of the Globe and these had yielded precisely the same width for the stage. Such a correspondence was highly unlikely to be mere chance, and for Adams it proved that his assumptions were correct. Unfortunately, as anyone able to apply Pythagoras's rule of right-angled triangles can verify, Adams's calculation of the width of his stage was wrong. The correct figure is the width of one side of the playhouse yard, 24 feet, plus the width of the bases of two right-angled isosceles triangles whose hypotenuses are half the width of the one side of the playhouse yard. Numerically this can be expressed as $24 + (2 \times \sqrt{(12^2/2)})$, which resolves to very nearly 41 feet. This is two

feet less than the Fortune stage's 43 feet width. Adams's error of over 4½% is gross enough to invalidate his postulated correspondence with the Fortune contract and, since this correspondence validated all the assumptions which led to it, the entire reconstruction must be discounted as pure speculation.

In Adams's model the platform stage had a total of six traps and a large recessed alcove discovery space. Suspended above this playing space was a second stage which was fronted with a balustraded balcony ('tarras') and which had another, smaller, recessed alcove discovery space at its rear. At either side of this balcony, and at 45 degrees to it, was a glazed bay window which overhung a correspondingly angled stage door underneath on the platform stage. In the centre of the platform stage there was large trap with a mechanically operated elevator platform. In each of the four corners was a small non-mechanical trap consisting of a hinged door with steps leading down, and in the 'study' (alcove) there was a fifth such trap, making six in all.

The tiring house in Adams's model was an integral part of the frame which formed the octagonal outer structure of the playhouse, such that each of the three tiring house floors met the corresponding gallery floor at the same height. Extending from the top of the tiring house, and connected to it at the eaves, was a 'heavens' covering the entire stage. At the height of the third auditorium gallery the tiring house had a music room. The upper stage (at the same height as the second auditorium gallery) had a trap door set in its floor which

provided communication with the main stage. Adams also used the term 'trap' for the holes in the underside of the heavens through which suspension lines descended to enable flying down of players and furniture. Of the main trap in the platform stage Adams wrote that it

must have been equipped with an elaborate machine, the result of many years of experience and development. The heavy loads it was called upon to bear prove that it was sturdily constructed and, what is quite as important, sure in its operation.

(Adams, John Cranford 1942, 119)

In support of his claim that the trap had a powerful machine Adams offered an example of its use in Heywood's Brazen Age, and, for its swiftness of operation, an example from A Warning for Fair Women. Only the second of these has ever been claimed as a Globe play and, as discussed in appendix 1 at the end of this thesis, the association is groundless. The problem with Adams's reasoning here is not that he posits improbable features (why should a trap not be "sturdily constructed"?) but that he adduces evidence from plays the provenance of which he does not even mention. This method is repeated throughout the book with serious consequences for the value of the scholarship. The evidence for the four corner traps consists of stage directions from Alphonsus, King of Aragon, If it be not Good, the Devil is in It, No Wit, no Help, like a Woman's, The Whore of Babylon, and Heywood's Golden Age and Silver Age (Adams, John Cranford 1942, 117-8). In each case the requirement of the stage direction may be satisfied by

four corner traps, but this is by no means the only explanation. There is nothing to suggest that any of these plays constitute evidence for the design of the Globe other than an unstated conviction that whatever could be realized in another playhouse could be realized at the Globe.

In evidence for the trap in the upper playing space Adams cited The Jew of Malta:

There the stage business runs as follows: "Enter [Barabas] with a Hammar aboue very busie." Barabas is arranging a death-trap for Calymath, and describes his handiwork as "a dainty gallery, the floore whereof, this Cable being cut, Doth fall asunder." Owing to a deliberately arranged premature cutting of the cable, Barabas falls a victim to his own ingenuity:

A charge, the cable cut, a Cauldron [in the study] discovered [into which Barabas has fallen]

(Adams, John Cranford 1942, 219)

The bracketed additions are Adams's, and it is he, not Marlowe, who places the cauldron within the 'study' (Adams's term for the posited recessed alcove). Even if Adams's speculative reading was correct it would tell us nothing about the Globe since the play text he is quoting (a reliable quarto of 1633) was probably completed by 1590, nine years before the Globe was built (Marlowe 1978, 1). Further examples of use of the 'ceiling trap' were offered from Middleton's Blurt Master Constable, Marston's Antonio's Revenge, Percy's The Faery

Pastoral, Heywood's The Brazen Age, Beaumont's The Captain, Fletcher's Bonduca, and Massinger's Bashful Lover (Adams, John Cranford 1942, 220-7). A further 19 plays were cited in the notes as using the 'ceiling trap'. Not one has any useful connection with the Globe. That no known Globe play used the 'ceiling trap' could more reasonably be offered as evidence that the Globe lacked such a feature.

Adams's argument for the existence of the sixth trap, in the floor of the study, depended heavily upon the need for two traps to stage the 'Shew of eight Kings' in Shakespeare's Macbeth (Adams, John Cranford 1942, 189-91). As discussed in appendix 1 at the end of this thesis, the unambiguous evidence of late non-authorial revision and adaptation distances this play from Globe practice and it ought not to be considered reliable evidence for the design of the Globe. Adams produced a table distinguishing the pattern of operation of the main trap from that of the hypothetical study trap (Adams, John Cranford 1942, 216). The former was mechanical, and therefore noisy, while the latter was silent. The former was always closed after use because the audience in the galleries could see into it, whereas the latter could be left open. The former could carry up to eight persons at one time, while the latter could take only one. From these distinctions Adams argued that whenever a descent is not masked by a sound effect such as thunder we can be sure that the silent study trap was being used:

A variety of startling and prolonged sounds commonly attended the ascent and descent of lower-world

creatures. Thunder and Lightning were usual; 'hellish musick,' 'charges' or other trumpet calls, Alarums, or a falling chain were variants. . . . Even when (as not infrequently happens) a stage-direction fails to record disguise sounds as accompanying the entrance or departure of such creatures and merely reads 'Enter ----,' one is justified in suspecting that a trap was used and that sounds were made in order to conceal its motion. (Adams, John Cranford 1942, 120-1)

However, in establishing the nature of the study trap Adams argued:

The absence of disguise sounds accompanying the normal use of the study trap points to the absence of an operating mechanism. . . . It follows, therefore, that the study trap could be used silently. (Adams, John Cranford 1942, 214)

From the absence of cues for sound in the play texts Adams argued on one hand that the cues were simply missing, and on the other for the use of a second trap. Adams's methodology built an extraordinarily detailed reconstruction of the Globe upon a small quantity of dubious evidence and a considerable body of negative evidence, and speculation was often presented as deduction.

To support his contention that the Globe had a large upper stage Adams exaggerated the frequency of 'aloft' scenes and the amount of space required to stage them. At the back of his upper stage Adams put a 'chamber' which matched the

'study' at the back of the main stage below (Adams, John Cranford 1942, 275-97). Adams inferred the existence of his 'chamber' from occasional use of the word by characters and the need for a concealment area for use in scenes played aloft. Because Adams was sure that scenes set indoors in an upper room were normally played on the upper stage he naturally found many scenes which appeared to need his 'chamber'.

For the presence of a recessed alcove in the back wall of the main platform Adams relied upon the need for discovery of persons and objects in plays of the period. Adams was convinced that increased use of naturalistic stage settings after the turn of the century caused a growth in the size of the 'inner stage'. Adams speculated that while transforming the Theatre into the Globe the Burbages took the opportunity to widen the tiring house, which allowed them also to widen the inner stage (Adams, John Cranford 1942, 132-5). The main stage was widened at the back, but the front edge was kept at 24 feet to produce a tapered stage (Adams, John Cranford 1942, 90-2). The scenic wall was widened to incorporate the angled walls of the two bays which adjoined the old back wall of the stage and the stage doors were moved to these obliquely angled walls.

The motivation underlying these changes was the need for a wider inner stage. In ten pages of description of the inner stage (Adams, John Cranford 1942, 167-177) Adams cited no relevant contemporary evidence whatever, and described his own drawings as though they constitute contemporary evidence:

On looking at a ground plan of the Globe one observes that the widening of the lower and upper stages (without increasing their depth) greatly improved their visibility. . . . A section plan of the Globe is equally enlightening. It reveals that spectators in the first gallery could see the floor, walls, and ceiling of the study.

(Adams, John Cranford 1942, 174)

Adams 'observed' and was 'enlightened' by what his own speculative drawings 'revealed'.

There are two other features of Adams's Globe which must be examined: the third floor music room, and the flight machinery located in the superstructural huts. Adams argued that there must have been room for a third floor in the tiring house, above the 'upper stage', since the stage cover must have been higher than the heads of the spectators in the uppermost gallery if they were to have a view of the upper stage (Adams, John Cranford 1942, 298-301). The need for a playing space called the 'top' is indicated in a stage direction in Shakespeare's 1 Henry 6 (Shakespeare 1968, TLN 1451) and in a stage direction and a speech in Fletcher and Massinger's The Double Marriage (Fletcher & Beaumont 1647, Dddd1v, Dddd2). In both cases the 'aloft' playing space is also in use and the 'top' appears to be still higher. Adams found further examples in which the staging needs of a play seem to call for a small playing space above the upper stage (Adams, John Cranford 1942, 303-7). Adams noted a tendency for increased use of music in plays after 1600, and that it tended

to come from 'above' (Adams, John Cranford 1942, 308-24). From this he inferred that at the Globe the musicians were installed in a third-floor music room which could also be used as an occasional playing space.

Adams noted the same need for descent from the heavens by chair recorded by Chambers (Adams, John Cranford 1942, 332-66). The vertical line of descent was not fixed, he concluded, but could be moved forward or backward (what we would call downstage or upstage) at need (Adams, John Cranford 1942, 350-5). Because he was certain of the value of the Visscher engraving Adams ventured to produce a precise plan of the superstructural huts which housed not only a flight machine but also the sounds effects equipment and the trumpet station (Adams, John Cranford 1942, 366-82).

A detailed description of Adams's book has been needed because the history of the scholarship of Globe reconstruction in the fifty years since its publication can be broadly characterized as one of reaction to, and refutation of, this work. It should be noted that Adams shared Chambers's conviction that the playhouses were largely alike and that one could therefore meaningfully refer to a 'typical' playhouse. This premise makes possible the use of a wide range of play texts as evidence for the staging needs which any playhouse might have to satisfy. But as a necessary consequence of this method one is able to reconstruct only the idealized 'typical' playhouse, and not any particular playhouse. Chambers implicitly accepted this principle. Adams, relying heavily on the Visscher engraving, implicitly rejected it and produced

highly detailed plans of the Globe which he misrepresented as reliable scholarly deduction.

Two forms of objection to Adams's work appeared in the decade following its publication. The aesthetic judgements were challenged by those who felt that Adams showed little appreciation of theatrical convention which, contrary to his assumption, would allow, for example, a scene set indoors to be played on the front of a thrust stage. Adams's scholarly method was challenged by critics who felt that the extrapolation from play-text evidence to theatre fabric had exceeded reasonable bounds, and by others who pointed to errors in his handling of the small amount of solid evidence available. The first into print with a correction of his claim that the octagonal model produced a stage which was 43 feet wide was Adams himself. Having found that the actual figure is very nearly 41 feet, Adams ordered a second printing of the book in 1943 in which references to the width of the stage were altered. Although a note was added acknowledging the error (Adams, John Cranford 1943, 90), the publication information recorded this merely as a second printing with no mention of the correction of all the references to the width of the stage. As a consequence libraries have been misled into cataloguing the 1942 and 1943 printings as a single first edition of the book rather than noting the substantial difference between them. Most importantly, Adams merely cut his insistence that the correspondence between the known width of the Fortune stage and the derived width of his stage validated his method, and he did not acknowledge that without

this correspondence there was no reason to prefer his conjectural groundplan over any other.

- 3.3 Reactions to Adams's Model: I. A. Shapiro; C. Walter Hodges; Richard Southern; A. M. Nagler; Warren D. Smith; George F. Reynolds; J. W. Saunders

Six years after the publication of Adams's book I. A. Shapiro published an article in the first volume of Shakespeare Survey which examined all the early pictures of London which show playhouses (Shapiro 1948). Shapiro proved that Visscher's engraving was derived from the panorama in Norden's Civitas Londini. Visscher had copied labels from Norden's work, such as "The eell schipes" and "The gally fuste" for vessels in the Thames. Norden's label "St. Dunston in the east" was copied as "St. Dunston in the cast", which is an error not likely to be made by someone who knew English. Shapiro found many small errors of this kind which point to careless copying of details from Norden's panorama. Where Visscher was not following Norden's Civitas Londini he was following the Braun and Hohenberg plan or its derivative, the Agas map (reproduced in Foakes 1985, 2-4). Shapiro showed that the Visscher engraving was entirely derivative, and therefore entirely without authority. After considering several other pictures and rejecting their authority, Shapiro concluded that the Hollar engraving of 1647 (Foakes 1985, 29-31, 36-8) was the most reliable view of the Bankside playhouses. Without the

Visscher engraving the authority for an octagonal Globe was removed.

The next scholar to attempt a reconstruction of the Globe was C. Walter Hodges. His book for children, Shakespeare and the Players, contained a conjectural reconstruction which combined the work of Chambers and Adams with the assertion by George R. Kernodle (Hodges 1948, 62-3; Kernodle 1944, 130-53) that Elizabethan playhouses were decorated in a style which fused continental baroque with native Tudor. Because the target audience was children Hodges made no detailed defence of the drawing but he deviated from Adams in giving his Globe sixteen sides instead of eight. Hodges followed Adams in having a wide and deep inner stage matched by an upper stage of equal size. Hodges also followed Adams in having a third level playing space (the 'top stage') and window stages above the stage doors. Hodges's main stage, however, was rectangular and he reduced the number of traps to two: one near the centre of the main stage and another in the inner stage. Hodges believed that outdoor theatre stages inherited the rectangular shape and height of between 5½ and 6 feet from the booth stages of the travelling players (Hodges 1950).

Before publishing his major work on Elizabethan playhouse design for adult readers, The Globe Restored, Hodges published two articles concerning the De Witt drawing of the Swan. In the first Hodges insisted that De Witt showed that the Swan was a polygon with sufficient number of sides that it was virtually round ("This to my mind rules out the notion of an octagonal building in favour of, say, a sixteen-sided

polygon") and that the 'inner stage' "was neither a permanent nor an indispensable part of Elizabethan public stage practice" (Hodges 1951, 34). The following year Hodges published an article with Richard Southern which argued that De Witt's Swan was essentially a Renaissance rather than a Tudor design (Southern & Hodges 1952). De Witt's description of the stage post's "marmoreum colorem" (coating of marble colouring), their entasis, and their ornate bases and capitals, all point to classical and continental influence upon the indigenous building tradition. De Witt's description of the Swan as "constructum ex coacervato lapide pyrritide" (made out of a heaping together of flint stones) is in conflict with our knowledge that playhouse were timber-framed buildings unless an in-fill of flint was used between the timbers (Southern & Hodges 1952, 57). Possibly De Witt was misled into thinking the building was made of flint because its exterior was plastered over and painted to look like stone. As we shall see, the Globe appears to have had such a coating but the Wanamaker replica will be left uncoated even though the academic committee of the project is convinced of its existence in the original. Students of Elizabethan playhouse design can be assigned places along a spectrum of 'faith in De Witt' and the reaction to Adams's Globe can be characterized as a collective move towards the 'greater' end of this spectrum. The same spectrum might also be labelled 'belief in playhouse opulence' since Adams, who rejected De Witt as useless, designed a playhouse with every facility which might be imagined to be called for by the drama of the

period, and De Witt appears to show a relatively bare stage in an unadorned building. Hodges and Southern's work went some way towards a rehabilitation of the De Witt drawing by showing that it need not stand in contradiction to the plentiful anti-theatrical descriptions of playhouses as 'gorgeous palaces'.

Writing for adults Hodges was more cautious in his representations of Elizabethan playhouses than he had been in his book for children (Hodges 1953). Amongst the conjectural drawings in The Globe Restored there was no representation of the first Globe. Instead Hodges offered a typical playhouse of 1595 and the second Globe of 1614 (Hodges 1953, 174, 177) for which Hodges had the authority of the Hollar engraving, validated by Shapiro. Hodges's decision not to reconstruct the first Globe appears to have been a reaction to Adams's over-confidence which went "far beyond the warrant of evidence" (Hodges 1953, 53). Hodges attempted to reconcile the De Witt drawing with the needs of the plays and with Kernodle's work on baroque decoration. His 'typical playhouse' of 1595 added no major features not present in De Witt. To provide a larger upper stage as well as a discovery space Hodges conjectured the use of a stage booth (Hodges 1953, 56-60).

Hodges rejected the staging principles of Adams's book and with them the need for a large upper stage:

. . . a theory which ascribes to the Elizabethans such hard-and-fast literal localization (upstairs rooms must be seen to be up, and downstairs rooms

seen to be down) strikes me as foreign to the general character of their drama. . . .

(Hodges 1953, 57)

Against certain aspects of Adams's model Hodges presented powerful arguments not raised elsewhere. According to Adams the underside of the heavens over the stage was at the height of, and perhaps connected to, the eaves of the circular gallery frame. This was necessary to give those in the top gallery a reasonable view of the upper stage (Adams, John Cranford 1943, 298-301). Hodges calculated that the posts required would be nearly thirty feet tall. If kept in classical proportions these would be impossibly massive, and yet

to make them of that height but slender, would be to add structural difficulties to architectural improbabilities; for two such tall, slender single-piece shafts of timber would not only be unsuitable for carrying a permanent weight but, moreover, would not be easy to get.

(Hodges 1953, 31-2)

Hodges implicitly rejected Adams's posited contiguity of the tiring house floors with the floors of the auditorium galleries. The Fortune contract specified that the stage and tiring house were to be "sett upp within the saide fframe", which Hodges read as proof that the auditorium and tiring house were not integrated (Hodges 1953, 42). Once these two structures were conceived as disconnected Hodges was free to set his upper stage, which was much smaller than Adams's, at a

height determined by utility: 7 or 8 feet above the stage so that a player could leap down without injury (Hodges 1953, 62-3)

A. M. Nagler offered a thorough critique of Adams's Globe as an inappropriate venue for the drama. Rejecting the possibility of making a precise reconstruction of the Globe ("the undertaking strikes me as hopeless" Nagler 1958a, 18) he sought to deduce from Shakespeare's plays, many of which were not first performed at the Globe, a general model of the 'Shakespearean stage'. Explicitly rejecting "Adams' syncretism", Nagler considered the only reliable evidence to be "the stage directions in the quartos and the First Folio of Shakespeare's plays" and the documents of Platter and Henslowe (Nagler 1958a, 19).

Nagler poured scorn on Adams's theory that many scenes were played in an inner stage and on a large upper stage. Instead of the inner stage Nagler argued for acceptance of the evidence of the De Witt drawing, which shows a flat wall, and for discoveries and concealments achieved using a portable booth (1958a, 26-32). In support of the use of a booth Nagler offered the evidence considered in the chapter two section '2.4 The Use of Stage Furniture'. Instead of Adams's large upper stage Nagler, like Hodges, suggested that the stage balcony shown in the De Witt, augmented at need by the solid upper surface of a stage booth placed against the back wall, was sufficient to meet all the staging needs of the drama (Nagler 1958a, 47-51).

A flurry of articles objecting to specific conjectures followed the publication of Adams's The Globe Playhouse. As part of a larger argument concerning the use of stage furniture Warren D. Smith noted that Adams's insistence on a high upper stage as the location for 'aloft' scenes caused a problem in his reconstruction of the original staging of Shakespeare's King Lear (Smith, Warren D. 1951, 24). The Folio text has a stage direction for Edgar to come out from his hiding place immediately before Edmund's call "Brother, a word, descend" (Shakespeare 1968, TLN 948-9). In his reconstruction of the staging of this moment Adams moved the stage direction down three lines to give Edgar time to descend from the upper stage (Adams, John Cranford 1948, 319). Smith argued that the need for rapid descent in several plays pointed towards a booth-like scaffolding serving the purposes for which Adams posited his large upper stage. George F. Reynolds's work on the 'tarras' was published the same year as Smith's article and also noted Adams's difficulty with the stage direction for Edgar's descent (Reynolds 1951, 99). Reynolds concluded that there was no evidence for Adams's large upper stage with its balustraded 'tarras', and that only Adams's misguided convictions about naturalistic staging supported its existence.

Many scholars noted that rejecting the well-appointed Globe described in Adams's work makes it difficult to explain the original staging of certain scenes in the drama. In place of the complexities of Adams's Globe scholars sought simple solutions relying on the features most certainly known to have

been typical of an Elizabethan playhouse. J. W. Saunders argued that scenes requiring players to be elevated might be played not between the main stage and the 'aloft' but instead between the yard and the main stage (Saunders 1954). This would solve the problem of sight lines for those in the yard which scholars had noted as a particular weakness of Adams's Globe, and would put Elizabethan dramatic practice in a direct line of descent from the Miracle plays which cast the audience as a throng in the action. Using the yard in this way Saunders 'solved' staging cruces in Henry 8 (holding back the crowd in 5.4), Antony and Cleopatra (the monument scenes), Pericles (the barge in 5.1), 1 Henry 6 (the walls of Orleans), Coriolanus (the trenches in 1.5), The Merry Devil of Edmonton (the stile in 4.2), The Merry Wives of Windsor (the stile in 3.1), and The Devil's Charter (the Tiber into which Caesar Borgia hurls his enemies in 3.5). Whenever there is need for entrances or exits which cannot easily be achieved by a stage door, argued Saunders, we should consider the possibility of use of the yard.

3.4 Richard Hosley's Demonstration of the De Witt Swan's Sufficiency for Globe Plays

The first sustained attack on the scholarship of Adams's book came in four articles by Richard Hosley (1957b; 1957a; 1959; 1960). One of two articles published in the same year demolished Adams's upper stage. Hosley showed that Shakespeare's use of a raised playing space was less frequent

than Adams claimed and that it usually involved engagement with the main stage (for example a conversation or an observation) which kept the players near to the balustraded front of the 'aloft' space. The De Witt drawing of the Swan shows an upper playing space sufficient, Hosley argued, for the staging needs of all of Shakespeare's plays (Hosley 1957b). It must be said that Hosley found fewer examples of aloft scenes than did Adams precisely because he only accepted scenes which demand a difference in elevation between two or more characters, and hence one conclusion validated the other. Hosley could not prove that Adams's placing of many scenes on the upper stage was mistaken, only that it was unnecessary.

In the other of his articles published in 1957, Hosley extended his analysis to include all public playhouse drama of the Shakespearian period (Hosley 1957a). Hosley drew a useful distinction between stage directions which refer to the playhouse fabric ('theatrical' stage directions) and those which invoke the fictional world in which the play is set ('fictional' stage directions). The former can only be distinguished by their inappropriateness to the fictional setting, as when "at another door" is used in an action set in a forest (Hosley 1957a, 17). Only this category of stage direction can give unambiguous information about the playhouse fabric, but Adams made no such distinction and frequently reified a reference to a fictional setting into playhouse architecture. Hosley rejected not only the Adams upper stage but also the curtained booth favoured by Hodges. Shakespeare's 1 Henry 6 and 3 Henry 6 contain many uses of stage doors for

exits and entrances which "might more easily have been managed by opening or closing a curtain" such as the carrying on of a man in a chair (Hosley 1957a, 19). Hosley concluded that such awkward business proves that no curtained discovery space was available, else it would have been used (1957a, 20). There cannot have been a booth with a solid top, such as posited by Hodges for use in 'aloft' scenes needing more space than that afforded by the stage gallery, or else the players would have adapted it to allow discovery of sick men in chairs. Here Hosley's reasoning is weak since discoveries might be avoided for reasons other than necessity. The awkward transportation of the sick might be considered more theatrically effective than discovery. Hosley's tabulated conclusion showed that only about every second play made any use of the stage balcony and those that did used it on average just twice in the course of the performance. Any spectators sitting there would not be greatly inconvenienced. The De Witt drawing could be taken as accurate in every essential detail, Hosley concluded, even if the persons in the stage balcony are thought to be spectators.

In "The Discovery Space in Shakespeare's Globe" Hosley argued against the existence of an inner stage by showing that there is no positive evidence to suggest such a space (Hosley 1959). The term 'study' appears in the stage directions of a few relevant plays, but Hosley argued that these were 'fictional' stage directions referring to the imagined location and not the playhouse fabric (1959, 197). To establish the body of relevant texts, Hosley produced a list of

thirty extant plays performed by the Chamberlain-King's men between the spring of 1599, when the Globe was built, and the autumn of 1608, when the King's men may have begun using the Blackfriars as well as the Globe.

(Hosley 1959, 36)

As discussed in the chapter one section '1.5 Establishing the Canon of 'Globe Plays'' and in appendix 1, Hosley's method can be criticized for its lack of concern for the provenance of the copy underlying the extant text. Of the 30 plays Hosley noted that 21 have no scenes containing discovery or concealment. By concealment Hosley meant the "deliberate closing of a discovery-space so as to hide a player or property from view of the audience" (Hosley 1959, 36), hence hiding behind the arras (as Polonius does in Shakespeare's Hamlet) does not count as concealment. Hosley gave many examples of scenes set in interior locations which begin with the players walking on, and argued that if this was an acceptable way to begin an interior scene then an important part of the argument for an inner stage--that it is needed to begin scenes set indoors--is invalidated. Hosley rejected as unsubstantiable the argument that the stage direction 'enter' frequently means 'is discovered' (Hosley 1959, 37). An analysis of the verifiable discoveries in the Globe plays indicated that these are "few and infrequent", are "essentially 'shows', or disclosures of a player or object invested with some special interest or significance", and "do

not involve any appreciable movement within the discovery-space" (Hosley 1959, 44-5).

Having rejected the inner stage, Hosley described other ways of effecting the discoveries in the Globe plays. As a starting point Hosley took the De Witt picture of the Swan and noted that "a discovery can be effected without curtains in a tiring-house whose doors open out upon the stage" (Hosley 1959, 41). However, we know from the letter of John Chamberlain describing a riot at the Swan (Chambers 1923c, 500-3) that it had curtains of some kind and these, perhaps in the form of a stage booth or attached to the tiring house facade, could be used to make a temporarily enclosed space for discoveries (Hosley 1959, 42-3). As with his work on the scenes played 'aloft', Hosley's work on the discovery space was intended to prove that the De Witt drawing shows all that is necessary to stage the drama of the period.

In "Was There a Music-Room in Shakespeare's Globe?" (Hosley 1960) Hosley used his list of Globe plays to show that Adams's third-level music room, which Hodges considered structurally infeasible, was also contradicted by the evidence of the drama. Most of the Globe plays have stage directions for music, but only in nine of the plays is the location specified. In these nine plays there are a total of seventeen such stage directions and in every case but one the music is described as coming from 'within'. The exception is the direction for "Musicke of the Hoboyes is vnder the Stage" in Antony and Cleopatra (Shakespeare 1968, TLN 2482; Hosley 1960,

118). Hosley examined the rare uses of 'within' to mean 'above' and concluded:

In hundreds of cases probably, and in scores demonstrably, the term within bears the meaning 'out of sight of the audience on the stage level of the tiring-house'. Evidence for this usage is so abundant that illustration would be superfluous.

(Hosley 1960, 116)

This suggests that there was no elevated music room at the Globe before 1609, the terminus ad quem of his list of Globe plays. Since inter-act music was used by the King's men at the Blackfriars sometime after 1608, Hosley supposed that they began using it also at the Globe, and suggested that part of the stage balcony could have been adapted as a music room (Hosley 1960, 119).

In these four articles Hosley demonstrated by a strict economy of evidence that the De Witt drawing of the Swan shows everything needed to stage all the plays written for the Globe, except for the hangings which we know the Swan had. This is an impressive achievement since it places the subject on the firmest evidential basis available: a contemporary drawing. The rejection of 20 plays from Hosley's list of 'Globe only' plays is argued in appendix 1, but this strengthens rather than weakens Hosley's thesis that the De Witt Swan need be supplemented with no scholarly luxuries. However, Hosley was later to claim that the Globe plays require a trap and a flight machine, as we shall see.

3.5 Were Elizabethan Playhouses Largely Alike?: W. F. Rothwell and Richard Southern

Showing that the playhouse depicted by De Witt is capable of staging all the plays written for the Globe goes some way towards establishing the Swan as a model for reconstructions of the Globe. Adams relied on an imagined correspondence between the dimensions of the stage given in the Fortune contract and those which derived from his hypotheses about the design of the Globe. Scholars wishing to make detailed hypothetical reconstructions are forced to turn to the Fortune contract because it is the only document to supply dimensions for the gallery bays of any playhouse of the period. It is reasonable to use these figures to reconstruct other playhouses if one believes that the outdoor playhouses of Elizabethan London were essentially alike.

Two articles published in Shakespeare Survey 12 (1959) marked the edges of the spectrum of opinion about the homogeneity of the playhouses. W. F. Rothwell argued that playing conditions were far from standardized and that, at least until 1598, players were required to adapt to the exigencies of a great variety of venues (Rothwell 1959). Since the conditions at court were very unlike the conditions on tour, and yet the players coped, it would be unreasonable to assume that the playhouses were alike. It was "an era of change and experimentations in matters dramatic and theatrical" and hence standardization of playhouse design is unlikely (Rothwell 1959, 20). By Rothwell's reasoning the De

Witt drawing of the Swan is good evidence for the Swan, but not for any other playhouse. Likewise the Fortune contract cannot be used as evidence for playhouses which did not share its square shape.

Printed in the same volume of Shakespeare Survey as Rothwell's article was Richard Southern's "On Reconstructing a Practicable Elizabethan Public Playhouse" (Southern 1959). Southern attempted to adjust the dimensions given in the Fortune contract to make them practicable for a 'round' (meaning many-sided polygonal) playhouse. Southern's greatest concern was for sightlines and his adjustments were made on the unproven premise that these were important. Because Hollar shows what appears to be a smoothly rounded exterior to the Globe, Southern's model had a sixteen-sided polygonal frame which, from a distance, would look almost circular. Southern's stage cover, stage posts, and frons scenae were derived from the De Witt drawing of the Swan with the exception of a small discovery space between the stage doors. This was justified, quite ingeniously

on the supposition that De Witt visited the theatre when the play being performed was one (of the many) which do not happen to call for use of a discovery-space, and thus the central curtain or arras was never parted in his presence, with the result that he supposed it a mere decorative hanging against a solid wall. (Southern 1959, 32)

The overall diameter of Southern's reconstruction was 80 feet, a figure derived from the Fortune contract. Also taken

from this source was the height of each gallery since "whatever we do not know about the theatre, we do know the gallery heights" (Southern 1959, 28). This was precisely the confidence about transference of dimensions from one playhouse to another that Rothwell sought to discredit. From the Hope contract and the Fortune contract Southern derived elbow-high partitions separating the galleries into "Twoe pennie roomes" which were the normal seating within the galleries. In the exclusive rooms nearest the tiring house the partitions extended to the ceiling for privacy and were turned obliquely towards the stage rather than being on radials. This was to improve sightlines from these closed-off 'gentlemen's rooms' which are mentioned in the Fortune and Hope contracts (Foakes & Rickert 1961, 306-10; Greg 1907, 19-22). Southern's analysis of the method of payment for access to different parts of the playhouse led him to posit a corridor running behind these rooms and connecting them to the tiring house. This provided the occupants of these rooms with a separate means of entry via the tiring house, and since the corridor terminated near the head of the steps marked 'ingressus' in the De Witt drawing, it also provided the players with a means of entering the yard during the performance (Southern 1959, 30). In an article in the same volume of Shakespeare Survey Allardyce Nicoll suggested that 'passing over the stage' meant mounting the stage from the yard, crossing it, and descending into the yard. This would require a means for the actors to get from the tiring house to the yard and back again, and Southern's

connecting corridor between the 'ingressus' and the tiring house provided it (Nicoll 1959, 53).

Southern sought to reconcile all the available evidence concerning all the playhouses in a single typical model. Using the gallery heights from the Fortune contract he found it impossible to fill the uppermost gallery with seats because the limited headroom allowed only the two rows nearest the front to be given sufficient rake to achieve a view of the stage (Southern 1959, 27). On the evidence of the label 'porticus' (covered walkway) beside the uppermost gallery in the De Witt drawing Southern posited a corridor running behind the seats in the space that was otherwise unusable, and he ambiguously described this corridor as "eminently suited for the special purposes of popular gallantry" (Southern 1959, 28). Southern's model combined the available pictorial evidence from Hollar and De Witt with the textual evidence from the Fortune and Hope contracts. The result was a playhouse which was more practical than Adams's Globe and which Southern openly declared was a composite founded on a premise of typicality.

3.6 Hosley's Globe

Although the date of inception of the Wanamaker project is officially marked by the formation of the International Shakespeare Globe Centre Trust in 1982 (Day 1996, 82), a convenient point at which to end an examination of the pre-Wanamaker scholarship concerning the Globe is Hosley's

extended paper of 1975. This brought together all his work to date on the subject of playhouses. Since the Hollar engraving appears to show that the second Globe was three times as wide as it was high, Hosley used the 33 feet height of the Fortune (derived from the heights of the galleries) to deduce that the second Globe was 100 feet wide (Hosley 1975a, 176-7). This evidence he transferred to the first Globe because the two Globes shared the same foundation. From the De Witt drawing Hosley deduced that the Swan was probably 24-sided (Hosley 1975a, 144-8), and in the absence of other evidence he considered this a convenient number for the first Globe also (Hosley 1975a, 177). The Globe's two exterior staircases are indicated by the Fortune contract's specification to copy them. For the design of the stage superstructure Hosley appeared willing to accept the discredited evidence of the Visscher engraving as having equal weight to the engraved panorama Civitas Londini by John Norden. In Norden's panorama the Globe has a gable-ended superstructural hut with its ridge line running along a radial of the playhouse 'circle', but an inset map in the lower right corner of the panorama shows the Globe having a hut like that shown by De Witt, of which the ridge-line runs along a chord of the playhouse 'circle' thus presenting one side of the roof, rather than a gable-end, to the yard (Foakes 1985, 10-3). This contradictory evidence within a single document was later to provoke contention amongst the academic advisors to the designers of the Wanamaker Globe. Hosley's response in the paper under discussion was to state the contradiction and describe the

possible designs of stage cover without committing himself to any one (Hosley 1975a, 180). In default of other external evidence Hosley suggested the hypothesis

that the stage and tiring-house of the First Globe were generally similar to the stage and tiring-house of the Swan. Thus the Globe would have had a large rectangular stage, a trap door set in the middle of the stage, a tiring-house with two doors opening on the stage, a gallery over the stage divided into boxes, and suspension gear housed within a stage superstructure consisting partly of the hut that we know of from pictorial sources and partly of a stage cover that may be postulated immediately beneath the hut, the front of the superstructure being supported by posts rising through the stage from the yard below. (Hosley 1975a, 181)

The only elements not derived from the De Witt drawing of the Swan were the trap which Hosley assumed was present at the Swan (Hosley 1975a, 165) and the suspension gear which provided the raison d'être for the superstructural hut shown by De Witt (1975a, 172).

As in his earlier work Hosley took the De Witt drawing to be the strongest available evidence for the design of the Globe and he attempted to reconcile it with the needs of the Globe plays. The list of Globe plays used by Hosley was the same as in his earlier work except for the unexplained exclusion of A Warning for Fair Women. Although three stage doors would be convenient for some scenes, Hosley concluded

that two would suffice for all the plays (Hosley 1975a, 182). The need for a discovery space of at least 14 square feet could be supplied by one of the stage doors and an arrangement of curtains (Hosley 1975a, 182-8, 195). The need for an 'aloft' playing space of at least 14 square feet could be satisfied by one or more of the 'boxes' in the gallery over the stage shown by De Witt (Hosley 1975a, 188-90, 195). There is no need for the music room to be visible or elevated, so its absence from De Witt's drawing is due to its being wholly within the tiring house (Hosley 1975a, 190-2). Suspension gear, by which Hosley meant a flying machine in the stage superstructure, is needed for A Larum for London and Antony and Cleopatra (Hosley 1975a, 192-3). Two plays require a post on the stage (Hosley 1975a, 193). Four plays require a trap which must be at least 4 feet square (Hosley 1975a, 193-5).

Hosley's additions to the features which are clearly visible in the De Witt drawing were two in number: the trap and the suspension gear. In support of the existence of the trap Hosley cited its use in four plays. In A Larum for London there is a "vault" into which a character is pushed and then is stoned (Anon. 1602, E4v-F1r). As discussed in the chapter one section '1.5 Establishing the Canon of 'Globe Plays'' and in appendix 1 there is no reason to believe that this play was written after the Globe was built. Moreover the word 'vault' is used in speech but the stage direction merely requires that "She pushes him downe". The scene could be staged using the yard as the vault, although the victim is apparently killed and so a means of removing the body from the yard would be

needed. Hosley's second example, the graveyard scene in Shakespeare's Hamlet, could also have been played using the yard for Ophelia's grave although it might be awkward to separate Hamlet and Laertes by force if they were far below the other players. As discussed in appendix 1, only the second quarto of Hamlet qualifies as a 'Globe play' and in its version of the burial scene there are no stage directions between "Enter K. Q. / Laertes and the corse" and "Exit Hamlet / and Horatio" (Shakespeare 1604, M4r-N1r). There is no reason to suppose that when Hamlet was first performed at the Globe the grave of Ophelia was represented by an open trap.

Hosley's third example of a play using a trap was Shakespeare's Macbeth in which apparitions must rise and fall, and the fourth was Barnes's The Devil's Charter in which devils "ascend" and "descend" (Barnes 1607, A2v). Both plays are excluded from the list of 'Globe plays' derived in appendix 1 and so there remain no reliable 'Globe plays' which require the presence of a trap. However, the trapwork in The Devil's Charter appears to require a trap with an elevator mechanism and is worth considering more closely because it suggests that it was at least plausible for a play to use unassisted ascent and descent. One of Hosley's claimed uses of the trap in the play is to represent the river Tiber into which Caesar Borgia casts first the Duke of Candie and then Frescobaldi (Barnes 1607, F4r). Saunders claimed that this could be played using the edge of the platform to represent the bridge and the yard the river below (Saunders 1954, 78). The other two uses of the trap claimed by Hosley involve the

ascent and descent of devils and these are harder to imagine without a trap (Barnes 1607, A2v, G1v-G2r). Hosley did not discuss whether the Globe's trap had a mechanical elevator, but one stage direction seems to involve the ascent of a player sitting on a property:

Fiery exhalations lightning thunder ascend a King,
with a red face crowned imperially riding upon a
Lion, or dragon: Alexander putteth on more perfume
and saith. (Barnes 1607, G1v)

It is difficult to imagine this being realized without an elevator mechanism because the player's legs must be visible upon the lion/dragon for him to be said to be riding it, and this would prevent him from walking up steps. It is possible that the lion property was fitted with false human legs so that the player's legs could manage the ascent, although the effect might be considerably more comic than seems appropriate. Were The Devil's Charter reliably associated with the Globe this would constitute evidence for the existence of an elevator mechanism at that playhouse. Such an elevator does not necessarily imply the presence of a machine. Nicola Sabbattini claimed to have managed ascents using four strong-armed men lifting a platform by brute force, and, on another occasion, by arranging a see-saw under the stage with one end supporting the platform which rose into the trap (Hewitt 1958, 123-4, 177). John Astington considered these methods impractical and concluded that the existing technology of elevator machines would have an obvious application in the understage area of a playhouse (Astington 1987).

In support of the existence of a flight machine Hosley cited the torturing of the English Factor by strappado and hanging in A Larum for London (Anon. 1602, D4r-D4v, E4r-E4v). Since the torture takes place in a street scene it is difficult to understand Hosley's insistence that a rope descended from the stage superstructure. When flight machinery is used for the descent of supernatural characters the rope is the means to a theatrical end and can be ignored by the spectators. In a scene of torture, however, the rope exists in the world of the play and may be carried on stage by the torturers. By throwing the rope around the balustrades of the stage balcony an impromptu hanging can be more easily accomplished than by Hosley's method, which also brings a possibly undesirable suggestion of supernatural assistance. Hosley described the action as being two uses of strappado (1975a, 192) but the second appears to be a combination of hanging and strappado:

Alu. That we will try, if roape and Gibbet holde,
.
.
.
So, let him downe, stand off and giue him ayre,
(Anon. 1602, E4r)

The torturer's uncertainty about the reliability of the method is more appropriate to an impromptu arrangement such as a rope thrown around a balustrade than it is to a playhouse flying mechanism, although the comment might be considered to be ironic. The victim goes on to refer to his "sicke faint speech" and his "faltering limmes distract and seuer'd" (Anon. 1602, E4v) which, together with the torturer's references to

the gibbet and shortage of breath, suggest that he was raised by a rope around his neck and then violently dropped. Without any explicit adjustment of the rope a second torturer gives the command to "Hang him out-right" and the stage direction concurs "Hang him". As we shall see, Hosley was strangely apt to misread references to hanging.

The only other use of suspension gear in the Globe plays offered by Hosley was the raising of Antony to the top of Cleopatra's monument in Shakespeare's Antony and Cleopatra for which Hosley summarized an argument he had made at length elsewhere (Hosley 1975a, 192-3; Hosley 1964). Hosley began by assuming that the top of the monument was represented by the playing space in the stage balcony (Hosley 1964, 62) without considering Saunders's suggestion that the scene could be played between the yard and the main stage (Saunders 1954, 72-4). Hosley argued that Shakespeare remained faithful to Plutarch's version of the event and hence only Cleopatra and her maids were engaged on hauling Antony. This ruled out the solution of a stage booth just higher than head height onto the top of which the soldiers could push Antony from below. Since the barrier of the stage balcony "would have been some fourteen feet above the stage, Cleopatra and her Maids must effect the heaving aloft by means of a rope" (Hosley 1964, 63). Hosley assumed that the rope went round a pulley rather than passing directly from the load into the hands of Cleopatra and her maids. The only difficulty was in deciding what kind of 'container' held Antony during the lift, and Hosley favoured a chair over a litter (Hosley 1964, 63-4).

Hosley thought the hoisting of Vandalle in a basket in Haughton's Englishmen for My Money (Haughton 1616, G3r-H4v) was similar and commented:

Presumably the lifting rope is attached to the basket by a halter connecting with its rim at four points, as in the case of a property listed in the Revels' Accounts: "One Baskett with iiii Eares to hang Dylligence in the play of Perobia".

(Hosley 1964, 65)

Hosley apparently did not notice that the Revels' Accounts noted payment of 3 shillings 4 pence for "A Iebbet to hang vp diligence" which suggests that the basket was part of the means by which a hanging scene was performed (Feuillerat 1908, 199-200). In an examination of gallows scenes in Elizabethan drama Astington explored the use of concealed harnesses to absorb the shock of sudden suspension (Astington 1983). Astington interpreted the "Basket with iiii Eares" as a wicker harness and suggested that canvas versions were also used.

Although Hosley's staging of the monument scenes in Antony and Cleopatra was plausible it had no place in his work on the design of the Globe since it was not the simplest solution. At this point in his reconstruction of the Globe's facilities Hosley dropped Ockham's razor and made the highly uncharacteristic comment that "it becomes possible to imagine the heaving aloft as accomplished by suspension gear" (Hosley 1975a, 192). The term "suspension gear" is unusual and might be interpreted as an avoidance of the more common term 'flight machine'. The strappado/hanging of the English Factor and the

raising of Antony are not like other examples of flying and Hosley might justly be accused of slipping a flight machine into his design without good reason. The evidence of A Larum for London can be rejected because there is no reason to believe that the play was written after the Globe was built. The raising of Antony in Antony and Cleopatra is highly relevant since it is a reliable 'Globe play'. But Hosley's conjectured staging of the scene is no more likely than other conjectured stagings which do not require a flight machine, and Hosley ought not to have included one in a hypothesis of the minimum equipment needed to stage the Globe plays. It appears that his minimalist methodology was in danger of throwing out a feature that Hosley wished the Globe to possess, and so he found a way of making the internal evidence substantiate his desire. This is essentially the error into which Adams fell and of which Hosley was fiercely critical.

Hosley believed that the stage superstructure existed primarily to house the flight machine (Hosley 1975a, 172). Only two plays, A Larum for London (Anon. 1602, F3v) and The Devil's Charter (Barnes 1607, F3v) need a post on the stage. In each case the evidence can be rejected because these are not reliable 'Globe plays' and in any case a portable property would suffice. It is therefore possible that there were no stage posts, stage superstructure, flying machine, and no trap at the Globe. Only Hosley's insistence on the value of the De Witt drawing underpins his assertion of stage posts and stage superstructure. Rigorous application of Hosley's minimalist method which takes the De Witt drawing as the highest

authority on the design of Elizabethan playhouses has the inevitable consequence of producing a Globe which is functionally identical to the Swan. This methodological dead end is antithetical to the principles of the Wanamaker project which has at its core a conviction that the Globe was special.

3.7 The 'Evolution' of Playhouse Design

Glynn Wickham posited a radical disjunction between the Swan depicted by De Witt and all later playhouses. Wickham argued that the origins of the playhouses lay in multi-purpose arenas in which 'play' meant a range of entertainments including animal torture and formalized combat (Wickham 1963, 153-72). Drama moved out of doors and into these arenas in the second half of the sixteenth century, but the structures retained their multi-use capabilities (Wickham 1963, 299-323). The privy council order of 1597 was intended to put the theatrical companies on a new footing: to serve the monarch (Wickham 1972, 9-29). For this reason we cannot rely on the De Witt drawing of the Swan for information about the Globe because

whatever else the first Globe and the first Fortune may have looked like, they were not replicas of any of their predecessors, for their erection was licensed on the express understanding that they should not be. They were to be the start of a new deal. Each was to be the permanent home of a single company of actors; the Theater was demolished; use

of the Swan was denied to actors, and so would the use of the Curtain had it not been for the awkward third company that lacked a base but possessed the Queen's blessing. (Wickham 1972, 30)

The new template for playhouse design would be court conditions since

Only madmen would deliberately prepare for Court performances in conditions totally different from those at Court: for not only would every move have to be reblocked to meet radically different stage and scenic conditions, but the loss of income to companies better prepared would be too serious to contemplate. (Wickham 1972, 29).

A possible objection to Wickham's assertion is that 'blocking' might be an irrelevant notion concerning movement around the stage. Conventions of movement might have regulated traffic so that the change in conditions was important.

Wickham shared the belief of Hodges, Southern, and Hosley that the outdoor playhouses developed from the habit of travelling companies of setting up their portable 'booth' stages within existing animal baiting rings and inn-yards (Wickham 1972, 95-109; Hodges 1950, Hodges 1953, 34-50; Southern 1959, 30-4; Hosley 1975a, 124-32), although Wickham thought that they would prefer the inside of an inn wherever possible (Wickham 1963, 186-96). The suitability of an animal baiting ring as a location within which to place a 'booth' stage and give a performance was comprehensively refuted by Oscar Brownstein (Brownstein 1979). If animal baiting rings

were suitable for drama, argued Brownstein, Burbage would have leased one of the several available in 1576 rather than build the Theatre. Even if Burbage had personal reasons for not doing so somebody would have tried it, and yet we have no evidence that plays were given in animal baiting rings. It used to be thought that the Swan was a converted baiting arena, or was dual-purpose, but this idea arose merely because the Elizabethans sometimes used 'Paris Garden' as an alternative name for the Beargarden and the Swan (but not the Beargarden) was in the manor of Paris Garden (Brownstein 1979, 84). An analysis of the different needs of the two entertainments makes it clear that providing a single venue capable of both required careful arrangements: the heavy grate needed to keep the spectators safe from the animals would make viewing a play impossible. Only with the elevation of the lowest gallery could the heavy grate be dispensed with. But the early animal baiting rings were clearly just that: rings outside of which stood the spectators (Brownstein 1979, 85-91). Only with the construction of the Hope was a dual-purpose arena achieved by raising the spectators high enough to be safe from the animals (Brownstein 1979, 91-2).

Brownstein's work was in a long tradition of scholarship which negated prevailing theories about the origins of the London outdoor playhouses without providing any new ones. It is quite possible that the origins of the outdoor playhouses will never be known, but for the purposes of building a reconstruction an uncertain positive hypothesis is of more value than a scholarly refutation. The tension between

scholarly work which diminishes certainty and that which seeks to account for the origins of the playhouse is formidable and it frequently found expression in the symposia and conferences which took place during the 1970s, 80s, and 90s in connection with the attempt to materially reconstruct the Globe. With this project the pace of scholarly work on the Globe increased. Having noted that Hosley's paper of 1975 represented what might be broadly characterized as a scholarly consensus on the design of the Globe, we must now turn to the Wanamaker project.

CHAPTER 4. RECONSTRUCTING THE GLOBE PLAYHOUSE PART 2:
SCHOLARSHIP OF THE WANAMAKER PROJECT

When making a building rather than imagining one, considerations of interior decoration and facilities such as flight machines and traps can be postponed until the main structure is in place. The Wanamaker project had first to determine the size and shape of the proposed reconstruction of the Globe. Many of the foremost scholars of the Elizabethan playhouse have been directly involved with the project. Informal meetings between Glynne Wickham, Richard Southern, and Sam Wanamaker began in 1969 (Day 1996, 76-9). Southern broke off his connection with the project in 1970 and in 1971 his successor Richard Hosley did the same. C. Walter Hodges replaced Hosley but left after disagreement about which Globe, the first or the second, should be reconstructed (Day 1996, 80-2). Nothing was achieved by the Wanamaker project during the 1970s, but in 1982 the International Shakespeare Globe Centre (ISGC) Trust was formed and Andrew Gurr and John Orrell became formally responsible for the practical scholarship upon which the reconstruction would be based (Day 1996, 82-5).

4.1 Reading the Hollar Sketch: C. Walter Hodges

Hodges's association with the project led him to consider the Hollar sketch and engraving (Foakes 1985, 29-30, 36-8) in detail and to produce a book calling for a reconstruction of the second Globe (Hodges 1973). Hodges derived the height of

the Globe by comparing it to the neighbouring houses represented by Hollar "which we may suppose to average about 25 feet to their roof ridges--a safe calculation for a two-storey timber house of the period" and this produced a figure of 31 feet from ground to eaves (Hodges 1973, 49). So low a playhouse could not accommodate the 12 feet, 11 feet, and 9 feet high galleries of the Fortune contract, so Hodges speculated that the greater width of the Globe allowed the sight-lines to be more nearly horizontal and hence the galleries could be less high: 11 feet, 10 feet, and 9 feet (Hodges 1973, 48-9). The extra 1 foot is accounted for by the brick foundation upon which the first gallery rests. Reviewing Hodges's book, Hosley pointed out that there would also be a 1 foot groundsill, and that the Fortune contract thus tells us that it was 34 feet high: $1 + 1 + 12 + 11 + 9$ (Hosley 1975b, 142). Hodges's posited height of 31 feet and Hosley's of 34 feet are lower and upper limits of plausible heights for the second Globe if it was broadly similar to the Fortune.

4.2 Ad quadratum Relationships in the Playhouse Contracts and Pictures: John Orrell

Orrell's first published article on the Globe was concerned with the construction practices of its builder, Peter Street (Orrell 1980). Orrell argued that since Street was illiterate (he signed the Fortune contract with just his mark) his work should be considered within the tradition of medieval and Tudor practice rather than continental

innovation. Street was a surveyor, not an architect, and the primary tool of his trade was the 16½ feet 'rod' and the 'three-rod line' marked off in rod lengths (Orrell 1980, 140-1). Orrell noted that the 43 feet width of the Fortune stage is approximately the altitude of an equilateral triangle whose sides are each 3 rods in length. Equilateral triangles are the basic unit of division used by surveyors because their area is conveniently half the base multiplied by the height. Using just the three-rod line and the well-known technique of ad quadratum geometry Street could have constructed a groundplan for the foundations of the Fortune which would provide the external and internal dimensions of 80 feet and 55 feet as specified in the contract (Orrell 1980, 143-4). Orrell assumed that the 55 feet width of the yard implied a centre-to-centre distance between posts of 56 feet 1 inch, because 13 inches were allowed for the thickness of the 10 inch square posts and 1.5 inch thick boards which lined the inner wall. Likewise, the 80 feet external dimension implied a centre-to-centre distance of 79 feet 2 inches (Orrell 1980, 141). Ad quadratum geometric progression works by inscribing a circle around a given square and then producing a further square from four tangents of this circle. The ratio of the widths of the two squares is $1:\sqrt{2}$. The ratio of the areas of the two squares is 1:2, and this is the ratio of the two squares (one 56 feet 1 inch square, the other 79 feet 2 inches square) which formed the yard and outer wall of the Fortune (Orrell 1980, 146). This correspondence strongly suggests that Street used the ad quadratum method.

Because the second Globe was built on the same foundation as the first it must have shared the same groundplan (Orrell 1980, 147). This allowed Orrell to deduce the size of the first Globe from the preliminary sketch made by Hollar for his 'Long View' of London which shows the second Globe. Orrell ingeniously measured the width of the yard of Hollar's Globe "by subtracting the ridge-to-ridge width of the roof from the overall width of the round, doubling the difference and subtracting that from the overall width" (Orrell 1980, 148). Without considering the scale of the representation a comparison of the width of the yard with the width of the overall structure yielded a ratio of 1:1.397 which is sufficiently close to $1:\sqrt{2}$ to suggest that the second Globe was constructed ad quadratum. If this is true of the second Globe it is also true of the first Globe which had the same groundplan. Having determined the design method, Orrell sought the precise dimensions of the Globe in Hollar's sketches. Orrell rejected the principle of direct transference of gallery heights from the Fortune contract, but noted that the contract for the Hope specified that its first gallery was to be 12 feet high. This is the same as the first gallery of the Fortune, and it is fair to assume that the other galleries at the Hope were the same height as those at the Fortune. This would make the Hope 34 feet high to the plates. Hollar's sketch shows the Hope in the same view as the second Globe. Although the Hope is further away it is drawn exactly the same height, which must mean that the Hope was bigger than the Globe. Thus if the Hope was 34 feet high, the Globe is more

likely to been 31 feet high, as Hodges claimed, rather than 34 feet high as Hosley maintained. Once we know the height of the second Globe represented by Hollar we have the scale of the sketch and can work out the width, which Orrell calculated to be 100 feet. This yields a centre-to-centre diameter between opposite main posts of 99 feet. If ad quadratum principles were used throughout this would give a yard of 70 feet between centres and assuming the stage was also ad quadratum it would be 49 feet 6 inches wide, which is exactly the length of Street's three-rod line (Orrell 1980, 150). This correspondence suggested to Orrell that he had found the construction method used by Street. Moreover, although we do not know the number of sides to the polygonal frame, a multiple of four would conveniently allow the sides of the stage to meet the principal posts. Orrell guessed that 24 was a reasonable number which kept the outer wall of each bay down to a manageable 13 feet. In a final note at the end of this article Orrell made the tantalizing comment that since writing it he had "developed a new way of measuring from Hollar's sketch". This new method was to be extremely important for the Wanamaker project.

4.3 Hollar's Use of a Perspective Glass: John Orrell

Orrell presented his ground-breaking work at a symposium held at Wayne State University in Detroit to discuss reconstruction of the second Globe (Orrell 1981). The key to the new approach was a reconstruction of the method Hollar

used to make his preliminary sketches. Orrell noticed that the companion piece of the view of Southwark, a view looking eastward towards Greenwich, lacked artistic organization and he wondered if this could be due to the use of a drawing frame, which would produce almost photographic accuracy at the expense of beauty. The proper test of this hypothesis required that Orrell locate at least four landmarks in the sketch which could also be located on a reliable modern map of the same area of London. Lines were drawn on the map from the vantage point, the tower of St Saviour's church, to each of the landmarks and beyond. If the three intervals between four landmarks on the sketch could be lined up with the intervals between these four radiating lines on the map this would prove that Hollar's sketch was constructed using a drawing frame (Orrell 1981, 109-10). In the event Orrell was able to line up five landmarks in this way and he emphasized that this indicated an accuracy far beyond the reach of artistic judgment:

. . . the precision here is entirely a matter of rendering a plane intersection of the visual pyramid. He is not putting down on paper a simple record of the relative distances apart of the landmarks as seen radially from his point of view. Such a landscape presupposes a more or less segmental arc of intersection and results in intervals quite different from those yielded by the plane intersection. (Orrell 1981, 110-11)

Orrell's method of lining up the landmarks in the sketch with the radials drawn on a map from the vantage point to those landmarks not only established the accuracy of the Hollar sketch, but also yielded a precise figure for the scale. Since the sketch represents a picture plane which intersects the radials from the landmarks at a given angle (the angle to which the sketch had to be turned to make all the landmarks line up), an imagined slice through a given landmark at the same angle relative to north would be simply a scaled up version of that landmark's image in the sketch. If the distance between that landmark and the tower of St Saviour's is known then the principle of similar triangles will yield the width of the imagined slice through the given landmark. Orrell demonstrated his method using scale drawings but performed his calculations using trigonometry (Orrell 1981, 115). The trigonometric method is explained in the appendix 4 section '12.1 Orrell's Trigonometric Analysis of the Hollar Sketch'. Since the distance between St Saviour's and the Hope and Globe theatres is known, because their locations have been determined, the Hollar sketch yields the real dimensions of the playhouses. After an allowance for anamorphosis--a distortion unique to circular objects such as columns and amphitheatres far from the centre line--Hollar's sketch tells us that the Hope was 99.29 feet wide and the Globe was 103.35 feet wide. Orrell calculated the margin of error in the sketch using landmarks of known size and found it was $\pm 2\%$. Rather than assume that the Hope and Globe were different sizes,

Orrell decided that they had a common width of about 101 or 102 feet (Orrell 1981, 116).

4.4 Deriving the Shape of the Globe from the Hollar Sketch: Richard Hosley

Also present at the Wayne State University symposium was Richard Hosley, and his paper published in the proceedings indicated that he appreciated the importance of Orrell's work on Street's use of the ad quadratum technique and Hollar's use of a drawing frame (Hosley 1981b). Indeed, Hosley pounced on the contradiction between the two procedures: a playhouse 103.35 feet across cannot be made by ad quadratum methods based on a three-rod line. Taking full advantage of the $\pm 2\%$ margin of error reduces the width to 101.29 feet, which is still too great for the construction method Orrell had proved was Street's practice. Hosley chose to accept Orrell's original dimension of 99 feet between post centres as the width of the Globe and to see if other aspects of the Hollar sketch and engraving could yield the number of sides and the size of the stage.

A symmetrical regular polygon must have an even number of sides if the line of symmetry is to pass through corners (bay intersections in a playhouse) and, for each quadrant to be the same as the other three quadrants (a convenient symmetry for construction), the number of sides must be divisible by four. This suggests that 16, 20, and 24 sides are likely candidates. 18 and 22-sided polygons cannot be produced by Euclidean

geometry in which a circle is subdivided using only a compass and rule (or a builder's line and stakes) so these are unlikely shapes. For reasons which will become clear, Hosley disregarded the possibility of a 20-sided Globe. Hodges had made diagrammatic projections from Hollar's engraving and sketch which showed the likely groundplan of a circular playhouse based on each (Hodges 1973, 38-9) and Hosley noted that these showed that the staircases were on radials which were either 90 degrees apart (the engraving) or 100 degrees apart (the sketch), measured at the centre of the playhouse. Assuming that each staircase was centered on a bay to avoid conflict with a principal post, a 16-sided playhouse can have staircases 90 degrees apart (two bays separated by three others) or $112\frac{1}{2}$ degrees apart (two bays separated by four others). A 24-sided playhouse can provide staircases 90 degrees apart (two bays separated by five others) or 105 degrees apart (two bays separated by six others). Preferring the lesser discrepancy between the pictures and a prospective plan, Hosley concluded that this reasoning supported the 24-sided groundplan (Hosley 1981b, 88-9).

Turning to the number of windows in the Globe, Hosley argued that these would probably have been regularly spaced with each bay having the same number. In the sketch Hollar shows 9 windows, and room for 2 or 3 more, to the left of the staircase and 7, with room for 2 or 3 more, to the right of it. In the engraving Hollar fills in the space he left and actually puts all 12 windows to the left but, because of the heavy shading, he shows none to the right. Hosley decided that

Hollar saw 12 windows to the left and 9 or 10 to the right (Hosley 1981b, 90). Thus one half of the playhouse, minus one bay hidden behind the staircase, had 21 or 22 windows. In a 16-sided playhouse 7 windowed bays would be visible and if each bay had 3 windows then 21 windows would be seen. In a 24 sided playhouse 11 windowed bays would be visible and if each had two windows then 22 windows would be seen. There appears to be nothing to choose between these two hypotheses since both fit the observation. But in the first hypothesis the gap between the left edge of the staircase and the window nearest it would be more than twice as large as Hollar shows it in either the sketch or the engraving (Hosley 1981b, 93-5). For a 24 sided playhouse the gap between the left edge of the staircase and the window nearest it would be about right for the sketch and only 30% too large for the engraving (Hosley 1981b, 96-9). Again Hosley offered the lesser discrepancy as evidence for a 24-sided rather than a 16-sided Globe. A 20-sided Globe would show 9 windowed bays and, assuming a regular number of windows per bay, it would be impossible for Hollar to have seen 21 or 22 windows (Hosley 1981b, 102n4).

Hosley used a conjecture about the shape of the stage to show that this too made a 24-sided Globe more likely than a 16-sided one. Noting that the Fortune's stage was, according to the contract, 43 feet wide by 27½ feet deep, Hosley suggested that this ratio of width of depth, approximately 1.5:1, was traditional. Inigo Jones's drawings for the Cockpit Drury Lane show its stage to be 22½ feet wide by 15 feet deep, and likewise the temporary stage erected in the Hall at

Woodstock was 24 feet wide by 16 feet deep (Hosley 1981b, 97). All three stages indicate that the normal ratio of width to depth was 1.5:1.

Hosley gave the depth of the Fortune stage as 27½ feet without noting that this is true only if the tiring house was as deep as the lowest gallery of the auditorium (12½ feet). The stage is specified as extending to the middle of the yard which was 55 feet square, and the overall playhouse was 80 feet square, which means the auditorium galleries were 12½ feet from inner wall to outer wall. If the tiring house was also 12½ feet from inner wall to outer wall then the stage would indeed have been 27½ feet deep, but the dimensions of the tiring house are not given in the contract. The upper auditorium galleries overhung the lowest gallery--the contract specifies a "Jutty forwards" (Foakes & Rickert 1961, 307)--and it is by no means clear to which gallery depth, if any, the tiring house was matched. Hosley's indecision concerning the positioning of the back wall of the stage at the Fortune is indicated by his change of mind between the first and second parts of an extended article on the design of that playhouse (Hosley 1978, 6-9; Hosley 1981a, 14).

Hosley interpreted the De Witt drawing as showing that the stage at the Swan extended to the middle of the yard, as did the Fortune's stage (Hosley 1981b, 97). Hence it was likely the Globe's stage did the same. The Globe's tiring house probably occupied a whole number of bays rather than having partitions erected between principal posts and so, assuming that it did not project into the yard, the frons

scenae was a chord drawn between principal posts of the yard wall. If the stage was rectangular its rear edge was either the same chord, or else it was needlessly narrower than the frons scenae. Assuming that the rear edge of the stage ran between principal posts (or, more precisely, between secondary posts tied to the principal posts to avoid overworking the latter), and the stage extended to the centre of the yard, the 16-sided and 24-sided configurations each offer a set of possible stage sizes, and hence a set of ratios of width to depth. Hosley calculated that a 16-sided Globe could at best achieve a 1.336:1 ratio of width to depth, but at a 24-sided Globe the stage could be made to have a ratio of 1.535:1 (Hosley 1981b, 100). If secondary posts tied to the principal posts were properly located and made the right thickness this ratio could be improved to exactly 1.5:1 for a stage 41½ feet wide by 27 feet 8 inches deep (Hosley 1981b, 104-6). This is only possible if the building had 24 sides and the tiring house occupied five bays. Having used three independent means to determine that the Globe had 24 sides, Hosley concluded by determining the width of the staircases depicted by Hollar as 11 feet on the assumption that the overall width of the playhouse was 99 feet 10 inches between points (or 99 feet between post centres). Subtracting the presumed 10 inch width of the posts supporting each side of the staircase produced an interior width of 9 feet 4 inches which is insufficient to rise 11 feet between floors in one set of steps. Therefore the steps were winding and Hosley posited two parallel runs 3 feet wide, making the groundplan for each staircase 11 feet by 6

feet 10 inches (including one 10 inch square post in front of the staircase) on the outside and 9 feet 4 inches by 6 feet on the inside (Hosley 1981b, 106-7). The mysteries and uncertainties of the Globe playhouse were for the first time since John Cranford Adams's work being supplanted by what appeared to be deduction and precise calculation. Twenty years after he had published a series of articles demolishing the earlier certainties, and calling for Ockham's razor to be the primary tool of the reconstructor, Hosley began to offer dimensions for the second Globe.

4.5 Refining the Triogometric Reading of the Hollar Sketch and Determining the Orientation of Playhouse Stages: John Orrell

Orrell published his work on the Globe in a book called The Quest for Shakespeare's Globe (Orrell 1983b). Orrell was clearly aware of the contradiction between his work on ad quadratum based on the three-rod line and his measurement of the second Globe as 103.35 feet wide $\pm 2\%$. In the book Orrell provided the arithmetical detail absent from the earlier article and, although his allowance for the distortion of anamorphosis remained 3.64%, his final figure for the width of the Globe was revised down to 102.35 feet $\pm 2\%$ (Orrell 1983b, 102). An explanation of Orrell's trigonometric calculations appears in the appendix 4 section '12.1 Orrell's Trigonometric Analysis of the Hollar Sketch'. The reason for the reduction by 1 foot was that Orrell had earlier believed the Hollar

sketch to be 0.306m wide (Orrell 1981, 116n9) but later revised this to 0.309m (Orrell 1983b, 89). As before, Orrell used the margin of error in Hollar's sketch, $\pm 2\%$, to argue that the Hope and the Globe were probably the same diameter of "a few inches over a round 100 ft" (Orrell 1983b, 104). In support of this Orrell offered an analysis which suggested that the engraving which Hollar made from the sketch shows a conscious effort to compensate for the anamorphic distortion, which affects the Globe more than the Hope, in order to make them appear to be the same size. Orrell believed the "inveterate sightseer" knew the Hope and Globe to be the same size and wanted to articulate this fact in the engraving even though the sketch, because of its method of construction, tended to obscure it (Orrell 1983b, 106). The heights of the buildings cannot be accurately measured from the Hollar sketch because the bases of both playhouses are obscured by other objects and the point where the walls meet the ground cannot be determined. Making a rough estimate of where the bases should be, Orrell found the heights of both playhouses to be approximately 32 feet, which is close to the presumed 33 feet of the Fortune (Orrell 1983b, 105).

Although Orrell gave a new single figure for the width of the Globe as measured from the Hollar sketch the variation in the ink lines on the paper allowed a range of measurements which result in a range of calculated widths, from a minimum of 101.37 feet to a maximum of 103.32 feet (Orrell 1983b, 101-2). To each of these can be applied the $\pm 2\%$ margin of error found in other landmarks in the sketch, and so Orrell

was able to reconcile this work with his research on ad quadratum practices. If the margin of error is applied to the lower figure it is possible to imagine a Globe that is 99 feet between post centres, and 100 feet from outer wall to outer wall, which was the size suggested by the use of ad quadratum progression from a stage 49½ feet wide (Orrell 1983b, 125).

The detail of the superstructure over the stage in Hollar's sketch is particularly clear and, assuming that the fascia board of the cover is parallel to the front edge of the stage, it is possible to deduce the alignment of the stage. Orrell's calculations of the alignment of the stage are explained in the appendix 4 section '12.2 Determining the Orientation of the Stage from Hollar's Sketch'. The Hollar sketch indicated that the Globe stage faced 48.25 degrees east of north, which is very nearly the bearing on which the sun would have risen at midsummer in Southwark (Orrell 1983b, 154-7). Orrell was unable to show that the Globe was intentionally aligned with the rising sun, but it was clear that in the middle of the afternoon the stage would be entirely shaded. With the size, shape, and orientation of the second Globe firmly established, the data were available to design a reconstruction of the first Globe. Orrell applied his methods to the views of the north bank found in the panoramas Civitas Londini by John Norden (Foakes 1985, 10-1) and Londinum Florentiss[il]ma Britanniae Urbs by J. C. Visscher (Foakes 1985, 18-9) and found that both displayed the accuracy associated with a survey made by topographical glass (Orrell 1983b, 50-62). Visscher's panorama was certainly dependent on

Norden's for some of its details (Shapiro 1948) but both it and the Norden panorama might also be indebted to an earlier survey now lost. The representations of the south bank in both panoramas are grossly inaccurate, with the Visscher work being nothing more than a perspective rendering of the false information contained in earlier maps by Braun and Hogenberg and by Agas (Orrell 1983b, 32-40; Foakes 1985, 2-4, 18-9).

4.6 The First ISGC Seminar (1983): Justifying the Position of the Academic Committee

On 29 March 1983 ISGC held a seminar at the London offices of Pentagram Design, the architects to the project, which Orrell opened by outlining the agreed principles and the remaining uncertainties (Orrell 1983a). The decisions to make the Globe 99 feet in diameter (between post centres), using ad quadratum proportions, and with 24 sides were arrived at from the arguments in Orrell's book The Quest for Shakespeare's Globe. Orrell summarized the argument for the Globe stage facing 48 east of north, which would mean that it was in complete shade during afternoon performances, even at midsummer (Orrell 1983a, 4). The first storey of the auditorium had to be made at least twice the height of a man because there must be an entrance tunnel for the yard and a walkway around the back of the lowest gallery (Orrell 1983a, 5). The Fortune's 13 feet allowance for the lower storey would not do for modern-sized people. Although there is evidence for

the progressive collection of the entry fee (a penny for the yard, then a further penny for the galleries) it is ambiguous and the new Globe would have one entrance door at the foot of each of two stair turrets, as well as emergency fire exits. At an entrance a spectator would choose either to go into the yard or to climb the stairs to the galleries (Orrell 1983a, 6). The provision of windows in the auditorium was as yet undecided. The new Globe would keep the 18 inch fore-and-aft size that was apparently standard for theatre seats at the time but because these are too narrow for modern people two such spaces would be devoted to each person (Orrell 1983a, 7). The need for a single trap large enough to take a coffin was accepted, but its means of opening was undecided and no mention was made of an elevator platform (Orrell 1983a, 7).

At the seminar Orrell announced that the width of the stage was to be determined by a chord across five bays of the yard, which would be 42 feet 10 inches (Orrell 1983a, 7). The abandonment of the 49½ feet width based on ad quadratum principles and Street's three-rod line, for which Orrell had so convincingly argued (Orrell 1980), was not justified in the published proceedings of the seminar. It was noted, however, that if this stage reached to the middle of the yard it would be 42 feet 10 inches by 26½ feet (measured in clear floor space, not on post centres), which makes a rectangle that is also a Golden Section. This term was not explained by Orrell but refers to any two numbers in the approximate ratio 1.61803:1. This unique ratio, known to the ancients, governs any two numbers whose difference is in the same ratio to the

smaller as the smaller number is to the larger. The frons scenae was to be as high as the stage was deep to bring the same proportionality of Golden Section to the entire volume beneath the heavens (Orrell 1983a, 8). The floors behind the frons scenae were also set by Golden Section at 13 feet 3 inches for the lower storey and 10 feet 7 inches for the upper storey, with a small extension space of 2 feet 8 inches. It is important to note that these floors were not matched to the heights of the auditorium galleries. Hodges's insight that the tiring house was a separate structure not integrated with the rest of the frame (Hodges 1953, 42, 62-3) was to be materialized.

The decoration of the frons scenae was described as a set of options each with particular advantages and associated problems. Using hangings, or copying the pilasters of the Fortune and the turned columns of the Hope, would interfere with the ability to fold the stage doors flat against the frons scenae (Orrell 1983a, 8-10). The frons scenae was to be in a single plane but whether it was to be pierced with two or three doors remained unresolved. The heavens were to be plastered because the Fortune contract calls for this, but the design of the superstructural huts was not resolved. The tentative plans of the new Globe held by Pentagram relied on Visscher's engraving rather too heavily for their superstructural huts and at this seminar Orrell offered an evolutionary theory which accommodated the best pictorial evidence. The first Globe superstructure had a single-gabled roof with a ridge running radially from the centre of the

building, and the second Globe simply doubled this design to produce the famous 'M' superstructure shown by Hollar (Orrell 1983a, 10). There was no need for a two-storey room over the stage cover as Visscher shows since the winch could be located behind, rather than above, the loading station. Putting the winch in this location would allow a superstructure like that shown in Norden's panorama Civitas Londini (Foakes 1985, 10-1) and would also give the stage hands a better view of their work. Orrell appears to have been influenced by Hosley's staging of the monument scenes in Antony and Cleopatra (Hosley 1964) in his assertion that the trap in the heavens, from which the flying lines descended, "must have been upstage close to the plane of the frons so that ropes from it could be manipulated in the balcony" (Orrell 1983a, 11).

Prior to the seminar Gurr circulated to eminent Shakespeare scholars a questionnaire about the new Globe and at the seminar he presented the conclusions drawn from their responses. Taking into account the need which Orrell had noted for the first gallery to be twice the height of a doorway, the first auditorium ceiling heights were set at 14 feet 9 inches, 10½ feet, and 9 feet, making the floor-to-floor intervals 15½ feet, 11 feet 3 inches, and 9 feet 9 inches to the plates. This would make the overall height to the plates 36½ feet. This is 2 feet 9 inches taller than the Fortune and considerably taller than Orrell's approximated measurement from the Hollar sketch (Gurr 1983, 14). This was the first numerical choice which deviated from the known facts of playhouse design in order to meet modern needs and it marks

the moment when mere recovery of historical fact became inadequate to the task in hand. Gurr announced that, despite the convenience for drainage, there was insufficient evidence to support the provision of a rake to the yard. Although Gurr described as inescapable the "structural integration" of the tiring house with the main frame, the acceptance of the principle that the floors of one were not to be contiguous with those of the other indicated that only main posts were to be shared (Gurr 1983, 15). That is to say, the integration was in the vertical plane only. The height of the stage was set at 5 feet and there was to be no rail because the evidence for these comes from indoor playhouses only. The edges of the stage were to be paled in underneath without any openings to provide access to the yard from under the stage, nor were any means of entering the stage from the yard to be provided (Gurr 1983, 16). A single trap about 6 feet by 3 feet was to be made in the middle of the stage, with the long side parallel to the tiring house front and with the hinges at stage front. No mention was made of an elevator mechanism, but a ladder to help actors ascend was envisaged (Gurr 1983, 16).

Two stage posts would support the stage cover and be placed far enough forward and far enough apart "to afford clear views of the tiring house doors". A useful rejoinder to this comment would have been 'from where?', since the positioning of the posts caused controversy later. Specifying its differences from the Globe, the Fortune contract called for pilastered columns, so the stage posts at the Globe would instead be turned and, to keep them slender, proportioned in

the Corinthian order (Gurr 1983, 16). The tiring house would occupy five of the playhouse's 24 bays and its front would thus most easily be divided into five sections, like a hall screen. A central arched doorway of at least 6 feet wide by 9 feet high would be filled with double doors, and two flanking doorways would have single doors and straight lintels (Gurr 1983, 17). This departure from the evidence of the De Witt drawing showed the influence of Orrell's conviction that the evidence of hall screens and of indoor playhouse device was more valuable than that of De Witt. Throughout the project Hosley maintained that the opposite was true. The arched 9 feet central doorway made the lowest possible height for the stage balcony 10 feet above the stage and, since this minimum would not provide a "satisfactory architectural treatment", the decision was taken to set the balcony floor 13½ feet above the stage, or 18½ feet above the yard. Following the De Witt drawing, the space behind the balcony was to be divided into five partitioned rooms which followed the five-part division of the rest of the frons (Gurr 1983, 19). These rooms would be used for the 'above' playing space where needed and also for the 'lords rooms', but because modern building regulations require a strict separation of back-stage and front-of-house, the paying audience would not be allowed into them (Gurr 1983, 20). The stage cover would be set at the height of the rail of the top auditorium gallery, 30 feet 2 inches above the yard. In a surprising departure from the principle of authenticity articulated by Wanamaker, and the arguments made by Orrell, Gurr defended the decision to favour Visscher's complex three-

gabled superstructure because it had "become fixed in the public imagination as the shape of the Globe's superstructure" (Gurr 1983, 21). This superstructure was to be fitted with a cupola which might facilitate a flagpole and a trumpet station.

At the seminar John Ronayne offered the evidence for the interior decoration of the Globe which must have been something between "the English tradition of the ornamented facade, low relief decorating flat surfaces, and the innovation of classical sculptural principles" (Ronayne 1983, 22). Ronayne pointed out that in exterior views the Globe appears white with stone walls, although it must have been timber-framed. The Fortune contract specifies that "all the saide fframe and the Stairecases thereof to be sufficiencyly enclosed wthoute wth lathe lyme & haire" (Foakes & Rickert 1961, 308). This exterior treatment led to the conclusion that "a magpie black and white half-timbering is not acceptable" (Ronayne 1983, 23). As described below ('4.17 Further Defence of the Interior Decoration of the Wanamaker Globe'), this conclusion was revised. Ronayne offered the evidence of carved furniture cabinets, which have questionable relevance, for the principle that the interiors of buildings were made lavishly colourful to contrast with their plain exteriors. Because De Witt praised the sumptuousness of playhouses his apparently stark sketch cannot alone determine the interior of the Globe, and Ronayne offered contemporary examples of lavish decoration which might be copied (Ronayne 1983, 23). As well as marbelization effects on the columns and false painted

balustrading on the gallery fronts, the frons ought not to be considered a visually neutral surface serving only an acoustic function, but should be "the centrepiece appropriate to a house of fantasy, imagination and illusion" (Ronayne 1983, 24). The project had moved a long way from Hosley's minimalistic approach to reconstruction as articulated in his 1975 paper.

4.7 The Second ISGC Seminar (1986): Settling the Design of the Stage Cover

A second seminar was held at the London offices of Pentagram on 12 April 1986 to consider the outstanding issues in more detail. At this meeting was most clearly seen the gulf that had opened between Hosley, who had formed a pre-Wanamaker consensus about the relevant evidence and its use, and Orrell, who was providing the scholarly justification for what was to be built. In his paper Orrell referred to the plans supplied to the project by Hosley in 1979 (Orrell 1987b, 33). Many of the features of these plans had been altered in the intervening years, but the superstructural huts owed much to Visscher's discredited engraving. Orrell described Norden's panorama Civitas Londini and its inset map (Foakes 1985, 10-3). The panorama shows the Globe with a radially-ridged gabled-ended cover, while the inset map shows the Globe having a Swan-like turret rising apparently independently from the yard. Orrell pointed out that the inset map was merely a revision of an earlier map by Norden in which playhouses were

represented iconically as tall cylinders. Norden modified these icons for his 1600 version of the map by adding small representations of turrets, but they remained essentially conventional symbols marking the location of the playhouses rather than realistic representations of their appearance (Orrell 1987b, 34-5). A different set of aesthetic criteria governed the panorama, however. Orrell had shown in The Quest for Shakespeare's Globe that for his view of the north bank Norden, like Hollar, used a topographical glass (Orrell 1983b, 59-62) but unfortunately this was not true of the view of the south bank (Orrell 1983b, 32-40). At the seminar Orrell made a case for certain aspects of Norden's representation of the theatres in the panorama being correct even though other aspects, for example the overall proportion of height to width of these buildings, were clearly wrong. Instead of the iconic cylinder used in the inset map, Norden chose to represent the theatres as having either six or eight sides because he "sought to register the fact of many-sided structure [sic] without actually providing all the details" (Orrell 1987b, 36). Norden's decision to show the Rose and the Globe having roofs that were integrated into the main frame was unlikely to be an improvisation, Orrell argued, but rather ". . . he registered a type of roof, not all the details of its design. His theatres are not literal representations of the buildings, but individualized conventional signs for them" (Orrell 1987b, 37). Orrell noted an error in Norden's representation of the superstructures which Hosley was to seize upon:

. . . thatch is not often pitched at less than 45°, and if the roof was to cover the whole width of the stage its ridge would almost certainly have risen higher than that of the main polygonal frame, a fact not registered by Norden. (Orrell 1987b, 37)

Because the evidence of Norden's panorama gave a practical design which fulfilled the functions needed, and because it constituted the only direct evidence of the first Globe's superstructure, Orrell recommended it to the project (Orrell 1987b, 38-9). Covering the whole of the stage, this superstructure would put the stage posts "about 9 or 10 ft from its front, and perhaps some 8 ft inwards from either side", thus "leaving plenty of room for action all around" (Orrell 1987b, 41).

Hosley responded to Orrell's paper and to the plans presented by Theo Crosby, chief architect to the project, which realized Orrell's Nordenesque superstructure (Hosley 1987). Hosley made minor criticism of Crosby's plans with a view to improving the practicality of the arrangements, for example by moving the gable end downstage so that all of the stage would be shielded from the elements (Hosley 1987, 45-50). Concerning the authenticity of the plan, however, Hosley was scathing. Hosley elaborated on the impossibility of a ridge of the superstructure roof meeting the ridge of the auditorium, on Norden's misrepresentation of the Globe as octagonal, and on the misrepresentation of its diameter (Hosley 1987, 52-4). Hosley also listed the errors in, and contradictions between, Norden's panorama and its inset map,

and suggested that the former might be someone else's work and, if so, the latter would have the greater authority (Hosley 1987, 55-8). Hosley insisted that something like the superstructure shown by De Witt would be more authentic than Orrell's attempted use of Norden to bridge the gap between the Swan's superstructure, witnessed by De Witt, and the second Globe's, witnessed by Hollar (Hosley 1987, 58). Hosley here publicly rejected the complex three-gabled superstructure which his earlier models used and declared that the decision before the academic committee of the ISGC was between a Swan-like or Nordenesque superstructure. A final piece of evidence offered by Hosley was the Utrecht engraving of the Theatre which appears to show a Swan-like superstructure (Hosley 1987, 59-61; Foakes 1985, 8-9). The accuracy of the Utrecht engraving has been ascribed to the use of a topographical glass (Lusardi 1993). Unfortunately Lusardi's work could be used to support either Orrell's or Hosley's case because it argued for the simultaneous presence of accuracy of detail and distortion introduced by conventions of representation, especially in the turning of all the visible gable ends to the same angle (Lusardi 1993, 216-24). Orrell argued that Norden's panorama contains the same mix of reliable and unreliable elements, but thought he could distinguish between them.

In a postscript to his paper Hosley presented his latest work on the Swan. Perhaps encouraged by Orrell's discovery of precision in the Hollar sketch, Hosley attempted to derive physical dimensions from the De Witt drawing. Assuming that

the hut shown by De Witt was the same height as the top gallery of the auditorium, Hosley applied the Fortune contract's specification of 9 feet as the appropriate dimension to discern the scale of this part of the drawing (Hosley 1987, 66-8). Using this dimension and the fact that thatch is usually pitched at 45 degrees, Hosley determined that the hut was 12½ feet deep. Hosley argued that the alignment of the hut and the tiring house formed one of only two possible configurations: either the visible wall of the hut lay over the visible frons scenae, or else the hidden back wall of the hut was over the frons scenae and the front wall was 12½ feet forward of the frons scenae. No intermediate position, no partial projection of the hut over the stage, could be consistent with the need to use main posts of the auditorium frame to support the hut (Hosley 1987, 68-77). To make flying possible the hut ought to be over the stage, in which case it was fully 12½ feet over the stage and was supported at the concealed face by the main posts of the yard and at its visible face by the massive stage posts. Contrary to the appearance of De Witt's drawing, the roof over the stage was merely a cantilevered projection which was not supported by the stage posts, and Hosley showed a similar arrangement which he proposed for the new Globe (Hosley 1987, 63, 77-8).

The discussion which followed the papers came to no conclusion about the use of Norden or De Witt as the evidential basis for the new Globe's superstructure (Gurr 1987a). About the arrangement of stage doors and hangings

agreement was reached: the proposed design of a large central opening and two flanking doors was accepted and the hangings would cover only the central opening and only to the height of its door (Gurr 1987a, 88). In the appendices of the published proceedings of the seminar Ronnie Mulryne and Margaret Shewring expressed their dissatisfaction with the arguments made by Orrell in support of the use of Norden's panorama for the design of the superstructure, and suggested that the evidence of Abram Booth (the 'Utrecht' engraving of the Theatre), Francis Delaram, and J. C. Visscher (Foakes 1985, 8-9, 16-9), all showing chordally-ridged huts, should be weighed against it (Mulryne & Shewring 1987). In another appendix Martin Clout expressed doubt about the reliability of the Norden panorama and about the general principle that evidence concerning the second Globe can be transferred to its predecessor (Clout 1987a). In an afterword Orrell responded to these objections, and to Hosley's new work on the Swan, by reiterating his earlier arguments and pointing to the errors in the objectors' cases (Orrell 1987a). In particular Orrell noted that Mulryne and Shewring drew upon the Delaram and Visscher engravings which are worthless because derivative (Orrell 1987a, 99-100). In response to Hosley's new work on the Swan, Orrell pointed out that the assertion about the arrangement of the hut and stage posts is at odds with De Witt's drawing: plainly, the hut is over the tiring house and the posts support the roof. Most importantly, Orrell's opening statement that "the decision made at the Pentagram conference to follow Norden rather than Visscher or de Witt in designing

the stage roof at the new Globe has clearly not carried everyone with it" (Orrell 1987a, 96) indicated that the matter was closed and that he was concerned merely to explain the chosen design.

4.8 Martin Clout's Demurral

Martin Clout's demurral from the consensus was vastly greater than that of other delegates. The notes in his appendix to the published proceedings disputed the safety of the hypothesis that the two Globes shared a common groundplan, and hence he denied the validity of the principle that evidence for the later building can be transferred to the former (Clout 1987a, 94). Clout also challenged the traditional view that the 'Utrecht' engraving shows the Theatre and claimed that it actually shows the Curtain and the Fortune (Foakes 1985, 8-9; Clout 1987a, 95). After the seminar Clout privately published his findings and his criticism of the methodology of the academic committee of the ISGC (Clout 1987b). Clout pointed out that no notice had been taken of the eyewitness evidence of Hester Thrale (1741-1821) who owned the site on which the Globe had stood and who reported seeing foundations showing it to be hexagonal without and round within (Clout 1987b, 7). Clout argued that, seen properly, the Hollar sketch and the Norden panorama show their Globes to have been six sided but his helpful construction lines drawn over the pictures might be insufficient to convince all readers of this (Clout 1987b, 15-6, 42-4). Clout found a

similarity between the hexagonal Globe and the Teatro Olimpico in Vicenza, of which Shakespeare, and therefore James Burbage, would have heard from Emilia Lanier (whose family came from the Vicenza area) if, as A. L. Rowse believed, Lanier and Shakespeare were intimates (Clout 1987b, 54-62). The lack of evidence for this intimacy is only one of many obstacles to an acceptance of Clout's argument which depends upon an idiosyncratic interpretation of visual evidence. Clout's recommendations included a call for the Wanamaker project to engage "a recognized expert on sixteenth century timber-framing, preferably someone with practical knowledge on the subject" (Clout 1987b, 80a). Such a person, Peter McCurdy of the specialist builder McCurdy and Company, was eventually brought in and, as we shall see, his contribution was invaluable.

4.9 Discovery of the Rose Remains

With the interpretation of existing evidence thoroughly debated and a design agreed upon, the Wanamaker project was set to use the 24-sided design by Crosby, as presented at the 1986 seminar, when two archaeological discoveries provided a wealth of new evidence to be absorbed. In advance of commercial development of the land upon which the Rose had stood the Museum of London began excavation in December 1988 (Bowsher & Blatherwick 1990, 74n4). During early February 1989 the remains of the Rose emerged and were, after considerable controversy, non-destructively excavated (Day 1996, 192-201).

Orrell and Gurr were the first into print with a provisional evaluation of the site (Orrell & Gurr 1989). The uncovered remains showed both the original configuration of the building and the result of the extensive alterations made in 1592, known from the expenses recorded by Henslowe (Foakes & Rickert 1961, 9-13). Upon first glance the remains of the Rose controverted the most basic assumption about playhouse design: the groundplans of both phases were irregular polygons, and so chaos prevailed where order was expected. The original design appeared to be a 14-sided polygon of about 74 feet across (Orrell & Gurr 1989, 636). In both phases the stage was tapered and, unless the stage was remarkably small, the frons scenae must have followed the angled wall formed by the fronts of the bays against which the stage stood. Even with this allowance, the original stage was a mere 475 square feet in area (Orrell & Gurr 1989, 649). In a study encompassing all the theatres of early modern London Orrell had offered evidence that "the two Globes, the Rose, the Hope and the Boar's Head all faced northeast, away from the afternoon sun" (Orrell 1988, 92) but the stages of the Rose remains were both "on the northern side of the polygon" (Orrell & Gurr 1989, 636) and hence the Rose faced south and its stage received illumination from the afternoon sun. Orrell and Gurr's reproduction of the remains showed two further deviations from expectation: neither stage reached as far as the middle of the yard, and the earlier stage certainly (and the later possibly) met the yard wall not at a corner but rather in the middle of a bay. Comparison of the original 1587 design with the result

of the 1592 alterations did not reveal the reason for Henslowe's substantial changes to the building. The auditorium was 'stretched' northwards and the stage followed it, so the only obvious gain was a somewhat larger yard and a few more seats (Orrell & Gurr 1989, 649). The theoretical reconstruction to which the uncovered Rose bore closest resemblance was John Cranford Adams's discredited Globe (Adams, John Cranford 1942).

4.10 Interpreting the Rose Remains and Discovery of the Globe Remains

Franklin J. Hildy called an academic conference at the University of Georgia in February 1990 to assess the discoveries. Julian M. C. Bowsher and Simon Blatherwick, who led the archaeological team working on the Rose site, presented their findings which confirmed the deviations from expectation suggested by Orrell and Gurr's preliminary examination (Bowsher & Blatherwick 1990). While the conference was being planned a second team from the Museum of London began working on the site of the first Globe and on 12 October 1989 they announced discovery of part of the Globe foundations. At the conference Orrell presented his considered response to the evidence from the Rose and his preliminary examination of the evidence from the Globe (Orrell 1990). The Globe remains appeared to be part of the foundations of the outer wall and one stair turret. The location of this turret, on a radial about 60 degrees east of north, matched neither of

the turrets shown by Hollar, and it was 50% wider than it should have been (Orrell 1990, 97). Orrell admitted that these anomalies threw doubt on Hollar's representation of the orientation of the Globe, but drew comfort from the fact that the turret was centred on an angle of the main frame wall, as he expected, although Hosley's work on stair turrets made the opposite assumption that they should abut the middle of a bay wall (Hosley 1981b, 88-91).

Orrell attempted to measure the angles and dimensions suggested by the scant remains, and from them determine the size and shape of the Globe. Assuming that the Globe was a regular polygon--an assumption made less safe by the Rose remains--the few measurable angles and dimensions in the Globe remains suggested a 20-sided polygon with a diameter of very nearly 100 feet (Orrell 1990, 99-100). The ground floor galleries were 12½ feet, or 12 feet 8 inches deep if measured radially, which is some 3 feet less than we would expect from the ad quadratum method.

Turning to the Rose remains, Orrell pointed out that the publicity drawing issued by the Museum of London and reproduced in his earlier article (Orrell & Gurr 1989) overstated the irregularity of the remains and rather too emphatically imposed a conjectured groundplan in areas that had not been dug (Orrell 1990, 100-1). A more recent drawing shows greater regularity and is consistent with use of the ad quadratum method in laying the groundplan for the original 1587 construction (Orrell 1990, 101-7). Irregularity in the initial construction would be difficult to reconcile with the

evidence that 'framing', the prefabrication of the timber frame, took place off-site and hence detailed plans were agreed so that the laying of foundations and prefabrication of the frame could proceed concurrently in different locations.

Applying the evidence of the Globe remains to the project in hand, Orrell accepted that the Globe could not have been laid out ad quadratum but nonetheless it could have been constructed using a three-rod line if some geometric pre-calculation had been used to derive the correct length for each bay's outer wall (Orrell 1990, 8-9). Nothing in the remains of the Globe contradicted Hollar's depiction of its orientation towards the north-east, and neither the Globe nor the Rose remains affected the plans for the reconstructed Globe's stage and tiring house other than insofar as the narrow gallery bays (12½ feet or 12 feet 8 inches, both measured radially) would give a stage which extends to the centre of the yard rather more depth than we might expect and leave the tiring house, if it is confined wholly within the bays behind the stage, rather too shallow (Orrell 1990, 110-6). Orrell advised against acting upon this subjective response until further consideration of the evidence had taken place.

4.11 Construction of the First 2 Bays of the Wanamaker Globe

The ISGC decided to build two experimental bays based on Orrell's tentative response to the evidence of the Globe

remains, assuming that the original had 20 gallery bays each 12½ feet deep, the overall diameter being 100 feet across points (McCurdy 1993). Orrell had concluded that this was not an ad quadratum design since the diameters of the circles within which are inscribed the inner and outer polygons of the groundplan are not in a 1:√2 relation. But McCurdy's workshop experience suggested that the wall plate frame would be fabricated at the same time as the ground sill frame, and that Peter Street would have considered the proportions of the former, which defined the dimensions of the uppermost gallery bay, to be just as important as those of the ground sill frame. If there was a jetty (the "Jutty-forwards" of the Fortune contract) of 12 inches in each of the two elevated bays, the uppermost gallery bay could be brought into an ad quadratum relationship with the overall diameter. McCurdy's calculations are explained in the appendix 4 section '12.3 McCurdy's Re-introduction of Ad Quadratum Design at the Globe Using Jetties'. The use of jetties had been considered earlier in the project and were considered problematic. McCurdy explained the advantage to those who must erect a structure if each floor can be completed before continuing to the next, which is lost if there is no jetty and both inner and outer main posts must rise to the full height of the building (McCurdy 1993, 9-11). The floor-by-floor method of construction minimizes the need for overnight propping, reduces the number of joints which must be mated at one time, and provides a convenient working surface (the unnailed floorboards) which can take the place of scaffolding. In the

floor-by-floor method the rakers which support the degrees are added later and do not help brace the structure. McCurdy noted that the possibility of converting the Theatre into tenements, discussed by Allen and Burbage (Wallace 1913, 216), indicates that the rakers were not structurally integrated since their removal, necessary for the conversion, would be impractical. Only a playhouse constructed floor-on-floor would be convertible to tenements (McCurdy 1993, 11-2). McCurdy's work on bracing the structure filled a gap in the amateur designs of Hosley and Southern (McCurdy 1993, 12-3) and his analysis of the windows in the Hollar sketch indicated a walkway at the back of the middle gallery only, the lowermost gallery having its access from the front and the uppermost having seating which did not rise high enough to obscure its back walkway (McCurdy 1993, 13-4, fig. 15). Given McCurdy's important contributions to the scholarly debate about the design of the Globe it appears that the expertise of a practising builder of timber framed structures ought to have been sought earlier in the Wanamaker project.

Addressing the question of jetties Orrell had earlier noted that overhangings were forbidden in two proclamations of 1611 and hence the Hope and the second Globe could not have had them (Orrell 1980, 147). Since the yard wall would be directly beneath the bottom edge of the roof, Hollar's sketch of the second Globe revealed its groundplan (Orrell 1980, 148-9). Hosley ran the evidence in reverse and argued that, since ad quadratum principles clearly governed the relationship between the roofline and the overall diameter and

yet the builder would start from the groundplan, it follows that

. . . the first and third storeys of the Globe frame had the same depth in plan and thus that the Globe, unlike the Fortune, did not have 'jutties forwards' in the upper storeys of its frame.

(Hosley 1981b, 103-4)

The Fortune's jetties might just as easily have been used to dispute Orrell's hypothesized use of ad quadratum. At the first ISGC seminar in 1983 Gurr noted the absence of jetties at the Swan and suggested that the Fortune's unusual specification "was a consequence of the constraints on gallery design (a smaller gallery depth) at that playhouse" (Gurr 1983, 15). McCurdy's knowledge of floor-by-floor construction and his interpretation of the plan to turn the Theatre into tenements rehabilitated the jetties and thereby restored the ad quadratum principle lost to the project since the uncovering of part of the Globe foundations.

4.12 Interpreting the Globe Remains

During 1991 more of the Globe remains were uncovered and Blatherwick and Gurr published their revised conjectures (Blatherwick & Gurr 1992). If anything the evidence uncovered in 1991 increased the uncertainty about the design of the first Globe because foundations were uncovered which could not easily be related to those already known (Blatherwick & Gurr 1992, 319-23). From the angular foundations Gurr and

Blatherwick attempted to extrapolate the shape of the polygonal playhouse. An ad quadratum pair of concentric circles could be made to touch several of the remains if the outer circle had a diameter of 80 feet (Blatherwick & Gurr 1992, 321). Alternatively, by projecting lines from the fragments of radials in the remains, the centre of the playhouse where these radials meet could be established; this method yielded a 100 feet diameter (Blatherwick & Gurr 1992, 327). Such a small proportion of the remains could be reached without violating the agreement with English Heritage (who had a duty to protect the overlying building, Anchor Terrace) that Blatherwick and Gurr wondered if the scheduled area believed to contain the Globe remains was large enough. So ambiguous were the remains that perhaps the wrong piece of land was being protected (Blatherwick & Gurr 1992, 326). Clout published an article claiming that this was indeed the case (Clout 1992). In a response to Blatherwick and Gurr's work, which was printed at the end of their article, Orrell rejected the attempt to fit the remains into circular patterns. Orrell pointed out that the foundations would support a polygonal building, not a circular one, and that the proper method was to try to fit the remains into triangular patterns (Blatherwick & Gurr 1992, 330). Blatherwick and Gurr's 80 feet configuration made a very poor fit when constructed as a polygon, and at best it produced an unlikely 11-sided playhouse. Orrell measured the least damaged angle in the foundations, which appears to be part of the inner gallery wall, as 162 degrees, which indicated a 20-sided playhouse

(Blatherwick & Gurr 1992, 331). If the playhouse was about 100 feet across, as Orrell had long believed, the 20-sided configuration could be made to fit extremely well with the uncovered remains (Blatherwick & Gurr 1992, 332-3).

The two experimental bays built by ISGC in 1992 reflected Orrell's latest thinking: a 20-sided Globe of about 100 feet external diameter. Hildy summarized both Orrell's work and the building project in an article which also drew attention to what he considered to be an important flaw in the former, and therefore the latter (Hildy 1992a). Hildy noted that Orrell's projections were based on a drawing of the Globe remains which was published by the Museum of London for the purposes of clear reproduction, but which was less accurate than the original drawings made on site (Hildy 1992a, 7). Hildy acquired the original drawings and applied Orrell's method to them; he found that the angle measured by Orrell as 162 degrees was, to his eye, 160 degrees, and that other measurements were also significantly adrift. Hildy's use of Orrell's method upon the original drawings produced an 18-sided Globe of about 90 feet across (Hildy 1992a, 7).

4.13 The Third ISGC Seminar (1992): Choosing between Hildy's 90' and Orrell's 100' Diameter Globes

To collate the scholarly responses to the evidence of the Globe remains and the experimental bays, ISGC called a one-day seminar on 10 October 1992 at the offices of Pentagram Design in London. Prior to the conference Gurr circulated a note to

interested parties in which he outlined the brief of the seminar and commented that the unexpected discovery of the Globe remains encouraged the academic committee of the Wanamaker Globe to think of alterable design solutions, such as a stage and tiring house which were structurally independent of the auditorium frame, to allow alterations if further excavation produced new evidence (Gurr 1993, 4). At the seminar Orrell summarized his work on the Globe remains and noted that these provide a more accurate location of the site than that derived from the Hollar sketch, which indicated a position 14 degrees south and several feet east of the true site. The new location can be fed into the formulae Orrell used to determine the size of the Globe from the Hollar sketch, and this produced a revised diameter of 97.6 feet $\pm 2\%$ (Gurr 1993, 5). Orrell indicated his acceptance of Hildy's argument that the published diagrams were inadequate by showing a new diagram which Hildy had obtained by photocopying the original drawings from the Museum of London archive. Orrell demonstrated that even this photocopy was subject to distortion introduced by the copying process, but the use of overlaid metric graph paper allowed this distortion to be measured and allowance made (Gurr 1993, 6).

There followed a 'Cinderella' procedure in which competing polygonal configurations, some brought by delegates and others derived from published works, were laid over the diagram of the Globe remains to see which fitted best. Apart from Orrell's proposed configuration, the closest fit was an 18-sided 90 feet diameter construction offered by Hildy. This

appeared to fit perfectly until distortions in both the underlying drawing of the remains and the overlaid drawing of the configuration were compensated for, at which point an implausible discrepancy emerged (Gurr 1993, 8-9). Orrell's 20-sided 99 feet configuration, on the other hand, fitted perfectly in every respect. Hildy responded that all reproductions of the original drawings introduce distortion and that the only reliable method was to count the grid squares on the origins and proceed by trigonometric means to derive the angles. This Hildy had done and found in favour of his 18-sided 90 feet diameter playhouse (Gurr 1993, 10). Gurr, as chair of the meeting, called for delegates to set aside subjective feelings about whether a 100 or 90 feet diameter was typical or appropriate and asked them to vote on whether the project should adopt Orrell's or Hildy's plan. Orrell's design won by 14 votes to 6 (Gurr 1993, 11-4).

With the overall shape of the reconstructed Globe settled, Crosby opened the second half of the seminar by showing his latest plans based on Orrell's configuration. In the discussion which followed it was agreed that the stage should be rectilinear rather than tapered like that of the Rose and that it should extend to the middle of the yard. The precise dimensions of the stage were not concluded but if there were to be jetties there would be no reason to favour the stage meeting the auditorium at yard wall corners since these corners would have no vertical continuity (Gurr 1993, 14-7). Crosby's design for the stage cover was based on the radially-ridged cover shown by Norden but with its lower edges

terminating too short to protect the edges of the stage. The last few feet of coverage were to be provided by a "low-level extrusion covered in lead" which carried the guttering (Gurr 1993, 14). At this stage in the project it was still mistakenly assumed that a thatched roof could not meet the standards demanded by fire regulations and hence that the playhouse would have to be tiled. Concerning the tiring house, it was decided that the Fortune contract's stipulation that it was to be "wthin the saide fframe" (Foakes & Rickert 1961, 308) means "inside the outer or superficial dimensions of the building" (Gurr 1993, 18), and so the Globe's tiring house could be contained within the bays behind the stage. This interpretation contradicted Orrell's earlier work (Orrell 1987a, 105) and is unreasonable since the contract describes "the frame of the saide howse" as having "ffowerscore foote of lawfull assize everye waie square wthoute and fiftie fiue foote of like assize square everye waie wthin" (Foakes & Rickert 1961, 307). The frame is clearly thought of as the structure bounded by two concentric squares rather than being just the outer square. The delegates decided not only to build the tiring house within the bays behind the stage, but also to integrate its floors with those of the main auditorium, despite the arguments raised against this arrangement at earlier meetings (Gurr 1993, 18-9). The correspondence received after the seminar, and summarized at the end of the published proceedings, indicated considerable disagreement concerning the size and shape of the stage, the number of bays to be given over to the tiring house, and the integration of

the tiring house floors with the auditorium (Gurr et al. 1993). The maximum number of bays to be devoted to backstage use was five, which meant that construction of at least 75% of the auditorium frame, the other fifteen bays, could be completed before the other matters had to be addressed.

4.14 New Objections to Orrell's Reading of the Hollar Sketch

Construction of the Wanamaker Globe proceeded on the basis of the 20-sided 100 feet configuration which had governed the two experimental bays. In the autumn 1992 issue of Shakespeare Bulletin Paul Nelsen published a report on the conclusions of the conference of 10 October 1992, and Franklin J. Hildy published his "minority report" on the same (Nelsen 1992; Hildy 1992b). Hildy argued that the external diameter of the Globe was crucial to authentic reconstruction because a bigger yard makes the space between the seated audience and the actors bigger, and needs a bigger stage to fit it. Actor-spectator/auditor distance "can have enormous consequences for the perception of the amount of energy coming from the actors. It can also have serious consequences for audibility" (Hildy 1992b, 9). A large yard requires more people to fill it and on days of poor attendance the theatre would look particularly empty, and a large stage makes it difficult for actors to play intimate scenes (Hildy 1992b, 9). Of all Hildy's concerns, only the question of audibility is relevant since the others are compensated for by modern humans having bodies which are

10% larger than the bodies of Elizabethans: a 100 feet diameter playhouse would feel about as large to us as a 90 feet diameter playhouse would have to them. However, our larger larynxes do not necessarily give us proportionally larger voices. Hildy expanded on his objections to Orrell's method of taking dimensions for the Hollar sketch and expressed his support for the claim of C. Walter Hodges that Orrell systematically ignored pencil lines in the sketch and favoured ink lines made when 'touching up' the sketch, and that these exaggerate the size of the Globe (Hildy 1992b, 10). The 'Cinderella' method of overlaying drawings of the archaeological site with prospective plans for the playhouse had been flawed, Hildy asserted, because all the drawings used at the conference were distorted (Hildy 1992b, 10). Hodges's suspicion that the Hollar sketch was made not with a perspective glass but with a camera obscura should at least be reconsidered, Hildy thought, because contrary to earlier advice the device was available from at least the mid-1500s (Hildy 1992b, 11n8). The camera obscura introduces the same kinds of vertical and lateral distortion as photocopying because the image passes through a lens, and its use would seriously weaken the value of Hollar's evidence.

Work on the auditorium of the Wanamaker Globe proceeded at once, but the debate about the design continued. In the spring 1993 issue of Shakespeare Bulletin Orrell made a detailed rebuttal of Hildy's claims (Orrell 1993a). A camera obscura could not have been used to make the Hollar sketch, Orrell argued, because the device is not subject to a kind of

distortion which is apparent in the sketch and is peculiar to the perspective glass:

It is a characteristic of such a drawing [made with a perspective glass] that the intervals between the landmarks as depicted on the paper do not correspond directly with the arc of view measured on a map. Intervals to the right and left of the central ray become broader per degree of arc the further they depart from it. Only the use of an instrument that made a plane intersection across the visual pyramid could account for the conditions found in Hollar's drawing. (Orrell 1993a, 5)

Hildy's claim that Orrell had privileged the ink lines in the sketch at the expense of the more accurate pencil lines was untrue, Orrell asserted, and furthermore the lines do not go where Hodges said they did (Orrell 1993a, 7-8). Hodges's diagram of the Hollar sketch was itself a distortion, Orrell claimed, as can be seen from a 1930s photograph of the Hollar sketch showing detail now lost from the original (Orrell 1993a, 8). Orrell's detailed rejection of Hodges's interpretation of the sketch is difficult to follow because it relies upon faint details which the reproductions accompanying the article failed to show clearly (Orrell 1993a, 8-9). New knowledge of the location of the Globe, derived from the remains, allowed Orrell to refine the allowance to be made for anamorphic distortion in the Hollar sketch. It appears that the Globe was further from the centre line than previously thought and therefore its width was exaggerated by an even

larger amount than Orrell had previously allowed for; the new reckoning from Hollar was that the Globe was 97.61 feet across (Orrell 1993a, 9n3). The changes to the trigonometric calculations which are caused by a change in assumed location of the Globe are explained in the appendix 4 section '12.1 Orrell's Trigonometric Analysis of the Hollar Sketch'. Scepticism might be aroused by the fact that, like government unemployment figures, Orrell's recalculations of the Globe width shown by Hollar have consistently brought the size down to meet figures derived from other sources. The first calculation, 103.35 feet (Orrell 1981, 115-6) made sense of the sketch's apparent ratio of height to width of between 1:3 and 1:3¼ which, if the height was the same as that of the Fortune (33 feet), gave a range of widths from 99 feet to 107¼ feet. This range is neatly bisected by the 103.35 feet derived from the first attempt to use the assumption that Hollar worked with a perspective glass. The latest diameter which "I now calculate at 97.61 ft., plus or minus two percent, [is] a figure consistent with the 99 ft. diameter now proposed as a result of the site studies" (Orrell 1993a, 9n3).

Surprisingly, the matter did not rest there. The latest contribution to the debate over the value of Hollar's sketch appeared in the autumn 1996 issue of Shakespeare Bulletin. Tim Fitzpatrick's two-part paper began with a reconsideration of the Fortune contract, and noted that the specification of the gallery depth ("Twelue foote / and a half of lawfull assize in breadth") is surprisingly redundant since the figure could be derived from two other specifications: "ffowerscore foote of

lawfull / assize every waie square wthoute and fiftie fiue foote of like assize square everye waie / wthin" (Foakes & Rickert 1961, 307). Street would not even have to calculate half the difference between 80 and 55 since following the last two specifications would enact the first (Fitzpatrick 1996, 6). Perhaps the 12½ feet depth of the galleries was specified because it was a measurement taken from the Globe, Fitzpatrick speculated, and perhaps it was related to the other 'odd' number in the Fortune contract: the 43 feet width of the stage. Fitzpatrick found an ad quadratum method of relating 12½ and 43. Taking a 43 feet wide square and producing the circle that touches its four corners makes a circle 30 feet 5 inches in radius. Producing a square from four tangents of this circle and then producing another circle that touches that square's four corners makes a circle 43 feet in radius. If these two circles were the inner and outer walls of a playhouse auditorium, the galleries would be 12 feet and 7 inches deep. Fitzpatrick thought this was close enough to 12½ feet to inspire confidence that he had hit upon the dimensions governing the Globe, which Street transferred to the Fortune (Fitzpatrick 1996, 6). However, Fitzpatrick's Globe was 86 feet (2 x 43 feet) in diameter, whereas the Fortune was 80 feet across. Fitzpatrick closed this gap in a desperate way:

Now it is possible that this stage [the Globe's] went back to the inner perimeter of the polygon (i.e., had a centreline depth of 30'5"), with a curved back wall like the Rose rather than a straight wall like De Witt's Swan. If this was the

case, then it is also possible that Street took one more crucial measurement or estimation at the Globe: he gauged the "average" depth of this bow-backed stage at 27'6" (he was out by 3" or one per cent) -- and since he could see that the stage came to the middle of the yard, doubled this measurement to give a 55' yard and hence an 80' overall dimension for the Fortune. (Fitzpatrick 1996, 6)

The second part of Fitzpatrick's paper dealt with Orrell's claim that a 1930s photograph of the Hollar sketch is more useful than the fading original. Fitzpatrick acquired a new photograph which shows detail claimed by Orrell to be lost (Fitzpatrick 1996, 8). The reproduction of Fitzpatrick's photograph in Shakespeare Bulletin shows detail lacking in Orrell's reproduction in the same journal the previous autumn (Orrell 1993a, fig 3; Fitzpatrick 1996, fig. 6). Fitzpatrick's photograph reveals that Hollar made several pencil lines marking the left and right hand edges of the building, as well as several stabs at the base and parts of the roof, and then he inked in the most widely spaced of these. Moreover, in nearby houses there are clear signs that Hollar was freehand-sketching in pencil. Finials at the ends of the roof ridges of the stage cover indicate that accurate measurements were being taken--Hollar was undoubtedly using a topographical glass--but between these guiding marks he worked in freehand. If this is so, Fitzpatrick pointed out, precise measurements from the freehand sections are useless and cannot support a refutation of Hildy's 90 feet diameter Globe. Since Hollar inked in the

widest of all his pencil sketches, the Globe was probably smaller than Orrell's calculations have made it (Fitzpatrick 1996, 10). To date, this argument represents the latest work on the subject of the Hollar sketch and its relevance to the reconstruction of the Globe, and it appears that the opponents of Orrell's method have succeeded in diminishing the importance of his 'perspective glass' theory.

4.15 'Within the Wooden O': Defending the Interior Decoration of the Wanamaker Globe

By April 1995 fifteen bays were complete and a scholarly conference was called to discuss the ways in which the finished Globe should be used. Proceedings of this conference have not been published so references will be to this author's report on the conference which was circulated to delegates by Gurr (Egan 1995). Since the preceding seminar both Sam Wanamaker and Theo Crosby had died. Crosby's successor was Jon Greenfield of Pentagram Design, who opened the conference with a presentation in which he informed delegates that the project had found that advances in the application of flame-retarding chemicals to thatched roofs meant that an anachronistically tiled roof would not be forced on the new Globe (Egan 1995, 1). The 25% of the auditorium that had not yet been constructed was the part of the 'O' that passed behind the tiring-house, together with the stage and the heavens, which were being fabricated off-site. It was intended that the tiring-house would not be structurally integrated with the 'O'

but the two would be connected. Greenfield used the expression "a change of language" to describe the interface of the two structures. Surprisingly the floors of the 'O' met with those of the tiring-house, "more by luck than design" (Egan 1995, 2). The galleries of the auditorium were to be 11 feet, 10 feet, and 9 feet high, and remarkably these floors could be connected with the regularly spaced 9 feet high galleries of the tiring-house. Since this part of the structure was still to be fabricated the exact means by which this was to be achieved could be seen only in the plans which, Greenfield explained, did not quite reveal the 'trick' of it.

Informing the design of the tiring house facade were hall screens of the kind seen at Charterhouse. The three stage doors would have strap hinges as seen in the De Witt drawing of the Swan. The outer doors would be 4 feet wide by 7 feet high and the central door would be 6 feet wide and either 8 feet 1½ inches or 8 feet 7 inches high. The final decision would depend on whether the joists of the tiring-house gallery were made to rest upon the cross-beam below or to end-join with it. The former makes for easier removal of the first floor, which it is anticipated some directors would want to be able to do. The width of the frons was to be 33 feet, the distance from the frons to the front edge of the stage 22 feet, and the stage would be 44 feet wide and extend as far as the centre of the yard. The height of the heavens cover had been set at 22 feet, which allowed room for a full 9 feet high gallery in the tiring-house but not for a second such gallery above the first. The half-height gap between the top of the

gallery and the intersection with the heavens cover would be filled with decorated panels (Egan 1995, 2).

The supporting columns of the tiring-house visible in the frons would be fronted with statues of classical gods rough-carved and trompe l'oeil painted so that shadows would be produced by both rough-carving and painted decoration. At the height of the tiring-house gallery these statues would be of Thalia and Melpomene, and above, between the panels, five minor deities. The panels themselves would be painted with representations of the twelve labours of Hercules, two per panel (hence six panels divided by five statues). The fill-in panels would be flush up to the timberwork but it was expected that the outline of the frame of the tiring house would be visible through the rusticated decoration. The intention was to make the structure look like stone by a mixture of rough carving, modelling in plaster, and painting, but not executed so efficiently as to completely efface its real materials. The central stage door would be flanked by painted turned-wood sculptures of satyrs. The columns of the frons would have a painted marbelization effect and the overall colour scheme of the stage would be dominated by crimson red, purply-blue, and gold. Greenfield reported that hangings would be available for the frons, but the precise arrangement of these was undecided. Greenfield showed slides of the intended decoration and many delegates expressed surprise and concern about the brightness of the colours to be used (Egan 1995, 2).

The stage cover supported by two stage posts would be a lean-to structure abutting and connected to the tiring house

but not integrated with it. Two options for the decoration of the underside of the heavens were being considered. The first was ribbing which breaks the surface into panels with a different image in each, such as the sun, planets, and zodiacal symbols. The second was an undivided surface painted with large-scale clouds. In scale models the latter had been found to look odd against the intended decoration of the frons and a compromise mixture of the two styles was being developed.

Greenfield announced that the initial configuration of the stage floor would include four traps: one downstage of each of the two stage-posts, one centrally situated, and one further upstage in front of the central door. It is anticipated that these would need to be adjusted during the season of experimental performances. Gurr later corrected this statement and assured delegates that only a single centrally-placed trap would be fitted. In the brief discussion session which followed the presentation it became clear that there were strong objections to the planned decoration. In particular the presence of brightly painted statues of classical gods was felt by many delegates to be intrusive in performances for which they would be inappropriate. Jon Greenfield countered these objections with the argument that we must accept the evidence that all Elizabethan public spaces had such brightly coloured carved figures, and that the use of hall screens as a source makes them indispensable no matter how much they clash with modern ideas of theatrical decorum (Egan 1995, 3). It was clear that the academic committee

considered the hall screen to be an appropriate analogue to the frons scenae despite recent evidence to the contrary (Nelson 1992).

4.16 Workshop Season 1995: Re-positioning the Stage Posts

A workshop season in autumn 1995 permitted leading theatre practitioners to experiment upon a temporary stage erected where the finished version would stand. The mock-up stage was complemented with a mock-up stage cover and stage posts. Many of the theatre practitioners objected to the proposed positioning of the stage posts near to the corners of the stage, which they found made it difficult for a large group of actors, such as might represent an army, to enter at one door and sweep across the stage in a puissant manner. Furthermore the posts were too wide and because the stage doors were directly behind them an important entrance space was obscured. Peter Hall demanded that the posts move towards each other and further upstage, and that the doors move away from each other within the frons scenae (Peter 1995). This could not easily be reconciled with the proposed Nordenesque stage cover being fabricated at McCurdy's workshop because its immense gable end needed the posts to be directly underneath. If the posts moved closer together the eaves would have to follow and the sides of the stage would be exposed to the elements. If the posts moved upstage the gable end would have to follow and the front of the stage would be exposed. After a committee was formed to combine the artistic and academic

perspectives a solution was reached by chopping off the bottom of the cover so that each eave met the gable end at a point directly above where Hall wanted a post, and the gap to the three exposed edges of the stage was covered by a lightweight 'pentice' apron (Nelsen 1996). This arrangement was defended as a solution that Peter Street might have used had his clients made the same complaints. There is considerable similarity between the proposed design and Crosby's plans for the stage cover made when it was expected that tiles rather than thatch would be needed and hence that gutters could be attached (Gurr 1993, 15-6). At the time of writing (August 1997) this latest design has been implemented and it represents the current state of the Wanamaker project.

4.17 Further Defence of the Interior Decoration of the Wanamaker Globe

Shortly before this thesis was completed a book was published which provided justification for the least well-documented decisions in the Wanamaker Globe: the interior decoration. John Ronayne noted that there is "very little direct evidence to bring to the development of a plausible scheme of interior painting for the 1990s Globe" and hence plausible analogues had been sought (Ronayne 1997, 121). Ronayne repeated the analogue of 'architectural' cabinets, mentioned at the ISGC seminar of 29 March 1983 (Ronayne 1983, 23), which contain within a plain exterior a "sparkling and bejewelled interior [which] takes away the onlooker's breath".

(Ronayne 1997, 121). At the 1983 seminar Ronayne had commented on the external surface of the playhouse:

The Globe's exterior is shown in principal views as a white building with walls looking as if they are in stone. Yet we know it was a timber-framed structure. Thus it must have been rendered. The Fortune contract specifies that "the frame and the staircases thereof" should be "enclosed without with lath, lime and hair." The question whether the rendering should be complete or whether the timber should be exposed enough to breathe is less significant than the conclusion that a magpie black and white half-timbering is not acceptable.

(Ronayne 1983, 23)

By 1997 Ronayne's position had altered:

Our re-creation of the 1599 Globe is a timber-framed building, and we have elected to leave the 'green' oak exposed to weather and fade to grey over the years. The majority of buildings in pre-fire London had their timbers exposed (Claes de Jongh's painting of London Bridge, of about 1612, now at Kenwood, shows this vividly). As our reconstruction is the first major timber-framed building in the capital since the Fire, our decision, on balance, was to expose the structure of what is a rare sight in London, rather than cover it up as the Elizabethans may have done, taking for granted the frameworked

appearance. For them, outer rendering was grander.
For us, half timbering is more generally evocative.
(Ronayne 1997, 122)

This shift represents a radical change in the theoretical underpinning of the project, since the stated aim was always recovery of 'what had been' in the Elizabethan period and not 'what is evocative' of the period. The theoretical foundations for notions of authenticity in historical research are complex and until nearing completion the Wanamaker project was able to avoid the conflicts engaged in by academic historians concerning the philosophical and intellectual basis for their work. The relevance of these conflicts to the Wanamaker project is outlined in the final chapter of this thesis.

Ronayne cited contemporary accounts of the sumptuousness of playhouses to defend the brightly painted interior of the Wanamaker Globe, and the "carved proportions Called Satiers" (Foakes & Rickert 1961, 308) from the Fortune contract to defend the statues in the frons scenae (Ronayne 1997, 124). Triumphal arches made of wood but painted to look like stone were another source of information, made relevant by De Witt's description of the cunningly painted stage posts at the Swan. The danger of mistakenly identifying the referent of the term 'lords room' as the boxes in the stage balcony--as argued in appendix 3 of this thesis--is indicated by Ronayne's description of the second level of the frons:

This level, where the Lords' Rooms are, is more elevated culturally. The Lords' own learning is reflected (and flattered) by inscriptions, mottoes

and tags such as HARMONIA MUNDI and CONCORDIA DISCORS lettered on the inside of the rooms, along with fictive panelling representing legendary scenes, pasted prints and the like.

(Ronayne 1997, 137)

As mentioned in the above section '4.15 Within the Wooden O': Defending the Interior Decoration of the Wanamaker Globe', Jon Greenfield announced in 1995 that turned-wood sculptures of satyrs would flank the central opening, but Ronayne's description of the revised plans mentioned the carved satyrs of the Fortune contract without saying whether the Globe would have the same (Ronayne 1997, 137).

The decision to base the interior decoration of the Globe upon analogues from the late 1590s and early 1600s, rather than on analogues from the late 1570s when the Theatre was built, was defended by Siobhan Keenan and Peter Davidson (Keenan & Davidson 1997). Because the dismantling of the Theatre appears to have taken no more than four days (Berry 1987, 7), there would have been time to recover the main timbers only if the secondary wood, the in-fill panels and decorations, were quickly stripped away rather than carefully dismantled, and so the Globe's decoration would have been newly made in 1599 (Keenan & Davidson 1997, 155n2). The iconographical scheme at the Wanamaker Globe, which relates the name of the playhouse to its function, was defended because early modern English design combined

Northern continental 'classicism' with the grotesques, strapwork, cartouches and feigned

architectural patterns of Flemish Mannerism . . .
[and] it was conventional for Early Modern decorative schemes to make some statement about their use, purpose or patrons. In the case of the Burbages' theatre, common sense and analogy would suggest that its internal décor also made some reference to their chosen name.

(Keenan & Davidson 1997, 148)

For this reason, representations of Hercules or Atlas bearing the terrestrial or celestial Globe would be appropriate on hangings and on the hard surfaces (Keenan & Davidson 1997, 152-4). The minor deities on the frons described by Jon Greenfield at the conference of April 1995 (Egan 1995, 5) were there because, situated between the heavens and the stage, they mediated divine power to humanity: "these deities [Venus, Luna, Mars, Iupiter, and Saturnus] were understood in the Renaissance to exercise power over various aspects of human life" (Keenan & Davidson 1997, 150). The horizontal rank order here is surprising (as is the inclusion of Jupiter among minor deities), but it derives from Renaissance sources: Maarten de Vos for the association of these deities with the stages of human life, and Virgil Solis for the association with days of the week (Keenan & Davidson 1997, 150). The reconstruction of original staging which forms the latter part of this thesis will consider the effect of classical decoration upon plays which feature classical figures, such as the satyrs in The Winter's Tale and Jupiter in Cymbeline.

Flanking the five minor deities are fictive painted niches containing images of Mercury and Apollo because "They are the 'speaking out' gods, the gods of poetry and eloquence: their powers, therefore, govern the dramatic genres and contribute to the presentation of the world upon the microcosmic stage" (Keenan & Davidson 1997, 152). Below these deities, at the level of the stage balcony, are statues of Melpomene and Thalia (Tragedy and Comedy) based on the engraving on the title page of Jonson's 1616 folio Workes (Keenan & Davidson 1997, 152). These statues had not been completed at the time the book was printed, and they are not shown in the plates. At the time this thesis was completed the representations of Melpomene and Thalia at the Wanamaker Globe were entirely free-standing (rather than being formed as pilasters) and set a few inches in front of the frons scenae. Theo Cosby's design for the Globe frons scenae included white statues (Gurr 1997, plate 24) but Ronayne argued for grisaille (shades of grey) colouring for classical figures without distinguishing between two-dimensional and three-dimensional examples at the Globe. Keenan and Davidson explained that the statues of Melpomene and Thalia in the Globe frons were based on the images on the title page of Jonson's 1616 folio Workes but did not discuss the painting. As we shall see in chapter 6, there is evidence that cultivated taste concerning the painting of statues changed during the lifetime of the first Globe and that the final scene of The Winter's Tale exploits the increasing preference for monochromatic colouring. The significance of different choices for decoration of the Globe

frons, and especially the details of the statues, will be discussed in relation to the staging of the final scene of The Winter's Tale.

Keenan and Davidson provided detailed description of the decoration of the interior of the stage balcony which indicates that the mistaken identification of it as the Lords Room produces a false distinction between those who sat there and those in the rest of the auditorium:

Lavish, 'élite' decoration would be conventional, and the current 'Rooms' have accordingly been painted to achieve a more luxurious effect.

Similarly, inspired by Jon Greenfield's suggestion that the elite spectators should be reminded 'by the iconography of their surroundings [. . .] that they are watching the human comedy of the theatre as well as the comedy on the stage', the Lords' Rooms are fitted with an iconographical scheme tailored to the interests of the privileged playgoers traditionally associated with these boxes. For example, an hermetic sun and moon are painted upon the ceiling and a figure of Harmonia (based on the design in Cesare Ripa's Iconologia) is to be incorporated upon the back wall of the galleries. In similar fashion, the two rooms feature a pair of emblems upon the wall least visible from the auditorium, accompanied by apposite Latin tags painted over the openings through which the stage is viewed. Thus the

spectacle of the 'stage-play world' can be framed by the élite commentary of the emblems.

(Keenan & Davidson 1997, 154)

The suggestion that those in the stage balcony were privileged, ironically distanced, watchers of the rest of the audience appears to reverse the usual theorizing of gaze which asserts that the lords wished to be seen watching the play. Of all the places from which to spy on the audience the stage balcony is the least suitable and the topmost gallery perhaps the most suitable. Stephen Orgel's work on the court masque (Orgel 1965) suggested that the loci of spectators' gazes were deflected by the placing of the monarch: the point was to watch the monarch. Orrell noted that in 1605 preparations for a royal performance at Christ Church Oxford were thrown into confusion when it was realized that the monarch would not be properly visible to the rest of the audience (Orrell 1988, 126). The king's box was relocated to the detriment of his ability to see and hear the entertainment in order that he would be visible (Orrell 1988, 127). If those in the public theatre stage balcony were the most socially elevated persons present they might have chosen the position precisely in order to be seen by, rather than to see, the rest of the audience. If the public is not admitted to the stage balcony at the Wanamaker Globe the error is academic, but it should be noted.

4.18 Making Use of the Scholarship of the Wanamaker Globe

The above account is intended to describe the development of the Wanamaker project in order that the ideas about playhouse design which are embodied in it can be understood in the context of scholarly debate. It is clear that the physical embodiment of these ideas requires the transformation of uncertainties into, if not certainties, at least singularities. The uncertainty concerning the overall width of the Globe has, fortunately, been resolved into a choice between Hildy's 90 feet diameter and Orrell's 100 feet diameter, and the growth in human body size since the early modern period compensates for what might be an error in the final decision of the Wanamaker project. If we ignore the relatively unsafe objections of Martin Clout who denies the evidential connection between the first and second Globe, based on the continuity of their foundations, there are no serious objections to the reconstruction as it has been materialized. My objection to the labelling of the stage balcony as the Lords Room, and the consequent mistaken ideas about hierarchical distinctions within the auditorium, needs only to be noted here and in the chapters on the reconstruction of the staging of The Winter's Tale and Cymbeline. The next chapter provides a brief summary of the use to be made of the scholarship of Globe reconstruction and a recapitulation of the principles which will guide the reconstruction of the staging of these 'transitional' plays by Shakespeare.

CHAPTER 5. THE HYPOTHETICAL GLOBE OF THE 1610s AND EARLY 1620s

The reconstruction of the original staging of Shakespeare's late plays which forms the remainder of this thesis requires a mental model of the playhouse in which they are to be imaginatively staged. The preceding two chapters describe and evaluate all the important scholarly work on the design of the first and second Globe playhouses. It is necessary now to summarize the use to be made of this work. It will be remembered from the first chapter that neither play survives in a form giving certain access to the dramatist's original expectations about staging and either might include modifications to the staging brought about in the playhouse long after composition. 'Original' staging cannot here be used to mean 'first' staging but only the less precise notion of 'staging in the 1610s and early 1620s'. The scholarship concerning the relationship between the first and second Globe playhouses indicates that they were substantially alike although the stage cover of the later building was larger than that of its predecessor. As discussed below, Herbert Berry's research into law suits concerning the Globe suggests that the later building cost twice as much to build because it was more lavishly decorated. The implications of enhanced decoration for the staging of the plays will be considered in this thesis. What follows is a summary of the assumptions to be used about the Globe playhouse of the 1610s.

5.1 The Auditorium Frame

The building was between 90 and 100 feet in external diameter. The evidence of the Globe remains, especially the surviving angle of the yard wall foundations, makes these the only reasonable limits. Associated with these two figures are the design hypotheses of Orrell (100 feet, 20 sided) and Hildy (90 feet, 18 sided) between which we need not choose. The number of sides has no significant effect on staging, but the overall diameter affects the subjective attribute of intimacy which actors consider to be important in their work. The Wanamaker Globe is 100 feet in diameter but because modern humans are approximately 10% larger than Elizabethans it will seem as roomy to us as a 90 foot original would have to its audience.

5.2 The Stage

A rectangular stage extended to the middle of the yard and was 5 feet high. The stage was wider than its depth and was paled in below without openings to provide communication between the yard and the understage area. Although no permanent fixtures existed to allow actors to enter the stage from the yard, temporary structures such as steps could be provided at need. As discussed in the appendix 3, the presence of members of the audience on the stage will be assumed.

In the middle of the stage was a trap 6 feet by 3 feet. As discussed in the chapter 3 section '3.6 Hosley's Globe',

The Devil's Charter contains evidence for the existence of an elevator platform, possibly mechanically operated, underneath the trap, but since the text cannot be reliably associated with the Globe there is no need to posit such a machine at this playhouse. Excavation of the ground under the stage would have been desirable to increase headroom for actors and stagehands, but was probably prevented by the high water table in the area. The marshiness of the ground on which the Globe stood is known from a Sewer Commission order of 14 February 1606 requiring the owners of the Globe to remove from a sewer the props which supported a bridge they had built to convey their patrons over the soft ground (Wallace 1914b). Jonson's reference to the Globe being "Fenc'd with a Ditch and forct out of a Marish" (Jonson 1640, B3v) provides further support for this conclusion.

5.3 The Tiring House

The back wall of the stage was pierced by three openings. The central opening could be fitted with removable double doors and curtains, and the flanking openings had single doors. Although De Witt appears to show that the back wall of Swan was undecorated the text which accompanies the picture indicates the presence of sophisticated painted decoration (Southern & Hodges 1952). It will be assumed here that the frons scenae of the Globe was covered in paint, plaster, and wooden adornments as argued by the academic committee of the Wanamaker project. If the first Globe was less lavishly

decorated than the scholars of Wanamaker project believe, the Wanamaker Globe is still likely to reflect the decoration of the second Globe which cost twice as much as the first, including the value of the recycled timbers from the Theatre, and yet was no larger on the ground (Berry 1987, 151-94).

Herbert Berry's discovery of documents which indicate that the extra money was spent on cosmetic rather than structural work makes it highly unlikely that the second Globe had the kind of bare frons scenae shown by De Witt (Berry 1987, 188-92). The question of interior decoration of outdoor playhouses cannot be satisfactorily settled and here an attempt will be made to consider all possibilities when it is felt that interior decoration might have an impact on staging. The back wall of the stage was also the front wall of the tiring house whose floors were not horizontally integrated with those of the auditorium. Within the tiring house was a gallery whose front was open to the stage and which will henceforth be called the stage balcony. Hosley's conjecture that after they acquired the Blackfriars the King's men moved the music at the Globe from a location 'within', out of sight behind the frons scenae, to a location 'above' in the stage balcony will be followed here (Hosley 1960). The non-integration of the floors of the main auditorium frame with those of the tiring house allowed the stage balcony to be set at a height convenient for its occasional use as the 'aloft' playing space. This height will be regarded here as 9 feet above the surface of the stage, as planned for the Wanamaker Globe (Egan 1995, 2).

Fronting this stage balcony was a balustraded rail. There was no room for a second opening above the stage balcony.

5.4 The Stage Cover

Above the stage was a stage cover which provided a decorated heavens and protection from the elements. Within the superstructure of the stage cover was a flight machine controlling suspension lines which descended through a trap in the heavens to lower and raise objects and players. No play written for the first Globe requires this machine and its date of construction is uncertain. The earliest of Shakespeare's plays to explicitly call for a flight effect is Cymbeline which has "Jupiter descends in Thunder and Lightning, sitting vpon an Eagle: hee throwes a Thunder-bolt" (Shakespeare 1968, TLN 3126-8). As discussed in chapter 1, there is nothing to indicate how closely the early printed text reflects the authorial expectation of staging at the time of composition and this stage direction might be a late addition. The flights of Ariel-as-harpy and Juno in The Tempest have strong claims to artistic integration to the text which lessen, but do not eliminate, the likelihood that they are late additions. Even if the flights are authorial it is possible that the first Globe could not achieve flying effects and that these plays were intended for performance at the Blackfriars only. Both Orrell and Beckerman took the view that the first Globe could not provide flying effects before 1609 (Orrell 1988, 89; Beckerman 1962, 94) and, as discussed in chapter 3, Hosley

took the contrary view because he believed flight machinery to be essential for staging A Larum for London and Antony and Cleopatra. If The Tempest as we have it was performed at the Globe there must have been a flight machine. Such a machine might have been retro-fitted to the first Globe to bring it into conformity with facilities at the Blackfriars, or perhaps the machine was specified in the rebuilding of the Globe after the fire of 1613. The former hypothesis has the practical advantage of not forcing the King's men to divide their repertory after taking over the Blackfriars, and the evidence of act intervals spreading from the Blackfriars to the Globe might suggest that they did not want to develop separate repertories. The hypothesis that the Globe was retro-fitted with a flight machine in 1609 will be accepted here. This machine would have been available for the first performances of Cymbeline.

5.5 Staging Practices

Taylor's argument that before they acquired the Blackfriars the King's men used continuous performance but afterwards they used intervals (which were already a feature of the boy company performances at the Blackfriars) at both Globe and Blackfriars was considered in detail in chapter 1 and will be accepted here (Taylor & Jowett 1993, 3-50). Chapter 2 of this thesis considered other matters of staging which are not directly related to playhouse design. The use to be made of the conclusions of that chapter is summarized here.

The principal characters wore the most expensive and, where appropriate, the most authentic costumes. Lesser characters were costumed from stock even when this necessitated inauthentic mixtures of styles such as Roman guards wearing Elizabethan soldier uniforms with token embellishments providing a taste of the Classical. Very little is known of acting style. Where possible an attempt will be made to avoid the anachronistic influence of modern notions of human personality. Following Gyde's model of the aside/soliloquy convention (Gyde 1990), all speeches will be considered to be addressed either to another character or characters, or else to the audience. Monoscenic staging will be considered the norm with polyscenic staging available for particular dramatic effects such as ironic non-awareness of nearby objects. When no other means of staging a particular scene is apparent, a temporary booth will be considered. Entrance and exit by stage door, by descent from the heavens, or by ascent through a trap door will be taken as the norm but use of the yard will be considered when these practices seem unsuitable for a particular staging crux. Entrances and exits will follow Beckerman's theory that one of the doors was permanently designated as the way onto the stage and another was permanently designated as the way off (Beckerman 1989) but using Ichikawa's modifications to this rule for occasions when the doors are not merely functional (Ichikawa 1996). It will be arbitrarily assumed that the stage left door was assigned as the entrance and the stage right door the exit, with the

central opening reserved for special ceremonial and symbolic functions.

CHAPTER 6. THE ORIGINAL STAGING OF THE WINTER'S TALE AT THE GLOBE

6.1 The Status of the Text

The only substantive early text is the Folio of 1623. The play will be quoted from the Norton Facsimile of the Folio (Shakespeare 1968) and referenced using the fascimile's Through Line Numbering (TLN). Since the spelling of characters' names is not always consistent in the Folio the spellings used in the Oxford Complete Works (Shakespeare 1986) will be followed except in direct quotation of the Folio, where the facsimile will be followed.

6.2 Before the Start of the Performance

It appears that at outdoor playhouses a trumpet was sounded three times to indicate that a performance was about to begin. It is frequently claimed that the figure standing in an opening in the superstructural hut in De Witt's Swan is a trumpeter, but C. Walter Hodges pointed out that "The most distinctive feature of any trumpet, the bell-mouth, is entirely lacking" (Hodges 1951, 33). Chambers cited the evidence from play texts for the sounding of a trumpet before performances (Chambers 1923b, 542n3) and his compressed note is expanded here:

1) Robert Greene Alphonsus: "After you haue sounded thrise, let Venus be let downe from the top of the Stage, and when she is downe, say"

(Greene 1599, A3r)

2) Thomas Heywood Four Prentices of London: "Doe you not know that I am the Prologue? Do you not see this long blacke veluet cloke vpon my backe? Haue you not sounded thrice?" (Heywood 1615, A4r)

3) Thomas Dekker Satiromastix: "In steed of the Trumpets sounding thrice, before the Play begin: it shall not be amisse (for him that will read) first to beholde this short Comedy of Error, and where the greatest enter, to giue them in stead of a hisse, a gentle correction" (Dekker 1602, A4r)

4) Thomas Dekker Guls Horne-booke: "Present not your selfe on the Stage (especially at a new play) untill the quaking prologue hath (by rubbing) got cullor into his cheekes, and is ready to giue the trumpets their Cue that hees vpon point to enter"

(Dekker 1602, E3v)

5) Ben Jonson Every Man out of His Humour "Inductio, sono secundo" (Jonson 1600b, B1r), "Sound the third time. / ENTER PROLOGUE" (Jonson 1600b, C1r)

6) Ben Jonson Cynthia Revels "After the second sounding . . . The third sounding. / PROLOGUE"
(Jonson 1616, Q1r-Q3r)

7) Ben Jonson Poetaster "After the second sounding.
/ ENVIE Arising in the / midst of the / stage
. . . The third sounding. / PROLOGUE"
(Jonson 1616, Z6r-Z6v)

8) John Marston Antonio and Mellida "Induction. / ¶
Enter Galeatzo, Piero, Alberto, Antonio, Forobosco,
Balurdo, Matzagente, & Feliche, with part in their
hand: hauing cloakes cast ouer their apparell. /
Come sirs, come: the musique will sounde straight
for entrance. Are yee readie, are yee perfect?"
(Marston 1602, A3r)

9) John Marston What You Will: "INDVCTION. / Before
the Musicke sounds for the Acte: Enter Atticus,
Dorius, & Phylomuse, they sit a good while on the
Stage before the Candles are lighted, talking
together, & on suddeine Doricus speakes"
(Marston 1607, A2r)

10) Ben Jonson Cynthia's Revels "Crit[icus] Tut,
this is nothing. / There stands a Neophyte, glazing
of his face, / Against his Idoll enters; and
repeats, / (Like an vnperfect Prologue, at third

Musique) / His part of speeches, and confederates
Iests / In passion to himselfe"
(Jonson 1601, F2v)

One example from Thomas Dekker's Guls Horne-booke was missed by Chambers: "notwithstanding, to gul the Ragga-muffins that stand a loofe gaping at you, throw the cards (hauing first torne foure or fiue of them) round about the Stage, iust vpon the third sound, as though you had lost" (Dekker 1609a, E4r). It is not clear why the induction and prologue in the first quarto of Jonson's Cynthia's Revels are not keyed to soundings as they are in the folio version, example 6 above (Jonson 1601, A2r, B1r). We might expect the folio version to lose rather than gain theatrical appurtenances. At outdoor performances the sounding of a trumpet might have announced the commencement of a performance to the perspective customers in the vicinity of the playhouse as well as calling the audience to settle. The former purpose would probably not apply at indoor performances, particularly if, as at Blackfriars, the playhouse was supposed to be 'private' rather than 'public'. Chambers conjectured that "trumpets were here [at Blackfriars] replaced by more elaborate music" (Chambers 1923b, 542n3). Amongst the dramatic evidence listed above only Heywood's Four Prentices of London was printed in the post-Globe-only period and so might reflect outdoor practice after indoor usage of intervals and music had spread to the outdoor playhouses. However, as Mary Ann Weber Gasior noted, the presence of profane oaths strongly suggests that the copy for

the 1615 printing of Heywood's Four Prentices of London predates the 1606 act to restrain such 'abuses' (Heywood 1980, liv). As discussed in appendix 3, Dekker's Guls Horne-booke might be telling us of indoor or outdoor practice, or both. There seems no reason to believe that the practice of sounding a trumpet near the start of a performance at the Globe ceased after the acquisition of the Blackfriars since it is in no way incompatible with the increased use of music and the use of intervals.

6.3 Scene-by-Scene Reconstruction of the Original Staging

Act 1 Scene 1

Camillo and Archidamus enter one after the other through the stage left door and hold what appears to be the continuation of an ongoing conversation. After their interchange they exit stage right.

Act 1 Scene 2

Leontes, Hermione, Mamillius, and Polixenes enter stage left. If this were considered a formal court scene then entrance through the central opening would be a possibility, but as Orgel notes there are no references to attendants so the scene is probably domestic (Shakespeare 1996, 95). The Folio stage direction calls for Camillo to enter at the beginning of the scene, but this may be an example of Crane's

habit of massing entry directions. Characters are sometimes called upon to enter at the beginning of a scene having exited at the end of the previous one in violation of the so-called Rule of Re-Entry, and examples can be found in The First Part of the Contention (Montgomery 1989, 20). However, the rule generally holds and either it or a principle of minimum interference in the Folio text must prevail. For the purposes of conjecturally reconstructing staging the extant text will here be preferred over unproven rules. Camillo must be present to be addressed by Leontes at TLN 292 and since he confirms that Polixenes would not stay at Leontes's entreaty but only relented when Hermione insisted (TLN 299-306) Camillo's latest point of entry would be just before Hermione's announcement "Hee'le stay (my Lord)" (TLN 154).

At TLN 180 begins Leontes's first audience-directed aside with "Too hot, too hot" which continues until Leontes calls his son at TLN 192. Gyde argued that Leontes's description of the behaviour of Hermione and Polixenes ("padding Palmes, and pinching Fingers" TLN 188) should indicate his mental disturbance by dramatic irony: they should be seen not to be touching each other in this way (Gyde 1990, 221). Leontes's aside ends with his call to Mamillius at TLN 192. Leontes twice asks Mamillius about his parentage: "Art thou my Boy?" (TLN 193) and "Art thou my Calfe?" (TLN 202). After each question Leontes appears to begin speaking to his son--"Why that's my Bawcock: what? has't smutch's thy Nose?" (TLN 196) and "Thou want'st a rough pash, & the shoots that I haue / To be full, like me" (TLN 204-5)--but soon adopts an anxious and

impassioned tone which Mamillius can hardly be expected to understand. Mamillius might become distressed, prompting Polixenes to interrupt Leontes with the question "Sicilia?" (TLN 223). There is no reason to suppose that Polixenes and Hermione must be prevented from hearing Leontes's speech by use either of factional aside (which would require Mamillius's consent) or of audience-directed aside, although either could be a reasonable directorial choice. Leontes's explanation that he was imagining himself at the child's age ends with a proverbial question to Mamillius ("Will you take eggs for money?" TLN 240) which allows the child to rejoin the conversation. This might indicate that Leontes wishes to calm his frightened son.

Leontes announces that he and Mamillius will walk together, but it is Polixenes and Hermione who leave some time between Leontes's dismissal "To your owne bents dispose you" (TLN 261) and his comment "Gone already" (TLN 267). Although their destination, the garden, is stated, Polixenes and Hermione exit through the usual stage right exit door because neither returns for some time and there is no need for the door to take on directionality. Having dismissed them Leontes makes an audience-directed aside which mockingly addresses the departing Hermione and Polixenes: "I am angling now, / (Though you perceiue me not how I giue Lyne)" (TLN 262-3). Leontes instructs his son to play but, as earlier, his succeeding expressions of sexual anxiety might be addressed to Mamillius or to the audience. Leontes calls Camillo who comes forward and Mamillius is again instructed to play. Mamillius must

enter at the beginning of the next scene and editors since Rowe have chosen Leontes's third injunction to "Goe play" (TLN 294) as an appropriate moment for Mamillius to exit. However, keeping Mamillius on stage until the end of the scene has the advantage not only of minimizing interference in the text but also of allowing him to experience the unpleasantness which passes between Leontes and Camillo. Mamillius's death might reasonably be prepared for by having him exposed to inappropriate and frightening adult talk in this scene: his father's anxious comments, and the conversation between Leontes and Camillo.

The long conversation in which Leontes demands that Camillo kill Polixenes follows. It is possible that Leontes's "They're here with me already; whisp'ring, rounding: / Sicilia is a so-forth: 'tis farre gone, / When I shall gust it last" (TLN 302-4) is an audience-directed aside if it is to be taken as a comment upon Camillo, casting him as one of the imagined gossips, rather than a comment to him. After Camillo has agreed to the killing, Leontes exits through the stage right door vowing to take Camillo's advice to "seeme friendly" (TLN 453). After Leontes's exit Camillo has an audience-directed aside of fourteen lines before Polixenes enters through the stage left door (TLN 467). Polixenes tells Camillo that he has just been snubbed by Leontes ("euen now I met him" TLN 476) and this might be used to argue that Polixenes should enter using the door through which Leontes had exited, so that they could be imagined to have met just out of sight of the audience behind one of the stage doors. Polixenes could enter

through the stage right door or Leontes could have exited through the stage left door. Either usage would be contrary to normal convention, and Leontes's violation of the rule might be interpreted as a symptom of his mental distraction. However, Camillo's fourteen line speech is sufficiently long for the snub which occurs during it to have taken place in an imagined location far from the stage doors, and hence the normal convention of exits and entrances may reasonably be followed. After the long conversation in which Camillo reveals to Polixenes the danger they exit through the stage right door. Mamillius is present, apparently playing, until the end of the scene and Camillo's "Come Sir, away" (TLN 582) might just as easily be directed to the child as to Polixenes. With the stage clear the first act ends.

The act interval which follows is of an unknown duration. In a discussion of the staging of The Tempest Gurr asserted that "act-breaks seems to have lasted the equivalent of about thirty lines of dialogue" (Gurr 1989, 94). In support of this Gurr offered the evidence of the final act interval of Francis Beaumont's The Knight of the Burning Pestle which lasts "a little over thirty lines" (Gurr 1989, 93). Beaumont's play is unique in having the material intended for the act intervals reproduced in the early printed text. The material consists of scripted dialogue and cues for music and dancing, and the fourth interval is occupied by a speech of some 36 lines by Rafe (Beaumont 1613, I2r-I2v). Or rather, this is the fourth interval if we agree with Gurr that the marker "Finis Act. 4" is misplaced at the end of Rafe's speech and belongs before it

(Beaumont 1968, 13-4). Two objections can be raised against this evidence. The very singularity of this example should make us wary of relying too heavily upon it without corroboration, and, more importantly, the authorial scripting of such material means these are scarcely act intervals at all in the usual sense. There is no reason to suppose that there was any standard length for act intervals, and the occasional use of the expression 'long act' in prompt books and early printed texts suggests that intervals of uneven length could be scheduled within a single play (Taylor & Jowett 1993, 5-6, 11). If the Globe was following Blackfriars practice in these matters, it is likely that the musicians in the stage balcony played during the interval.

Act 2 Scene 1

The Folio stage direction for the beginning of the second act is "Enter Hermione, Mamillius, Ladies: Leontes, Antigonus, Lords" (TLN 584-5). J. H. P. Pafford noted that in stage directions at the beginning of four scenes of the play (2.1, 3.2, 5.1, 5.3) a colon divides the massed entry direction into those who enter immediately and those who, in Pafford's opinion, must enter later in the scene (Pafford 1961, 176-7). In four other scenes (2.2, 2.3, 3.3, 4.4) the massed entry direction is not divided in this way and Pafford suggested that since compositor A set the first four scenes and compositor B the second four scenes, it is possible that compositor B, whose error rate is consistently higher, ignored

the colons in his copy. T. H. Howard-Hill considered this to be further evidence that the Folio text of The Winter's Tale was set from a Crane transcript because the same use of colons is found in his transcript of A Game at Chesse and, possibly, The Witch (Howard-Hill 1966).

Pafford's argument is weakened by the use of unstated assumptions concerning too-early entry directions. There is nothing to prevent Leontes, Antigonus, and the Lords entering with the women and child at the beginning of 2.1, although Leontes does not speak until just after Mamillius has begun his tale of sprites and goblins (TLN 627). Indeed, Mamillius's comment that he will tell his tale so softly that "Yond Crickets shall not heare it" might just as easily refer to a group of lords in mimed conversation with Leontes as to "the chattering ladies", as Orgel put it (Shakespeare 1996, 120). The 'voice' of a cricket is in a higher register than most male voices, which might make the women's group more likely a referent than the men's, but Shakespeare's only other use of the word as an epithet (that is, excluding simple references to the insect, and its use as the name of one of the fairies in The Merry Wives of Windsor) is one man speaking to another: in The Taming of the Shrew Petruccio calls the Tailor "Thou Flea, thou Nit, thou winter cricket, thou" (TLN 2095).

Orgel noted the modern reluctance to assume that massed entries are erroneous, but in this case he chose to have the men enter just in time to speak (Shakespeare 1996, 82). The other three massed entries in which Pafford claimed that colons are used to indicate who enters immediately and who

later (at the beginnings of 3.2, 5.1, and 5.3) are difficult to dismiss as possible early entries by characters who silently attend before they speak. As we shall see, the opening entry direction of 3.2 is probably massed and that of 5.1 is certainly so since Florizel and Perdita cannot be present at the beginning of the scene. The opening direction of 5.3 requiring Hermione to 'enter' will require a special discussion of how the discovery is staged. The claimed examples of massed entry directions divided by colons are too uncertain to sustain Pafford's hypothetical rule which should not, therefore, govern our interpretation of the stage direction at the beginning of 2.1. The Folio direction is quite plausible: Leontes and his lords enter at the beginning of the scene and they mime conversation until attention moves from the women's group to the men's.

Hermione, Mamillius, ladies, Leontes, Antigonus, and lords enter through the stage left door. The women form a group with Mamillius, and Leontes and the lords form another group elsewhere on the stage. It is to be imagined that the conversation of each group is not heard by members of the other group. What passes between the women and Mamillius is heard by the audience until the child is instructed to tell his tale into Hermione's ear, and during these first 42 lines the men mime conversation. When Mamillius begins to whisper into his mother's ear, Leontes begins to speak ("Was hee met there?" TLN 628). The conversation of the men ends with Leontes's command "Giue me the Boy" (TLN 655) which breaks the separation of the two groups of characters. Leontes's repeated

command to have the child removed ("Beare the Boy hence, he shall not come about her, / Away with him" TLN 659-60) suggests that Mamillius exits with one or more adults, although whether it should be one of the lords or one of the ladies is unclear. Removal by a lord or lords would emphasize Leontes's command that Hermione is to have no further access to the child. If one or more of the ladies takes Mamillius away then more than two ladies entered with Hermione since a remaining plurality are referred to later in the scene. Mamillius and his attendant or attendants exit through the stage right door.

After Mamillius's exit Leontes and Hermione exchange accusations and denials until Leontes orders "Away with her, to Prison" (TLN 709). Orgel interpreted Leontes's subsequent question "Shall I be heard?" (TLN 723) as indicating that the order had not been executed (Shakespeare 1996, 124) and since Hermione is still speaking this is indisputable. However, Leontes's question might also indicate that Hermione has not been seized in preparation for her removal. Hermione instructs her ladies to accompany her ("my Women come" TLN 732) and they leave under guard at Leontes's command "Goe, doe our bidding: hence" (TLN 733) through the stage right door. Since no guards appear to be present, and a queen might reasonably be guarded by a nobleman, it appears that a lord or lords escort the women off. The group must be near the door or through it by the time one of the remaining lords beseeches Leontes to "call the Queene againe" (TLN 734). After Hermione's departure the lords attempt to convince Leontes that he has made a mistake

and he replies "You smell this businesse with a sence as cold / As is a dead-mans nose: but I do see't, and feel't, / As you feele doing thus: and see withal / The Instruments that feele" (TLN 764-7). Orgel suggests that the simplest gesture to accompany "As you feele doing thus" is for Leontes to strike his own breast (Shakespeare 1996, 126). It is difficult to make sense of the speech without some such business. At the end of the scene Leontes and the lords exit through the stage right door. Leontes leads ("Come follow vs" TLN 814) and finishes his speech "this businesse / Will raise vs all" (TLN 815-6). Antigonus completes the metrical line with "To laughter, as I take it" (TLN 817). This is probably an audience- directed aside which might gain most effect if Antigonus is the last to leave the stage.

Act 2 Scene 2

The Folio stage direction calls for Paulina, a gentleman, the gaoler, and Emilia to enter at the beginning of the scene. The subsequent dialogue makes it clear that Paulina is accompanied by more than one man and that Emilia is not present. The first line of dialogue is Paulina's "The Keeper of the prison, call to him" (TLN 821) which appears to be addressed to one of the gentlemen. It is possible that the gaoler is off stage and is fetched by the gentleman, but it is equally likely that the gaoler is present, perhaps 'guarding' one of the stage doors. This hypothesis avoids the inventions of additional directions for the exit and re-entry of the

gentleman and will be accepted here. Because one of the stage doors represents the way in to the prison this symbolic function may, from the beginning of the scene, override the normal convention of entrance and exit.

The scene begins with the entry of Paulina and two or more attendants (one of whom is the "gentleman" of the stage direction) through the stage left door and of the gaoler through the stage right door. The gaoler takes up a position guarding the stage right door which represents the entrance to the prison. One of Paulina's men calls the gaoler over to Paulina in response to whose pleas the gaoler says "So please you (Madam) / To put a-part these your attendants, I / Shall bring Emilia forth" (TLN 835-7). The men attending Paulina exit through the stage left door because the usual exit, the stage right door, is in use as the entrance to the prison. The gaoler exits through the stage right door and immediately returns with Emilia whose appearance Paulina greets with "Deare Gentlewoman, / How fares our gtacious [sic] Lady" (TLN 844-5). Emilia invites Paulina into "the next roome" (TLN 874) to wait while Hermione is informed of Paulina's offer to show the queen's newborn baby to Leontes. Since this room is on the way to the queen's lodgings Emilia presumably indicates the stage right door which leads into the prison. At the end of the scene the Gaoler, Emilia, and Paulina exit through the stage right door because this represents the prison, and the normal convention of stage left for entrances and stage right for exits is restored.

Act 2 Scene 3

The Folio stage direction at the beginning of the scene is "Enter Leontes, Seruants, Paulina, Antigonus, and Lords" (TLN 898-9). An explicit entry for Paulina 30 lines later indicates that she does not enter at the start of the scene, but it is not clear if this is also true of others named in the opening entry direction. Pafford argued that in the eight scenes he believed to have massed entry directions (2.1, 2.2, 2.3, 3.2, 3.3, 4.4, 5.1, and 5.3) the order of entrance is preserved despite the removal of the intervals between the entrances (Pafford 1961, 176-7). If true this might help reduce staging possibilities but the current scene appears to violate the rule. A lord tells Paulina "You must not enter" (TLN 929) and yet the lords are the last named in the opening stage direction. It is possible to sustain Pafford's hypothesis by supposing that the lord entered with Paulina and that when he says "enter" he means 'approach the king'. If so, Paulina's entry direction at TLN 928 should be modified to include the lords and, presumably, Antigonus. Pafford's tempting hypothesis requires an unusual interpretation of the word "enter" and considerable invention of stage directions and so it cannot be accepted. Massed entry directions cannot be relied upon to preserve the order of staggered entrance. Only Paulina need be dropped from the opening stage direction, and allowed to use her explicit entry direction later in the scene.

The scene begins with the entrance through the stage left door of Leontes, two or more servants, Antigonus, and two or more lords. At the end of a speech in which he describes his distracted thoughts and the restlessness they cause, Leontes cries "Whose there?" (TLN 908). Leontes appears to have no onstage interlocutor for this speech which is therefore an audience-directed aside. Orgel interpreted "Whose there?" as "a command for attention, not a question", and so he altered the question mark to an exclamation mark and gave an entry direction for a servant to enter in response (Shakespeare 1996, 132). Pafford placed an entry direction for a servant before Leontes's question, which might suggest that Leontes is responding to the noise of servant's entrance. Pafford cited Samuel A. Tannenbaum as the first to argue that until the servant enters Leontes is alone on stage, and hence his opening speech is a soliloquy (Shakespeare 1963, 43; Tannenbaum 1928, 366). In support of this Tannenbaum offered Leontes's dismissal of the servant: "Leaue me solely" (TLN 918). The sense of Leontes's self-willed isolation is strong in this scene, but it is not dependent upon the absence of others. Later the audience hears 16 lines of Paulina's demands to be admitted to the king's presence, moderated by Antigonus and resisted by at least one lord, and to all of this Leontes responds "Who noyse there, hoe?" (TLN 945). His mental detachment from others on stage is apparent and being left "solely" might easily mean 'not closely attended' by those on stage with him. Furthermore "Leaue me solely" only indicates Leontes's return to solitude if we assume he began alone: if

the servant was already present the injunction might merely send away the only other person on stage. The logic in Tannenbaum's interpretation is mysterious:

That no one is with him at the opening of this scene is proved by his words to the servant in line 22 ('Leaue me solely', i.e., leave me to myself).
(Tannenbaum 1928, 366).

Although "Whose there?" is commonly used to call for service, other interpretations are possible. A distracted and less-than-usually aware Leontes might inappropriately attempt a soliloquy despite the presence of others on stage. If Leontes wrongly considers himself to be alone he would not properly engage the audience-directed aside convention which keeps those around him from hearing what he says to the audience (Gyde 1990, 61-3). Gyde cites several examples of soliloquies which end with a fear of being overheard--the aside convention is unavailable during soliloquies because there is no-one around to 'deafen'--and Leontes's "Whose there?" might be such a moment of anxiety prompted by sudden awareness of the presence of others.

It is possible, but not essential, that a servant exits through the stage right door when told to "goe, / See how he [Mamillius] fares" (TLN 918-9). If Leontes is extremely distracted it is possible that his instructions are not being followed by his servants and that we need not invent a stage direction here. After nine lines more of Leontes swearing to take revenge Paulina enters through the stage left door demanding access to the king (TLN 928). From the subsequent

dialogue concerning a baby it appears that Paulina is carrying one when she enters. At TLN 990 Leontes says "Giue her the Bastard" and since Paulina is the only woman present it seems that she has laid the baby on the floor. Throughout the duration of Paulina's presence Leontes makes repeated calls to have her ejected and it is possible that she is confined to an area around the door through which she entered. That is to say, this area around the door becomes charged with symbolic significance: it is the threshold she cannot cross. After impassioned speeches to Leontes about his baby, Paulina exits at TLN 1058. If it is believed that Paulina is confined to the area around the stage left door through which she entered then she might have to use it, rather than the usual stage right door, to exit.

Imploring Leontes not to destroy the baby, the lords kneel between "on our knees we begge" (TLN 1079) and "We all kneele" (TLN 1083). The second of these might be as much an imperative injunction rather than a statement of fact and would serve well to instruct lords played by hired men. An appropriate moment for the lords to rise might be Antigonus's oath to fulfil Leontes's command to expose the child (TLN 1116). The likely moment for Antigonus to pick up the child is as he says "Come on (poore Babe)" TLN 1117). At TLN 1124 Antigonus exits through the stage right door with the baby, as indicated in the Folio direction at the end of his speech. A servant enters at TLN 1126 to announce the return of Cleomenes and Dion. Leontes dismisses the lords at the end of the scene with "Leaue me" and the Folio direction is "Exeunt" (TLN

1143). A slight pause between the departure of the lords and the exit of Leontes is all that is needed to suggest that they are leaving him, and all may exit through the stage right door. An interval follows and it is possible that Leontes takes advantage of this to delay his exit, so emphasizing his solitude.

Act 3 Scene 1

Cleomenes and Dion enter through the stage left door. Their dialogue indicates that they have consulted Apollo's oracle on the island of Delphos and are returning to deliver the sealed response to Leontes. Dion's imperative "Goe: fresh Horses" (TLN 1171) indicates that they have spent at least one day riding and will ride another. This suggestion of considerable distance being travelled over land puts the imagined location somewhere between a Sicilian harbour and Leontes's court, rather than somewhere on the island of Delphos. Although the audience might not notice, this is the first scene of the play to be set outside Leontes's court. Cleomenes and Dion exit through the stage right door at the end of the scene.

Act 3 Scene 2

The Folio stage direction at the beginning of the scene is "Enter Leontes, Lords, Officers: Hermione (as to her Triall) Ladies: Cleomines, Dion" (TLN 1174-5). Leontes's

command "Produce the Prisoner" (TLN 1183) does not prove that Hermione is absent at the beginning of the scene since 'produce' can mean 'bring forward'. An officer repeats the order as "It is his Highnesse pleasure, that the Queene / Appeare in person, here in Court" (TLN 1184-5) which does suggest Hermione has not yet entered unless 'here' is taken to mean a privileged area on the stage. It seems more likely that Hermione enters after this command. The others named in the opening stage direction may all enter at the beginning of the scene, and since this is clearly a formal occasion use of the central opening would be justified. For the same reason the order of entrance might be significant. Leontes is not only the plaintiff but also the judge and it is his presence in this capacity that makes the scene a "Sessions" (TLN 1176). A case could be made for him leading the others onto the stage, because he is the most important, or for his entrance being the last because it is charged with extra significance indicated by the officers settling into their positions first as do the officers in a modern court of law. This is the only scene in which Leontes exercises the special rights of kingship and it would be appropriate for the throne to be present. The throne could be lowered from above using the flight machine, as discussed in chapter 3, before Leontes enters. Andrew Gurr argued that when a throne was needed it might most appropriately be placed near what is now called the downstage edge of the stage and facing the frons (Gurr 1996b). In the trial of Hermione it would be visibly striking if she faced Leontes as she entered, and in Gurr's arrangement the

power of the throne is suggested by all parts of the playing space being within its occupant's purview.

After the officer's words "here in court" the Folio has the italicized word "Silence" ranged right which might be another word he has to speak or a stage direction. Both Pafford and Orgel integrated it with the rest of the officer's speech, suggesting that a commotion erupts which the officer is obliged to quell, but with notes offering the stage direction explanation as a plausible alternative (Shakespeare 1963, 56; Shakespeare 1996, 143). Like the disputed word "Silence", the indictment read aloud by the officer is printed in italics, as is the written answer from the oracle. It is possible that this is intended to indicate that the officer adopts an altered tone when reading the texts of these stage properties. Crane's known habit of making alterations which assist readers, rather than playhouse personnel, is the likely source of this change of typeface. After her denial of the charges Hermione calls for the oracle to be read. A lord turns her request into the command "bring forth / (And in Apollo's Name) his Oracle" (TLN 1297-8) at which point Cleomenes and Dion come forward to swear an oath that the sealed document they deliver has not been tampered with.

After Leontes's rejection of the oracle's verdict a servant announces the death of Mamillius who is not present ("The Prince . . . is gone" TLN 1326-7). If this servant has the news at first hand he must enter before announcing it, or else he receives the news from one who enters. In either case the entrance is made through the stage left door. Leontes's

"How now there?" and Paulina's "This newes is mortall to the Queene: Look downe / And see what Death is doing" (TLN 1131-3) indicate that Hermione has fallen to the ground, suggesting a faint. Both Pafford and Orgel follow Rowe in having Paulina and ladies carry Hermione off in response to Leontes's "Take her hence" (TLN 1334) although the Folio has no stage direction. If Paulina exits she must return to deliver her attack on Leontes which begins "Woe the while / O cut my lace" (TLN 1358-9). Paulina's absence during Leontes's speech of self-reproach would prevent her hearing of his plan to kill Polixenes, and yet she refers to this upon her return: "Thou would'st haue poyson'd good Camillo's Honor, / To haue him kill a King" (TLN 1375-6). Although an audience which knows of this plan might not be concerned that the court has heard nothing of it until Leontes's revelation, an inconsistency which derives solely from invented stage directions should be avoided. There is no need for Hermione to be removed in response to Leontes's command "Take her hence" since those near her might not consider such action appropriate and Leontes's attention immediately turns to his acts of contrition. Physical separation on the stage is all that is required to make sense of the ensuing speeches. Paulina's mocking command "go and see: if you can bring / Tincture, or lustre in her lip" (TLN 1392-3) does not require Hermione to be off stage, but Leontes's request "bring me / To the dead bodies of my Queene, and Sonne" (TLN 1426-7) makes better sense if Hermione is not present. Hermione may be removed at any time between her collapse and the end of the scene and

perhaps the best moment would be Paulina's first outburst "Woe the while: O cut my Lace, least my heart (cracking it) / Breake too" (TLN 1358-60). It would appear plausible that Paulina, attending the fallen queen, 'realizes' that Hermione is dead and gestures for others to remove the body. Unaware that Hermione is alive, the audience will not perceive a need for Paulina to be off stage with the queen to concoct the plan to trick Leontes. Thus the minimum interference needed to make sense of the Folio text is a stage direction "Exeunt attendants carrying Hermione" at TLN 1357. For dignity and to emphasize the formal nature of the proceedings, the exit could be made through the central opening. At the end of the scene all those on stage exit through the central opening. If the throne has been flown down, it would be flown up at this point.

Act 3 Scene 3

The opening stage direction in the Folio is "Enter Antigonus, a Mariner, Babe, Sheepe-heard, and Clowne" (TLN 1437- 8). There is another entrance direction for the Clown at TLN 1520 with no intervening exit direction. It is clear from his references to the sights he has seen that the Clown is absent at the start of the scene. The Old Shepherd, however, might be present at the beginning. His first speech, beginning after the stage direction involving a bear (TLN 1500), tells the audience that he is searching for his lost sheep and this activity may be concurrent with Antigonus's abandonment of the

baby. If so, the Old Shepherd's expression of pity for Antigonus's fate is ironic: "Would I had bin by, to haue help'd the olde man" (TLN 1548). Since this staging minimizes the invention of stage directions it will be assumed here.

Antigonus (carrying a baby), a mariner, and the Old Shepherd enter through the stage left door at the start of the scene. The Old Shepherd busies himself looking for lost sheep while Antigonus and the mariner converse. Looking for sheep could take the Old Shepherd all over the stage and comic interference with the members of the audience who are sitting on the stage is possible. The mariner exits through the stage right door at TLN 1456, as the Folio text indicates. While speaking his lines beginning "There lye" (TLN 1489) Antigonus places the baby on the ground together with documents which are referred to in the penultimate scene ("the Letters of Antigonus" TLN 3044), and with a container supposedly full of gold. Antigonus's comment "The storme beginnes" (TLN 1491) might reasonably be preceded by a sound effect representing the noise of the storm. The prologue to Jonson's Every Man in His Humour as it appeared in his 1616 Folio names two possible means of creating the sound of a storm. The prologue lists dramatic effects which will not be used in the play:

nor roul'd bullet heard
To say, it thunders; nor tempestuous drumme
Rumbles, to tell you when the storme doth come;
(Jonson 1616, A3r)

The "bullet" is presumably a cannonball providing the deep rumbling of thunder, in which case we might expect the

"tempestuous drumme" to provide the sharp crack which accompanies lightning. The deep rumble of thunder is in fact the same sound as the sharp crack which accompanies a lightning strike but perceived at such a distance from the source that the component frequencies, which travel at different speeds, form a succession of sounds arriving over a period of time. The likely ignorance of this fact might explain a difficult stage direction in The Tempest, as we shall see. Jonson's description of the sound effects for a storm indicates only the deep rumble of distant thunder, but snare drums are quite capable of producing the sibilant crack necessary to indicate a lightning strike. One example of a contemporary snare drum which would be suitable is the tabor (Munrow 1976, 13, 32). The use of the large balls to make the sound of thunder is corroborated by an apparent reference to them in Shakespeare's Othello: "Are there no stones in heauen / But what serues for the thunder?" (Shakespeare 1622, M4v).

Another sound effect ought to precede Antigonus's "A savage clamor?" (TLN 1498) but it is not clear which of three possible sounds is appropriate. If it is accepted that the question mark indicates an exclamation then Antigonus may be commenting on the sound of the storm, in which case thunder precedes his comment. The Old Shepherd's reference to a hunt scattering his sheep suggests a different sound effect to precede Antigonus's comment: that of hunting horns and dogs. Orgel chose to invent a stage direction for the sound of the storm, of hunting horns, and of dogs barking at this point (Shakespeare 1996, 155). It is not clear how the sound of dogs

might be created but the stage direction "A noyse of Hunters heard. Enter diuers Spirits in shape of Dogs and Hounds . . ." (TLN 1929-30) in Shakespeare's The Tempest suggests that Orgel's stage direction could be achieved. A final possibility is that the bear is heard before it enters. This would not rule out the use of a real bear: we might consider it unlikely that even a tame bear could time its oral performance to synchronize with Antigonus's dialogue, but the use of cruelty might make this more a matter of hurting the bear on cue. There is little hope of determining which of three possible sounds (storm, hunt, and bear) were used or in what combinations. Antigonus exits through the stage right door at the point indicated by perhaps the most famous stage direction in dramatic literature: "Exit pursued by a Beare" (TLN 1500).

The stage direction involving a bear requires a special consideration. Arthur Quiller-Couch decided that a real polar bear was used, supposing that ". . . the Bear-Pit in Southwark, hard by the Globe Theatre, had a tame animal to let out, and the Globe management took the opportunity to make a popular hit" (Shakespeare 1931, xx). Citing the use of white bears in Jonson's Oberon (performed 1 January 1611) and in the anonymous play Mucedorus performed at court by the King's men in 1610 or 1611, Dover Wilson and Quiller-Couch argued that ". . . tame bears (very tame) were seen upon the stage at this period" (Shakespeare 1931, 156). From this he concluded that ". . . it can hardly be doubted that Antigonus was pursued by a polar bear on the shores of Bohemia in full view of the audience at the Globe" (Shakespeare 1931, 157).

Nevill Coghill disputed the use of a real bear:

Now the polar bear is an extremely dangerous beast, even if bred in captivity, and albino brown bears are of the utmost rarity, though it is true a pair was born at Berne in 1575. A brown bear could, of course, be painted white, but brown bears are cross and unreliable; even if they were as mild as milk they could not be counted on for a well-timed knock-about routine such as is needed with Antigonus. (Coghill 1958, 34)

This apparent evaluation is merely an assertion that real bears, whether white or brown, are too wild for the job.

Coghill offered a plausible alternative:

On the other hand it is easy, even for a modest acrobat, to personate a bear, with an absolutely calculated degree of comic effect: he has only to be able to walk on all fours without flexing his knees and rise thence on to his "hind legs" for an embrace. There is of course no difficulty in making a bear-costume. Real bears are neither so reliable, so funny nor so alarming as a man disguised as a bear can be. . . . (Coghill 1958, 34)

Coghill explained why he thought this comic moment to be perfectly suited to the dramatic effect Shakespeare wished to achieve. The Clown's "grisly and ludicrous, mocking and condoling" description of the destruction of the ship and of Antigonus, and the device of a man in a bear suit, work to

provide the "dramaturgical hinge" at which tragedy turns to comedy (Coghill 1958, 35).

George Walton Williams agreed with Coghill's analysis and argued that in both The Winter's Tale and The Tempest the sixteen year interval between a girl's birth and her puberty forms a thematic 'hinge' (Williams, George Walton 1994). In The Winter's Tale this hinge occurs in the middle of the play and its beginning is marked by the device of the bear and the appearance of Time, and in The Tempest its end occurs at the beginning of the play and is marked by the opening stage direction for the sound of a storm. Williams argued that the use of two real bears in Jonson's masque Oberon does not indicate the feasibility of a tame bear performing in The Winter's Tale because those in the masque were attended by seven bearwards dressed as sylvans (Williams, George Walton 1994, 105).

Two pieces of evidence point to an entertainment practice of men dressed in bear skins being 'baited' by men dressed as animals. In Jonson's Bartholomew Fair Joan Trash describes Leatherhead as "the first, Sir, that euer baited the fellow i' the beare's skin, an't like your worship: no dog euer came neer him, since" (Jonson 1631, F4). Editors of Bartholomew Fair including E. A. Horsman (Jonson 1960, 82) and G. R. Hibbard (Jonson 1977, 85) have referred readers to Samuel Rowlands's book of epigrams The Knave of Hearts concerning the near killing of a man baited in a bear suit. The epigram describes the fate of several impersonators including Bladud and Daedalus and continues:

Thus counterfainting shapes haue had ill lucke,
Witnesse Acteon when he plaid the Bucke.
And now of late, but bad successe I heare,
To an vnfortunate two-legged Beare,
Who though indeede he did deserue no ill,
Some Butchers (playing Dogs) did well-nye kill:
Belike they did reueenge vpon him take,
For Hunckes and Stone, and Paris-gardens sake,
With all the kindred of their friend old Harry:
But should the Fortune-Beare, by death misse-carry,
I cannot see but (by the Lawes consent)
The Butchers would at Tyburne keepe their Lent.
(Rowlands 1612, F4r)

The apparent allusion to "an vnfortunate two-legged Beare" is mysterious and might not refer to a man in a bear suit. The words rendered in italic typeface are "Bladud", "Dedalus", "German", "Peter Stumpe", "Acteon", "Beare", "Hunckes", "Stone", "Paris-garden", and "Fortune-Beare". If "Beare" is being used as a common noun then it does not belong with these proper nouns. Equally likely is the explanation that a man named Beare has been attacked and seriously injured by ordinary assailants and that the epigram is punningly likening this to a animal baiting show. Calling him the "Fortune-Beare" is also mysterious but it is no less likely that the Fortune playhouse was the scene of a common assault than that it was a venue for a baiting of a man in a bear suit. It is difficult to imagine how a man might be seriously injured in an entertainment of feigned baiting, and the reference to the

assailants spending Lent at Tyburn suggests criminal intent rather than an accident.

The second reference to player-bears is an entry in the Stationers' Register for 21 January 1612: "John Wrighte Entred for his Copy vnder th[e h]andes of the wardens, A ballad called, The men bayted in a beares skynn &c . . . vj^d/." (Arber 1876, 215v). Unfortunately the ballad has not survived. If there was a tradition of entertainments in which men dressed as animals imitated animal baiting shows it might have stood in the same relation to real animal baiting as modern wrestling stands to boxing: the outcome predetermined, the blows acted, and the tone ranging from irony to satire.

Henslowe and Alleyne were active in real animal baiting entertainment. Wickham, Hodges, Southern, and Hosley asserted that outdoor playhouses were based upon the design of animal baiting rings and offered both kinds of entertainment. This hypothetical link has been disproved by Brownstein, who has established that Henslowe's Hope playhouse was the first to offer both entertainments (Brownstein 1979). Professional rivalry between the King's men and the Henslowe companies would militate against the use of a real bear in The Winter's Tale, and if there existed a practice of mock baiting involving actors dressed as animals an allusion to it would be appropriate for the darkly comic 'bear' which, in chasing Antigonus, reverses the cruelty of real animal baiting. The matter cannot be settled conclusively but it will be assumed here that the 'bear' in The Winter's Tale is played by a man in a bear suit.

At TLN 1500 the 'bear' enters through the stage left door and chases Antigonus who exits, closely pursued, through the stage right door. The Old Shepherd has been blithely searching for his sheep since the beginning of the scene and with the departure of the bear he begins his address to the audience listing the vices of youth. The end of the list is "wronging the Auncientry, stealing, fighting, hearke you now: would any but these boylde-braines of nineteene, and two and twenty hunt this weather?" (TLN 1504-7). "Hearke you now" might draw the attention of the audience to a sound effect indicating the destruction of Antigonus, which the Old Shepherd takes to be the sound of young men fighting. The Old Shepherd sees the baby and comments upon it but does not pick it up. The Clown enters at TLN 1520 through the stage left door. At the Old Shepherd's behest--"take vp, take vp (Boy:) open't" TLN 1556--the Clown picks up the container of gold left with the baby and opens it. The point at which the baby is taken up is not clear from the dialogue. The Clown tells the Old Shepherd "Go you the next way with your Findings, / Ile go see if the Beare bee gone from the Gentleman" (TLN 1567-8) which indicates that they exit through different doors. Presumably it is the Old Shepherd's exit which is unusual and hence is explained as being the shortest ("next") route home. This suggests that the Clown leaves by the stage right door, the usual exit and the direction the bear took, and the Old Shepherd exits through the stage left door in violation of the usual convention. The scene ends with their exits at TLN 1577 and an act interval follows.

Act 4 Scene 1

The special symbolic nature of the choric figure of Time might be emphasized by entrance (TLN 1579) and exit (TLN 1611) through the central opening.

Act 4 Scene 2

The Folio stage direction calls for Polixenes and Camillo to enter (TLN 1613) and, since they are the only two speakers in this scene and their conversation is intimate, there is nothing to suggest that others are present. The scene is therefore domestic and entrance would be through the stage left door. After their conversation they exit together through the stage right door at the end of the scene (TLN 1666).

Act 4 Scene 3

The opening stage direction, "Enter Autolycus singing" (TLN 1668), suggests that his song begins off stage. Autolycus enters through the stage left door. The words of this song, like all his songs, are printed in italic typeface. As with the use of italic type in the trial scene (3.2) it appears that the intention is to draw the reader's attention to the change of prosody. This song is the first explicit use of music in the play and there is nothing to suggest that the player's voice was accompanied by instruments. In his account of an early performance Simon Forman described Autolycus as

"the Rog that cam in all tottered like coll pixci" (Chambers 1930b, 341). Orgel modernized this to "all tattered like colt-pixie" and glossed 'colt-pixie' as "A mischievous sprite or hobgoblin, especially in the shape of a ragged colt luring men to follow it and then disappearing" (Shakespeare 1996, 233). It is difficult to imagine why Autolycus put Forman in mind of a horse-spirit, and taken individually three of the words used by Forman have meanings which might be more appropriate than Orgel's interpretation. Since Autolycus pretends to have been attacked, "Made to totter, shaken, reeling" (OED tottered ppl. a. Obs.) is at least as attractive as Orgel's "tattered". The lack of a definite or indefinite article between "like" and "coll" in Forman's account would be less awkward if "coll" were a continuous variable such as 'coal'. However, there is nothing to link 'tottered' with 'coal', although "pixci" is close to 'pitchy': "a. Full of or abounding in pitch; bituminous, resinous; coated, smeared, soiled, or sticky with pitch; fig. sticky like pitch, thievish" (OED pitchy a.). The meaning of "coll" which comes nearest to straightforward description of Autolycus is as a variant spelling of 'cole': "A deceiver, cheat, sharper (at dice)." (OED cole sb.² 2). So, "tottered", "coll", "pixci" can all be found contemporary meanings which suit the theatrical moment, but Forman's syntax combines them in a way which defies sense. However, Orgel's "colt-pixie" merely yokes two of the words together to form a compound noun which does not suit the theatrical moment and has no discernible relationship to "tottered" which it should be "like". We have, it seems, a rare example of a eyewitness

description of an entrance by a Shakespearian character in an early performance and we can make no use of it.

After three verses of his song Autolycus has two lines set in Roman type which are presumably spoken rather than sung. Gyde's theory of the aside/soliloquy convention does not address the delivery of songs and in the absence of other evidence it is perhaps best to assume that singers do not attempt to feign unawareness of the presence of the audience. All of Autolycus's lines before the entrance of the Clown are, on this assumption, addressed to the audience. After a second song, Autolycus's soliloquy ends with "A / prize, a prize" (TLN 1698-9) which indicates that he sees the Clown entering. Self-concealment behind a stage post would be an appropriate response to the Clown's entrance.

The Clown enters through the stage left door at TLN 1700 and begins a speech in which he attempts to calculate the profit from sheep shearing, and then recall the items he has been sent to buy. Orgel invented a stage direction "(He takes out a paper)" after the Clown's "Let me see, what am I to buy for our Sheepe-shearing Feast?" (TLN 1705-6) and explained "Dates, none: that's out of my note" (TLN 1716) as indicating that dates are not on his list (Shakespeare 1996, 165). The play offers no clear evidence concerning the literacy of the Clown but it might be complained that he ought not to be so highly educated. A shepherd's "note" might be his mental record of important details (OED note, sb. 13a). In the first scene of the play Archidamus described Mamillius as "a Gentleman of the greatest Promise, that euer came into my

Note" (TLN 37-8) and in the second scene Polixenes used 'note' in the same sense: "Nine changes of the Watry-Starre have been / The Shepherds Note" (TLN 50-1). It is difficult to explain the Clown mentioning dates if he has a list and they are not on it, but Pafford suggested that perhaps the entry for dates was struck out (Shakespeare 1963, 84).

An alternative explanation of the speech is that the Clown's inability to perform the mental arithmetic concerning the profit from shearing causes him to reach in his pocket for tokens ("I cannot do't without Compters" TLN 1705) and that the sight of the money which he carries loose in his pocket reminds him of the purchases he has to make. That the Clown's money is loose in his pocket is suggested by Autolycus's audience-directed aside "Your purse is not hot enough to purchase your Spice" (TLN 1786-7) which makes no sense if Autolycus steals an actual purse from the Clown since the purse is 'hot' (full) enough, but is in the wrong hands. If, however, Autolycus has relieved the Clown of loose money, then "purse" means 'funds' (OED purse, sb. 2a), of which the departed Clown has insufficient. If there is no shopping list then presumably the reason the Clown says "Let me[e] see" (TLN 1701 and 1705) before the calculation of profit and the listing of items to be purchased is that both are mental operations which he, characteristically, has trouble performing.

If the Clown is speaking aloud to recollect detail and refresh his memory it might be difficult to reconcile his words with Gyde's insistence that all speeches are directed to

either the audience or other characters on stage. After reciting the elements of the calculation the Clown's question "what comes the wooll too?" (TLN 1703) could be addressed to the audience, as could the comment "But my father hath made her Mistris of the Feast, and she layes it on" (TLN 1708-9). A delivery of alternated self-absorption and awareness of the audience could be consistent with Gyde's model of the aside/soliloquy and avoid the need to deliver "let me see" in an implausible imperative mood. The use of audience-directed aside could allow the Clown's line "Dates, none: that's out of my note" to be punning self-mockery: chronology, like arithmetic and memorizing lists, is beyond him.

Autolycus's line "If the sprindge hold, the Cocke's mine" (TLN 1704) is delivered as an audience-directed aside. The meaning of "sprindge" (trap) would be clear to the audience if Autolycus was already in the prone position from which he cries out his pretended woe. That Autolycus is prone is indicated by the Clown offering him his hand and asking the question "Canst stand?" (TLN 1742). Autolycus makes his presence known to the Clown by his cry "Oh, that euer I was borne" and the Clown's surprise is indicated by his exclamation "I'th' name of me" (TLN 1718-9). It is clear from Autolycus's speech to the audience after the Clown's exit that during their exchange Autolycus picks the Clown's pocket. Autolycus's refusal of the Clown's offer of money would be more comic if the crime had already been committed. Autolycus's "Offer me no money I pray you, that killes my heart" (TLN 1750-1) could be said with a note of desperation

since acceptance of the Clown's charity would bring discovery of the theft.

Autolycus refuses the Clown's offer of company on his journey and the Clown exits. It is clear that they go in different directions and hence use different doors. Since the Clown has somewhere to go whereas Autolycus's claimed destination (a relative's house) is fictitious the Clown exits through the stage right door in the usual manner whereas Autolycus exits, at the end of the scene (TLN 1794), through the stage left door, singing.

Act 4 Scene 4

The stage direction at the beginning of the scene is "Enter Florizell, Perdita, Shepherd, Clowne, Polixenes, Camillo, Mopsa, Dorcas, Seruants, Autolicus" (TLN 1796-7). The only characters who may not be present at the beginning of the scene are Polixenes and Camillo, who are the "guests" whose arrival is announced by Florizel (TLN 1851), and Autolycus who has an entry direction (TLN 2043) after his presence "at the doore" (TLN 2006-7) is announced by a servant. It is clear that the opening stage direction masses directions that ought to be distributed in the scene, but since only those of Polixenes, Camillo, and Autolycus can be reliably deduced from the dialogue the others ought to remain at the beginning of the scene.

Florizel, Perdita, Shepherd, the Clown, Mopsa, Dorcas, and a minimum of two servants enter through the stage left

door. Since the first 62 lines belong to Florizel and Perdita they should stand together while the others busy themselves with preparation for the feast. Although the action of the scene could be executed without it, a large table laden with drinks and flowers would be useful and if it were brought on stage through the central opening the ceremonial nature of the feast could be indicated. The only properties explicitly called for are the flowers which Perdita requests of Dorcas (TLN 1879). Florizel and Perdita's conversation draws attention to and describes their costumes. Florizel's costume is that of a "a Swaines wearing" (TLN 1807) which indicates rustic clothes easily found from stock. Florizel describes Perdita's costume as "vnvsuall weeds" (TLN 1798) and like "Flora / Peering in Aprils front" (TLN 1799-1800). Perdita describes herself as "Most Goddess-like prank'd vp" (TLN 1808). In Thomas Campion's masque for Lord Hayes, possibly designed by Inigo Jones (Orgel & Strong 1973b, 115), Flora is described as "the Queene of Flowers, attired in a changeable Taffatie Gowne, with a large vale embrodered with flowers, a Crowne of flowers, and white buskins painted with flowers" (Campion 1607, B1v). It seems likely that Perdita's costume is decorated with flowers, but it is not clear how similar to a court masque costume it might be. Alan Brissenden's reading of the scene as an inversion of the court masque's movement from disorder to harmony emphasized parallels between Perdita and a court masquer:

The love between Perdita and Florizel is wonderfully affirmed, leading to the dance of the shepherds and

shepherdesses, equivalent to the masquers' dance--as indeed it is, since Florizel is disguised as Doricles and Perdita is wearing the 'borrowed flaunts' of her festival costume, as well as bearing her unknown identity as Leontes' daughter.

(Brissenden 1981, 93-4)

In Brissenden's reading ". . . Shakespeare prepares the way for the approaching disorder by the trickery of Autolycus and the bawdry [sic] of the two girls" and "The reversed masque pattern is complete when he [Polixenes] quits the scene in anger, leaving confusion and dismay in place of harmony and love" (Brissenden 1981, 94-5). It is not clear how like a true masquer Perdita must be in order for this supposed inversion of masque conventions to be apparent to the audience. An imitation of masque costume which nonetheless fails to conceal Perdita's supposed low-birth would be consistent with her discomfort at being a "poore lowly Maide" (TLN 1807) inappropriately overdressed and with Camillo's description of her as "The Queene of Curds and Creame" (TLN 1981). As we shall see with the costumes for the dance of satyrs, an intentional falling short of court standards might be part of the authorial intention in the scene.

Near the end of Florizel's speech of reassurance to Perdita, Polixenes and Camillo enter, in disguise, through the stage left door. There is little in the text to indicate what form their disguises take. It is necessary that the audience understand them to be in disguise and that the disguise can be removed rapidly for the moment of revelation. Perdita's use of

the phrase "Reuerend Sirs" (TLN 1879) might indicate that Polixenes and Camillo are wearing hoods of the kind worn by friars. 'Reverend' is used elsewhere by Shakespeare to honour old men as well as holy men, and Polixenes refers to himself and Camillo as old: "well you fit our ages / With flowres of Winter" (TLN 1885-6). Also, Florizel calls Polixenes "Old Sir" and "ancient Sir" (TLN 2179 and 2184) and Polixenes swears by his "white beard" (TLN 2241). It is possible that Polixenes's beard is part of his disguise, but equally possible that it is real. Shakespeare's only other use of 'reverend sir' is in All is True where Henry calls Cardinal Copeius "Most learned Reuerend Sir" (Folio Henry 8 TLN 1119). This occurs in a scene 2.2 which appears to have been touched up by Fletcher (Wells et al. 1987, 133-4, 618-9) and so it cannot be relied upon. 'Reverend sir' occurs several times in Pericles but the uncertain textual provenance makes this evidence even less reliable than that of All is True (Wells et al. 1987, 130, 556-60). The likeliest inference to be made by others present is that Polixenes and Camillo are travellers and only if they are holy men would this occupation be dignified. The Old Shepherd's certainty that they are suitable guests despite being strangers--he calls them "vnknowne friends" (TLN 1869) and "friends vnknowne" (TLN 2214)--is surprising unless their appearance denotes friendliness. Finally, Polixenes's horticultural exchange with Perdita is an appropriate topic for a Shakespearian friar, for example Friar Lawrence in Romeo and Juliet.

Polixenes and Camillo enter through the stage left door when Florizel says "Your guests are comming" (TLN 1851). The Old Shepherd upbraids Perdita for failing to greet these guests, so it is likely that Polixenes and Camillo remain near the door, uncertain where to go, until the Old Shepherd notices them. Greeting Polixenes and Camillo, Perdita says "Giue me those Flowres there (Dorcas.)" (TLN 1879) and hands them to her guests. It would be convenient if the flowers were to hand on a table, but they might instead be piled on the floor or else carried by Dorcas. Perdita gives Polixenes and Camillo flowers which she says are "Rosemary, and Rue" (TLN 1880). After an exchange concerning the propriety of crossbreeding plants (and by extension, human marriage across class divisions) Perdita gives Polixenes and Camillo more flowers (TLN 1916-8).

After this elaborate greeting to Polixenes and Camillo, Perdita returns to her conversation with Florizel. Florizel calls for Perdita to dance: "But come, our dance I pray, / Your hand (my Perdita:)" (TLN 1971-2). The Folio does not give a direction for Florizel and Perdita to begin dancing so Orgel invented one at this point but without indicating that music plays (Shakespeare 1996, 177). Capell's imaginative suggestion was "Musick. Dance forming" (Shakespeare 1768a, R2r) which allows Florizel and Perdita to prepare to join the general "Daunce of Shepherds and Shepherddesses" (TLN 1988) some 16 lines after Florizel's request. Orgel's suggestion suffers from the absence of music and Capell's does not solve the problem since the Clown twice calls "strike vp" (TLN 1982 and

1987) to musicians who are, according to Capell, already in full flow. The direction "Musicians prepare", meaning that they make the warming-up noises which precede a performance, would give Florizel a reason to call Perdita to dance and also make sense of the Clown's call for the music to begin. The musicians begin to play in response to the Clown's second call to strike up and continue throughout the dance.

No musicians are described as present on stage to provide the music for the dance. As discussed in the chapter 3 section '3.4 Richard Hosley's Demonstration of the De Witt Swan's Sufficiency for Globe Plays', the Globe's music room was, by this time, in the stage balcony. It would be odd for the Clown to call to musicians who were out of sight behind the tiring house wall, but less so for him to call to musicians in the stage balcony. The occasional use of the stage balcony as an acting space makes its status in the playworld uncertain at any given time, and it merely has to be referred to--as here, indirectly, by the Clown's call to the musicians--to become part of the playing space.

There is no evidence available to help us recover the kind of dance indicated by the Folio's direction "Heere a Daunce of Shepherds and Shephearddesses (TLN 1988-9) but Dover Wilson and Quiller-Couch and Pafford thought a morris dance appropriate (Shakespeare 1931, 171; Shakespeare 1963, 99). Brissenden followed Walter Sorell in specifying a 'brawl' or 'branle' on the evidence of two references to this dance (Brissenden 1981, 89, 124n16, 124n23; Sorell 1957, 380-1). In his dancing manual, Orchésographie (1589), Thoinou Arbeau

described the 'Branle Du Haut Barrois' as danced "by serving men and wenches, and sometimes by young men and damsels of gentle birth when they make a masquerade disguised as peasants and shepherds . . ." (Arbeau 1925, 118). Also, in Arcadia, Sidney described two groups of shepherds who danced "as it were in a braule" (Sidney 1590, M6r). Before this 'braule', Sidney's shepherds perform a dance

of such leapes & gambols, as being accorded to the Pipe (which they bare in their mouthes, euen as they daunced) made a right picture of their chiefe god Pan, and his companions the Satyres.

Brissenden noted that the 'braule' and the satyr-dance were contrasted by Sidney (Brissenden 1981, 124n23) and suggested that Shakespeare used the two dances in an inversion of the usual movement from anti-masque to order (Brissenden 1981, 90-5). Of Shakespeare's "Daunce of Shepheardes and Shephearddresses" (TLN 1988), Brissenden commented that

. . . this would have been a ring dance . . . the English name 'brawl' is a corruption of 'branle', from the French 'branler', meaning to swing from side to side; the basic steps go alternately from left to right, and there are many different varieties of the dance, almost all in duple time; two in triple time are described by Arbeau, who tells us that the branles are danced sideways, and not stepping forward. They could be danced in a chain or a circle, with hands linked.

(Brissenden 1981, 89)

It is clear that Florizel and Perdita are one of the couples, and that the Clown and Mopsa are another. These two pairs would be sufficient to satisfy the stage direction, but if Dorcas is not to be left out then one other man is needed. The opening stage direction of the scene refers to the presence of "Seruants" (TLN 1897), one of whom might make up a couple with Dorcas. Even if it is thought that this direction is massed, and includes the servant who enters to report arrivals at the door of the imagined building, there appears to be only one such door keeper. The opening stage direction's plurality provides another servant who is presumably onstage attending to the feast and who is available to make up a dancing couple with Dorcas.

It seems from Polixenes's comments on Perdita's grace ("She dances featly" TLN 2001) that the dance continues during the succeeding dialogue. If the Clown takes part in the dance, as suggested by Dorcas's comment to him that "Mopsa must be your Mistris" (TLN 1983), then either the dance is finished or he leaves it by the time he responds "He could neuer come better" (TLN 2012) to the servant's announcement of the arrival of the ballad-monger. If the dance is to be an integrated artistic unit it ought not to break up by couples leaving it to rejoin the dialogue, and even if the dance continues without the Clown it should be completed by the time Perdita speaks to the servant about the ballad-monger at the door (TLN 2038-9). There is no reason to suppose the music continues after the end of the dance.

The servant who announces Autolycus's arrival is supposed to have come from the front door of the building in which the feast is taking place but may enter through the stage left door in the normal way. The Clown gives the servant the instruction "Pre'thee bring him in" (TLN 2036) which, following Ichikawa's rule 'g' (discussed in the chapter 2 section '2.5 The Logic of Stage Entrances'), sends the servant out via the stage left door to bring Autolycus in through the same door. The servant exits after Perdita's rider that the ballad-monger is to "vse no scurrilous words in's tunes" (TLN 2038-9). There is no need for the servant to re-enter since he is to be imagined guarding the front door to the building which is offstage. The Folio direction for Autolycus's entrance is unproblematic ("Enter Autolycus singing TLN 2043) and he uses the stage left door.

Contemporary music scores for three of Autolycus's songs are reprinted by Orgel (Shakespeare 1996, 277-81). There is no indication that instruments accompanied Autolycus's voice: he carries none and nothing suggests that the playhouse musicians provide accompaniment. Autolycus is not recognized by the Clown, so some disguise would be appropriate. Autolycus later says in an audience-directed aside "Let me pocket vp my Pedler's excrement" (TLN 2596). In his edition Samuel Johnson put the footnote "What he means by his Pedler's Excrement, I know not" (Shakespeare 1765a, 323) but in the notes by other commentators which formed the unpaginated appendix to the final volume of the edition, Warton asserted that "Pedler's excrement, is pedler's beard" (Shakespeare 1765b, Ii4v). The

first edition to act upon this reading by inventing an explicit direction was Boswell's Malone edition which added the stage direction "Takes off his false beard" (Shakespeare 1821, 392). The New Variorum wrongly credits Steevens with this invention (Shakespeare 1898, 253). Malone and Boswell did not invent a stage direction for Autolycus to put on the beard, so presumably they thought he was wearing it for his first entrance in this scene and that it formed the disguise needed to prevent the Clown recognising him. Editors such as Pafford who follow Malone and Boswell in leaving Autolycus's first entrance direction in the scene untouched, and do not provide an explanatory note at that point, deny their readers an explanation of the Clown's failure to recognize his cozener. Orgel followed the Oxford editors in augmenting Autolycus's first entry direction in the scene so that it reads "Enter Autolycus wearing a false beard, carrying his pack, singing" (Shakespeare 1996, 181).

Warton's explanation of "Pedler's excrement" seems to be the only solution which fits all the evidence. 'Excrement' meaning "That which grows out or forth; an outgrowth; said esp of hair, nails, feathers" (OED excrement, sb.² 1) is now obsolete but was current in the seventeenth century, but so was its homograph 'excrement' meaning "That which remains after a process of sifting or refining; the dregs, lees, refuse" (OED excrement, sb.¹ 1). Autolycus might be describing the accoutrements of his pedlar business, but in an audience-directed aside he tells the audience "I haue sold all my Tromperie" and claims to have nothing "to keepe my Pack

from fasting" (TLN 2473-7). It is difficult, therefore, to see what are the dregs he might call his 'excrement'. In the absence of any reasonable referent for "Pedlers excrement" other than the hypothetical false beard, and because some disguise seems necessary, Autolycus should be assumed to make his first entrance in the scene wearing a false beard and carrying the pack to which he later refers.

After Autolycus's song attention turns away from Perdita, Florizel, and Camillo, and towards Clown, Mopsa, and Dorcas as they encourage Autolycus to show his wares. After Mopsa and Dorcas sing a three-part ballad with Autolycus, the Clown comments "My Father, and the Gent. are in sad talk" (TLN 2134-5). "Gent." might mean 'gentleman' or 'gentlemen' but in either case it is reasonable that Camillo and Polixenes stay together and the Clown's comment indicates that the Old Shepherd is with them. Thus the characters appear to be arranged on the stage in two groups: Mopsa, Dorcas, the Clown, and Autolycus form one and Camillo, Polixenes, and the Old Shepherd form the other. It is not clear where Perdita and Florizel are. If the stage could be divided into zones which each had a special significance, as in Robert Weimann's model of a 'locus' near the frons and a 'platea' downstage centre (Weimann 1988), the 'father-figure' group here might take one zone and the young people the other. In such a model the position taken by Perdita and Florizel, and any movement they make between the groups, would be charged with significance.

After remarking on his father and the "Gent.", the Clown instructs Autolycus, Mopsa, and Dorcas to follow him so that

they can enjoy the ballad at length without disturbing the old men. They leave by the stage right door, with Autolycus the last to exit, at the direction given for him after he starts another song (TLN 2144). Immediately after this exit a servant reports to the Old Shepherd that there are dancers at the front door. Presumably this is the same servant who announced the arrival of Autolycus and, as before, he should enter via the stage left door just before he imparts his news (TLN 2145). Once the Old Shepherd has given permission ("let them come in" TLN 2162) the servant exits through the stage left door (following Ichikawa's rule for summoning characters) and shortly thereafter the dancers enter through the stage left door.

The Folio marks the dance of the satyrs with the stage direction "Heere a Dance of twelue Satyres" (TLN 2164). As discussed in the chapter 4 sections '4.15 Within the Wooden O': Defending the Interior Decoration of the Wanamaker Globe' and '4.17 Further Defence of the Interior Decoration of the Wanamaker Globe', carved satyr figures decorated the interior of the Fortune and might have decorated the interior of the Globe. John Ronayne defended a brightly coloured frons at the Wanamaker Globe by arguing that it would not be as distracting as one might imagine:

Bernard Beckerman makes the point that natural light would considerably reduce the effect of a highly-coloured frons, so it would not interfere with a clear perception of the actor. There is also the 'depth of field' factor--as the audience's eyes

focus on the actor in the foreground, the background would be diffused. The actor is, furthermore, animated and mobile.

(Ronayne 1983, 23-4)

By this principle the presence of carved satyrs in the decoration of the playhouse would make little or no difference to the audience's perception of a scene in which satyrs appear. In the present scene the satyrs are played by herdsmen who seem to have made their costumes from the hair of the animals they tend and it is possible that their choice of costume represents a humble striving towards the classical values and mythological figures which they believe to be appropriate for entertainments before the king and, nearer to home, at the wealthy shepherd's festival. The presence of satyrs in the decoration of the Globe might give an impression that amateur entertainment is framed within an aesthetically elevated environment to whose standards the amateurs aspire. A similar effect of playhouse decoration might be observed in A Midsummer Night's Dream, as discussed in the chapter 8 section '8.3 What Has Been Learnt About Shakespearian Staging in this Thesis'.

There is considerable evidence that the satyr dance is a late addition to the play, although there is no reason to suppose it is non-authorial. As Wells pointed out, the dance can be removed without disruption to the surrounding dialogue and indeed with some improvement in sense (Wells et al. 1987, 601). Before the dance the Clown reports that "My Father, and the Gent. are in sad talk" (TLN 2134-5) and after it Polixenes

says "O Father, you'l know more of that heereafter" (TLN 2165). With the dance interposed between these speeches, Polixenes appears to have been talking during the dancers' performance even though it was he who persuaded the reluctant Old Shepherd to admit them.

The servant describes the dancers as "three Carters, three Shepherds, three Neat-herds, three Swine-herds y^t haue made themselues all men of haire, they cal themselues Saltiers" (TLN 2145-7). Editors usually gloss "saltiers" as 'leapers' from the obsolete word 'sault' (also spelt 'salt') meaning "A leap, jump; spec. of horses" (OED sault, sb.² 1) and indeed the servant goes on to relay the dancers' claim that "not the worst of three, but iumpes twelue foote and a halfe by th' squire" (TLN 2159-60). Presumably "saltiers" is also intended to convey the sense of 'satyrs' since they are described as satyrs in the stage direction for their dance, although if this is "the servant's error for 'satyrs'" as Orgel claimed (Shakespeare 1996, 185) then the comic effect would not occur for another 17 lines when they actually appear.

Ashley H. Thorndike was the first to argue that the dance of satyrs was a borrowing from Jonson's masque Oberon, performed on 1 January 1611 (Thorndike 1900). The dance in Oberon is described thus: "The song ended: They fell sodainly into an antique dance, full of gesture, and swift motion, and continued it, till the crowing of the cock: At which they were interrupted by SILENVS." (Jonson 1616, Nnnn4v). Jonson's stage direction calls for satyrs "to the number of tenne" (Jonson

1616, Nnnn2r) but presumably the "two Syluanes" (Jonson 1616, Nnnn4r) who are present join in the dance since an eyewitness account records that ". . . some dozen satyrs and fauns who had much to say about the coming of a great prince to be followed by a thousand benefits, in the hope of which the fauns danced about joyfully, exciting great laughter" (Trumbull 1938, 1). One of Inigo Jones's drawings of satyrs (Orgel & Strong 1973a, 221) is often described as a design for the satyrs in Oberon (for example in Peacock 1995, 140-2) but Orgel and Strong expressed reservations about the connection because the drawing is "in a style one would rather associate with Jones's post-1615 period" and because the satyrs are nude, "a feature to which the Queen had objected in the Oxford plays designed by Jones in 1605" (Orgel & Strong 1973a, 220). Internal evidence ought to be a more reliable guide to the appearance of the satyrs. Describing the jewels which they hope to receive from Oberon, the satyrs refer to their bodies thus: "our clouen feet", "our crooked legges", "our tawnie wrists", "our stubbed hornes", "our pricking eares", and "our shaggie thighs" (Jonson 1616, NNNN3r-3v).

Such descriptions would be a useful guide to the appearance of the satyrs in Shakespeare's The Winter's Tale if, as Thorndike believed, the same actors performed the dance in Jonson's masque and, presumably, used the same costumes. However, beyond their both being energetic dances of satyrs, the only connection between the masque and the play is the servant's comment that "One three of them, by their owne report (Sir,) hath danc'd before the King" (TLN 2158-9), which

would be true if the same actors had performed in the masque. Thorndike offered no other evidence that the same actors performed in the masque and the play. However, if one agrees with Thorndike that two satyr dances performed around the same time are bound to be related because they are so unusual, a further connection between the two works might be hypothesized. A stage direction in Oberon is often cited as evidence that bears could appear in entertainments:

There the whole palace open'd, and the nation of Faies were discover'd, some with instruments, some bearing lights; others singing; and within a farre off in perspectiue, the knights masquers sitting in their seuerall sieges: At the further end of all, OBERON, in a chariot, which to a lowd triumphant musique began to moue forward, drawne by two white beares, and on either side guarded by three Syluanes, with one going in front.

(Jonson 1616, Nnnn4v)

Williams argued that the seven sylvans were really bearwards, who were a necessary precaution to ensure that Prince Henry (playing Oberon) was safe from the two live bears (Williams, George Walton 1994, 105). However, Thorndike's suggestion raises exciting possibilities for further artistic intercourse between Jonson's masque and Shakespeare's play. The bears in Oberon might also be actors, in which case one of these might have chased Antigonus in Shakespeare's play, or else one of the satyr costumes might have been used to represent Shakespeare's bear.

Shakespeare's servant describes the dancers as rustics who have "made themselves all men of haire" (TLN 2146-7). It appears that the costumes for Jonson's satyrs covered the entire body since they refer not only to their unusual feet, legs, and thighs but also their wrists and heads ("stubbed hornes" and "pricking ears"). The servant's description gives the occupations of the men and nine of them are herdsmen, which is a detail repeated by Polixenes as though they were all keepers of animals: "let's see these foure-threes of Heardsmen" (TLN 2156-7). This may be intended to suggest that the men have made their costumes from the hair of the animals they keep, and hence a degree of amateurishness in the costuming would not impugn the professionalism of the King's men. As Michael Baird Saenger pointed out (Saenger 1995) with respect to the costume of Ariel-as-sea-nymph in The Tempest, it appears that Shakespeare was happy to allow the availability of costumes to shape his composition, especially when something unusual fell into company hands. Thorndike's assertion that the dance of satyrs from Jonson's Oberon was borrowed by Shakespeare for The Winter's Tale must be considered alongside the use of bears in the two works. Acceptance of one connection between the two works, perhaps because the same actors appeared in both, makes rejection of the second connection more difficult. It will become clear in the analysis of The Tempest that the company stock could be enriched by the gift of customized costumes made for royal entertainments, and that Shakespeare was fully prepared to develop characters to exploit such a windfall. It is proposed

here that both the dance of satyrs and the bear who chases Antigonus are the results of just such a beneficence. Both spectacles are less tightly integrated into the scene in which they appear than one might expect from Shakespeare, but this might merely indicate that costumes were acquired when the composition was nearly complete and that Shakespeare made the minimum alterations needed to accommodate the spectacles which exploit them. If the costumes were acquired by the same means as that of Ariel-as-sea-nymph in The Tempest, it appears that three of the King's men took part in the dance in Jonson's masque and were rewarded, at least in part, by being allowed to keep their costumes. There would be no sense in the servant's comment that "One three of them . . . hath danc'd before the King" (TLN 2158-9) if all twelve had done so, and in any case it is unlikely that the company contained as many as twelve good dancers. Although the simplest explanation is that all twelve of the masque dancers performed in Shakespeare's play, the servant's comment provides contrary evidence. The other nine satyr costumes might have been purchased from their owners, or else the company might have copied the three they had. Nine extra men, all good dancers, would have been hired to wear these costumes and would have been taught the movements by the three King's men who originally performed in the masque before the king.

The dancers enter through the stage left door and execute their energetic performance while the musicians in the stage balcony provide accompaniment. The music for the satyrs' dance in Oberon survives and is reprinted by Orgel (Shakespeare

1996, 282-3). It was written by Robert Johnson, who also wrote music for the King's men, and it may have been used for Shakespeare's dance of satyrs. Twelve extra men on stage constitute a considerable crowding of the performing space, and the exit of the Clown, Mopsa, Dorcas, and Autolycus may be interpreted as a means of clearing space for the dance. However, the Old Shepherd, Polixenes, Camillo, Florizel, Perdita, and one servant are still present and although the dancers ought perhaps to be offered refreshment after their performance, they should either remain together near the frons in order that the rest of the acting space is clear, or perhaps more practically they should exit with portable refreshments provided by the servant. If they exit there is no reason why they should not use the usual stage right door.

After the dance Polixenes appears to finish a conversation with the Old Shepherd: "O Father, you'l know more of that heereafter:" (TLN 2165). Polixenes's next line seems not to be addressed to the Old Shepherd and could be addressed to Camillo or to the audience: "Is it not too farre gone? 'Tis time to part them, / He's simple, and tels much" (TLN 2166-7). In the middle of a metrical line Polixenes changes the direction of address again and begins to speak to Florizel: "How now (faire shepheard)" (TLN 2167). As part of a declaration of love which almost turns into a marriage ceremony, Florizel takes Perdita's hand at TLN 2185 and--if Polixenes's report of hand-play is more accurate than was Leontes's in 1.2--he begins to fondle it: "How prettily th'yong Swaine seemes to wash / The hand, was faire before?"

(TLN 2190-1). Polixenes's acknowledgement that he has interrupted Florizel in his declaration ("I haue put you out" TLN 2191) might suggest that his comment on the 'washing' of hands was not aside, since if none but the intended addressee (Camillo, or perhaps only the audience) could hear it, it would not be an interruption. However, as discussed in the chapter 2 section '2.2 Acting Styles and Conventions', Gyde offered several examples of aside in which those made deaf by the convention nonetheless notice that the aside-maker is doing something strange. Thus Polixenes's comment on Florizel rubbing Perdita's hand might be an audience-direct aside, an aside to Camillo, or a simple comment available to be heard by all on stage.

After the mutual declarations of love, the Old Shepherd encourages the young couple to begin a formal ceremony of betrothal: "Take hands, a bargaine; / And friends vnknowne, you shall beare witnessse to't: / I giue my daughter to him, and will make / Her Portion, equall his" (TLN 2213-6). If Florizel still holds Perdita's hand then it appears that the Old Shepherd wants them to take hold of both of each other's hands. Reluctance to perform the ceremony might be indicated by the digressive speeches of Perdita ("I cannot speak / So Well . . ." TLN 2209-12) and Florizel ("O, that must bee / I'th Vertue of your daughter . . ." TLN 2217-20) and by their failure to take hands as directed by the Old Shepherd. After Florizel makes a decision to go through with the ceremony ("but come-on, / Contract vs fore these Witnesses" TLN 2220-1) the Old Shepherd repeats the instruction: "Come, your hand:

/ And daughter, yours" (TLN 2222-3). Although the Old Shepherd appears to be asking the lovers to give him a hand each, there is no reason to suppose that the ceremony differed from modern wedding practice: he might simply be bringing their hands together.

Before enactment of the final part of the ceremony, which Florizel calls for the Old Shepherd to perform ("Marke our Contract" TLN 2259), Polixenes removes his disguise and halts the marriage: "Marke your diuorce (yong sir) / Whom sonne I dare not call" (TLN 2260-1). If Polixenes's disguise is a hood, he merely has to throw it back to reveal his face. If the disguise is a false beard, he pulls it off. Although there is little point in Camillo retaining his disguise, Florizel's tentative question "I thinke Camillo" (TLN 2323) suggests that Camillo does not remove his at the same time as Polixenes. To provide a visual symbol of the 'divorce' Polixenes might forcibly separate the joined hands of the young lovers a moment before or after revealing himself. After issuing his threats to Perdita, Florizel, and the Old Shepherd, Polixenes exits (TLN 2285), presumably via the stage right door. After blaming the young lovers--somewhat unfairly since he encouraged them--the Old Shepherd exits (TLN 2309) presumably also via the stage right door. Once Florizel has guessed that the remaining gentleman is Camillo (TLN 2323) there is no need for the disguise and Camillo removes it.

Florizel rejects Camillo's offer of advice and insists on his plan of escape by sea with his love. Coghill argued that Florizel's uncivil treatment of Camillo evokes Perdita's

sympathy for the old counsellor, and that Florizel's obscure lines "Hearke Perdita, / Ile heare you by and by" (TLN 2362-3) indicate that she "makes some impulsive gesture towards [Camillo], at this point, to show her feelings" (Coghill 1958, 37). Coghill continued:

Any why should not such a gesture be the cue for Florizel to swing round on her with his "Hark, Perdita" (as who should say, in a mood of bravado, "Now you listen to me, my girl!"), and take her a few steps upstage for a brief private colloquy, to divulge to her the plan he is keeping so secret from Camillo? To whom, over his shoulder, he throws:

I'll hear you by and by.

This would lead very simply and convincingly to Camillo's

He's irremovable,

Resolved for flight. . . .

(Coghill 1958, 37)

Camillo's summary of Florizel's mood and his revelation of a desire to exploit it in order to see Sicilia again are made in what is clearly an audience-directed aside, but there is no need for Florizel to take Perdita "a few steps upstage" to ensure the confidentiality of their speech or Camillo's since the audience-directed aside convention is sufficient in itself. The only potential danger is that Florizel and Perdita might wonder what Camillo was doing, but if they are engrossed in conversation this need not arise. Camillo's audience-directed aside ends ". . . my Master, whom I so much thirst to

see" (TLN 2369-70) and is followed by Florizel's conciliatory "Now good Camillo" (TLN 2371).

With the escape plan agreed, Camillo begins to describe his means of supplying appropriate disguises when Autolycus enters (TLN 2471). Camillo's final sentence before the entrance of Autolycus is "For instance Sir, / That you may know you shall not want: one word" (TLN 2469-70). Coghill's explanation of the colon and the apparently unconnected final clause is convincing:

. . . the cautious Camillo, in mid-sentence, has heard the approach of Autolycus, laughing, like a Jaques (As You Like It, II, vii). He stops, looks round behind him, sees the intruder, frowns, and draws his companions aside to conclude their highly secret colloquy in a corner, leaving the centre of the stage to the still laughing Autolycus.

(Coghill 1958, 38).

Any part of the stage may serve for Coghill's 'corner' so long as Autolycus does not notice Camillo, Florizel, and Perdita. Autolycus's ensuing speech on the gullibility of his customers is a soliloquy because it is directed to the audience by a character who believes himself (wrongly, in this case) to be alone (Gyde 1990, 60). It appears that Camillo, Florizel, and Perdita are not exploiting his failure to notice their presence since they are still discussing their own affairs after Autolycus has finished and they make no sign of noticing him until Camillo says "Who haue we here?" (TLN 2502). If, as Coghill argues, Camillo took Florizel and Perdita into a

corner because he spotted Autolycus then this question is disingenuous and perhaps shows Camillo's manipulative skill: Autolycus is made to believe that Camillo has only just noticed him. Autolycus might already have noticed the three conspirators and indeed he might end his soliloquy precisely because he realizes himself to be in company. Support for Gyde's model of 'represented awareness' as the defining criteria of the aside/soliloquy convention is provided by Autolycus's fear that he may have been overheard during his soliloquy. This fear is expressed in an audience-directed aside ("If they haue ouer-heard me now: why hanging" TLN 2505) which cannot itself be heard--even though Camillo has indicated that he has seen Autolycus--because Autolycus no longer believes himself to be alone. As ever, the aside convention (in this case, audience-directed aside) is available to the character who knows himself to be in company.

An alternative explanation of the shift in attention from the group of conspirators to Autolycus is that dramatic necessity causes Camillo, Florizel, and Perdita to "talk aside" in order to leave the stage clear for Autolycus and once he has finished they simply "come forward". Both Pafford and Orgel used the stage directions invented by Rowe and Theobald to enact this simple solution (Shakespeare 1963, 123-4; Shakespeare 1996, 198-9). If Camillo leads the young lovers to one side for mere expedience then his question "Who haue we here?" (TLN 2502), referring to Autolycus, is genuine and Theobald's invented stage direction "Seeing Autol." is necessary (Shakespeare 1733a, 139). Coghill's explanation of

the scene has the advantage of demonstrating Camillo's skill in manipulating others and it makes the stage movements more exciting because they are governed by anxiety about secrecy rather than by dramatic expedience. Of course, these advantages alone are not enough to prove the matter.

It appears that Camillo gives Autolycus money ("there's some boot" TLN 2515) to encourage him to exchange clothes with Florizel. Autolycus indicates that he understands the reason for the exchange in two audience-directed asides: "(I know ye well enough)" (TLN 2516) and "(I smell the trick on't)" (TLN 2520). Although both of these asides are printed within parentheses, many other examples in the text are not marked in this way and indeed it is impossible to find a single modern punctuation mark which could take the place of parentheses in play texts transcribed by Crane.

After the garments are exchanged Camillo delivers an audience-directed aside which reveals his intention to betray the young lovers to Polixenes (TLN 2544-9). As with Autolycus's soliloquy discussed above, there appears to be a dramatic device to engage the others present in conversation for the duration of the aside: Florizel says "O Perdita: what haue we twaine forgot? / Pray you a word" (TLN 2542-3). Coghill argued that the second sentence was addressed to Autolycus:

Now we have just witnessed a hasty exchange of garments between Florizel and Autolycus; nothing is easier than to suppose that Florizel, having left something that he and Perdita value in the garments

he has given to Autolycus, and suddenly remembering, takes the rogue aside with Perdita to recover it.

(Coghill 1958, 38)

Although it is not necessary for Camillo to be given a clear space from which to deliver his aside, Coghill's explanation seems reasonable until we consider Autolycus's knowledge of the content of Camillo's audience-directed aside. Coghill argued that Florizel's "'Pray you a word' clearly must be addressed, not to Perdita, but to Autolycus, so as to draw him away as well, and leave Camillo isolated for his direct address" (Coghill 1958, 38). But during his deception of the Old Shepherd and the Clown it appears that Autolycus expects Polixenes to set sail in pursuit of his son: "The King is not at the Pallace, he is gone aboard to new Ship" (TLN 2644-5). If this is taken to indicate Autolycus's knowledge then nothing but his overhearing of Camillo's audience-directed aside could be its source, and indeed after Camillo exits with the young lovers Autolycus has a soliloquy which strongly suggests that he was listening: "I vnderstand the businesse, I heare it: to haue open eare, a quick eye, and a nimble hand, is necessary for a Cut-purse" (TLN 2553-5). An alternative explanation is that Autolycus heard only the references to the flight of Florizel and Perdita, and that his claim that Polixenes "is gone aboard a new Ship" is merely his invention to bring the rustics to Florizel's ship. However, Autolycus's audience-directed aside "Though I am not naturally honest, I am so sometimes by chance" (TLN 2595-6) follows the Clown's "'Pray heartily he [Polixenes] be at' Pallace" (TLN 2594) and

appears to indicate that Autolycus decides to intervene because he knows the Clown and the Old Shepherd will not find Polixenes at the palace.

The hypothesis that Autolycus overhears Camillo's audience-directed aside has exciting ramifications which are worth considering. The apparent violation of the aside/soliloquy convention might be explained by Camillo's mistaken assumption that Autolycus had departed. Camillo's last words to Autolycus are "Farewell (my friend.)" (TLN 2540) and Autolycus returns "Adieu, Sir" (TLN 2541), and it is possible that Camillo wrongly assumes that Autolycus will depart. In order for this mistake to be clear, Autolycus ought to make a conspicuous effort to conceal himself, perhaps behind a stage post, or amongst the onstage sitters. It would be reasonable to characterize Autolycus's behaviour as revenge upon Camillo for remaining undetected during Autolycus's dangerously candid soliloquy in which he described picking the pockets of his customers. Gyde's model of the aside/soliloquy does not address the possibility of overheard audience-directed aside which arises, as here, when the aside maker deafens those he knows to be present (Florizel and Perdita) but apparently does not deafen a character of whose presence the aside maker is unaware. However, this occurrence substantiates Gyde's claim that the aside and the soliloquy form a single convention governing not the audibility of the speech-content in the play-world (it is always potentially audible), but the hearing power of those known to be present. In private correspondence Gyde confirmed that his model of

'represented awareness' would be adjusted to include the possibility of overheard audience-directed asides (Gyde 1997).

Were Autolycus to conceal himself among the onstage sitters then his 'trick' would constitute a complex interference with (but not subversion of) the aside/soliloquy convention. By placing himself amongst those who are the intended recipients of Camillo's aside he gains an insight which can be exploited on his return to the world of the play. It seems possible that both Camillo and Autolycus are able to exploit dramatic convention to achieve mastery of others, and that Gyde's model of a dialectical relationship between play-world and theatre-world is validated. If Autolycus overhears Camillo's audience-directed aside because he hides amongst the onstage sitters then metatheatrical playfulness is being taken further than usual. The play-world is not simply referred to as though the commentator were a spectator--the usual mode of metatheatricality--but is actually experienced as a performance for the purposes of self-advancement within it.

After Camillo's audience-directed aside he and the young lovers exit (TLN 2552). The Folio stage direction is for a single exit, but Florizel's "Thus we set on (Camillo) to th' Sea-side" (TLN 2551) makes it clear that all three exit at this point, presumably by the conventional stage right door. After they exit Autolycus delivers a soliloquy concerning his fidelity to the cause of dishonesty which ends with the entrance of the Clown and the Old Shepherd (TLN 2566) through the stage left door. It is clear from Autolycus's question

"What's i' th' Farthell? / Wherefore that Box?" (TLN 2636-7) that they are carrying a bundle and a box. Noticing their approach, Autolycus takes care to ensure that his address to the audience is not overheard: "Aside, aside, here is more matter for a hot braine" (TLN 2567). Autolycus's use of the word 'aside' coincides with his transition from soliloquy to audience-directed aside made necessary by their presence and made possible by his awareness of it. As Gyde noted, the word 'aside' is a contemporary marker for privileged speech not heard by all present and probably derives from a convention of stepping towards one of the edges of the performance space in order to signal confederacy with the audience (Gyde 1990, 11-50). Autolycus might remain near one of the edges of the stage to eavesdrop on the Old Shepherd and the Clown, but it would not be overly realistic to expect him to make an effort to conceal himself behind a stage post or amongst the onstage sitters. If he earlier concealed himself amongst the sitters he perhaps ought not to repeat the trick since this time his eavesdropping is wholly contained within the fiction of the play. While eavesdropping, Autolycus makes three audience-directed asides which comment on what he is hearing: "Very wisely (Puppies)" (TLN 2589), "I know not what impediment this Complaint may be to the flight of my Master" (TLN 2592-3), and "Though I am not naturally honest, I am so sometimes by chance: Let me pocket vp my Pedlers excrement." (TLN 2595-7). This last comment is discussed above because it suggests that Autolycus is wearing a false beard. After the final audience-directed aside Autolycus addresses the Old

Shepherd and the Clown: "How now (Rustiques) whither are you bound?" (TLN 2597). The suddenness of the transition from audience-directed aside to direct address to the rustics presumably contributes to the disorienting effect Autolycus wishes to achieve: he surprises them with an aggressive interrogation.

Having exchanged clothes with Florizel, Autolycus wears the "Swaines wearing" (TLN 1807) of the prince. Autolycus's ability to convince the Old Shepherd and the Clown that he is a courtier is due to his linguistic and mimetic skill rather than his actual appearance, and is of course aided by their lack of experience. Several of the Clown's promptings of the Old Shepherd might be delivered as factional asides, for example "Aduocate's the Court-word for a Pheazant: say you haue none" (TLN 2624-5) and "This cannot be but a great Courtier" (TLN 2630). Because Autolycus is deceiving them, however, it is not essential that the audience be convinced that Autolycus does not hear these comments. Autolycus might affect a courtier's aloofness which allows whatever conventional means is used to deliver a factional aside (for example, a change of tone of voice) to be foregone. In any case, representation of Autolycus's mastery of the situation takes higher precedence than, and might be antagonistic to, the use of the factional aside convention.

Autolycus is given gold by the Old Shepherd and the Clown (TLN 2687-93) to plead their case to the king. It becomes clear that Autolycus intends to take the Old Shepherd and the Clown aboard Florizel's ship and "if he thinke it fit to

shoare them againe, and that the Complaint they haue to the King, concerns him nothing, let him call me Rogue, for being so farre officious" (TLN 2716- 20). Autolycus tells the Old Shepherd and the Clown to "Walke before toward the Sea-side" (TLN 2705-6) and that he will follow. There is no stage direction for them to exit at this point, and the final stage direction which closes the scene is a plural "Exeunt" (TLN 2723). However, the 17 lines between Autolycus's instruction and the end of the scene are too many even for a slow approach to the stage door, and if the Old Shepherd and the Clown comply with his instruction they must exit a considerable time before he follows. Since Autolycus's final speech in the scene is at least an audience- directed aside ("If I had a mind to be honest, I see Fortune would not suffer mee . . ." TLN 2712-3) it might as well be a soliloquy and hence the Old Shepherd should exit before Autolycus begins this speech. All three characters exit through the stage right door, as usual, and an act interval follows.

Act 5 Scene 1

The opening stage direction at the beginning of the scene is "Enter Leontes, Cleomines, Dion, Paulina, Seruants: Florizel, Perdita" (TLN 2725-6). Only Florizel and Perdita must not be present at the beginning of the scene, and Pafford's hypothetical rule (discussed above) that colons in massed entries divide those who enter immediately from those who enter later is borne out in this case. Later in the scene

a servant enters with news of the arrival of Florizel and Perdita (TLN 2830) but even if the opening stage direction masses this entry with those made at the beginning of the scene, the opening direction's plurality of "Seruants" indicates that at least one, and probably more, enter with Leontes at the beginning of the scene. The presence of servants makes this a formal court scene which would benefit from use of the central opening. Leontes later sends out Cleomenes with his "honor'd Friends" (TLN 2866) and since Dion is the only other named lord, it is clear that the anonymous 'servants' in this scene are gentlemen.

The scene begins with the entrance of Leontes, Cleomenes, Dion, Paulina, and one or more servants through the central opening. If they enter in that order, as the Folio direction has it, there may be a suggestion that Paulina is spatially separated from the others in a way which reflects her difference of opinion with others of the court. The order of naming in the Folio direction does not reflect the order of speaking in the scene and although Leontes might be named first simply because he is the most important person in the list there is considerable scope for visual representation of power relations in the order and grouping of characters in a ceremonial entrance.

The discussion of Leontes's remarriage ends with the king taking an oath with Paulina to which the lords present are asked to bear witness (TLN 2813). It would be appropriate for this verbal ceremony to have a visual corollary which might be as simple as the adoption by Leontes and Paulina of stiff

stances facing one another. After this oath a servant enters and announces that "Prince Florizell, / Sonne of Polixenes, with his Princesse" (TLN 2831-2) wishes to enter. This servant is upbraided by Paulina for describing Perdita as peerless, which contradicts verses the servant had written in praise of Hermione (TLN 2845-53). Clearly this servant is also a gentleman and may accompany Cleomenes and his "honor'd Friends" (TLN 2866) sent by Leontes to bring in the visitors. The servant-gentlemen exit with Cleomenes and, since he has no more lines in the scene, with Dion too, and they use the stage-left door in accordance with Ichikawa's rule of summoned characters. It is possible that the silent Dion does not return and that he and other of the "honor'd Friends" remain offstage to prepare to double as the gentlemen of the next scene.

After Leontes responds to Paulina's reminder that Florizel and Mamillius were about the same age, Florizel enters with Perdita, Cleomenes, "and others" (TLN 2878). It is not clear whether these others are Cleomenes's "honor'd Friends" returned with him, or followers of Florizel, or both. The servant who announced Florizel's arrival described his retinue as "But few, / And those but meane" (TLN 2840-1), and the Old Shepherd and the Clown are later described as being in the company of Polixenes (TLN 2950-7). We might expect Autolycus to be in Florizel's retinue, but the stage direction makes no reference to him. Part of Florizel's explanation of his situation is: "My best Traine / I haue from your Sicilian Shores dismiss'd; / Who for Bohemia bend" (TLN 2923-5). This

use of the superlative "best" and the servant's description of the retinue suggest that Florizel is accompanied by men--the crew of the ship?--whose inappropriate dress Florizel feels the need to explain.

Interrupting Leontes's joy at the apprehension of Polixenes's son, a lord enters and delivers Polixenes's instruction that Florizel is to be arrested (TLN 2940-8). The lord enters through the stage left door and remains after the delivery of his message. In the exchange between Leontes and Florizel which follows, some preparation could be made for Leontes's unwitting incestuous desire for Perdita if the "Lockes" (TLN 3002) which Leontes makes are represented by intense staring. Florizel tells Perdita to "looke vp" (TLN 2987), which might suggest that she is avoiding Leontes's unwelcome gaze. At the end of the scene Leontes instructs Florizel (and, by implication, anyone else who has a right to be present) to follow him and the final stage direction of the scene is "Exeunt" (TLN 3008). In keeping with the formal tone of the scene, all should follow Leontes off through the central opening.

Act 5 Scene 2

The scene begins with "Enter Autolicus, and a Gentleman (TLN 3010). The first line of speech is Autolykus's "Beseech you (Sir) were you present at this Relation?" (TLN 3011-2) which in its use of the relative pronoun 'this' sounds more like the continuation of an ongoing conversation than it does

a new conversation between people who have just met. It seems unlikely, therefore, that Autolycus and the gentleman enter by different doors and meet on stage, and hence they should both enter by the stage left door. After a partial narration of the story of the revelation of Perdita's parentage, another gentleman enters (TLN 3029), and shortly thereafter another (TLN 3035). There is no reason to believe that the doors take on directionality in this scene, so these two may both enter via the conventional stage left door.

After their narration of the royal revelations and reconciliations, and of the forthcoming meeting at Paulina's, the three gentlemen exit leaving Autolycus alone on stage. The Folio direction is singular ("Exit TLN 3120) but if we agree with B. J. Sokol that "The attempts of each to gloss over the fact of their position on the sidelines of stunning events reveals that they constitute a desperate-to-be-au-courant set" (Sokol 1995, 71) then all three should leave by the stage right door. When they are gone Autolycus has a soliloquy ("Now (had I not the dash of my former life in me) . . ." TLN 3121-2) before the end of which the Old Shepherd and the Clown enter through the stage left door (TLN 3131). Autolycus notices them enter ("Here come those I haue done good to" TLN 3132) and so he is able to engage the audience-directed aside convention in order that he may complete his speech without being overheard.

Accepting Autolycus's plea for forgiveness, the Clown says to him "Giue me thy hand: I will sweare to the Prince, thou art as honest a true Fellow as any is in Bohemia" (TLN

3164-5). At the moment of the Clown's comic enjoyment of one of his newly-acquired aristocratic privileges--making oath to take an oath which merely derogates his countrymen--his hand is joined with that of Autolycus. The importance of hands in the play, and especially the symbolic joining of hands, makes this empty gesture worth noting despite Furness's withering comment on invented stage directions which merely realize actions implied by dialogue: "Is it not a matter of congratulation that we are spared, after 'Why shakest thou so?' in [4.4] line 713, a stage-direction: Autolycus trembles?" (Shakespeare 1898, 249). At the end of the scene the Clown, the Old Shepherd, and Autolycus exit through the stage right door.

Act 5 Scene 3

The Folio stage direction at the beginning of the scene is "Enter Leontes, Polixenes, Florizell, Perdita, Camillo, Paulina: Hermione (like a Statue:) Lords, &c" (TLN 3184-5). Pafford explained that "The group before the first colon are all on; so is Hermione but she is not discovered until later. The Lords, etc., are all on but are mutes" (Pafford 1961, 177). Pafford's conjecture that order of entry is preserved in massed entries is violated by this stage direction since, although mute, the lords enter with the rest at the beginning of the scene. Furthermore the colon after "Statue" is redundant. Hermione is certainly not part of the group that enters at the beginning of the scene and depending on the

means of discovery she might not take up a concealed position until shortly before her appearance.

The staging of the entry direction at the beginning of the scene might be dependent upon the means by which Hermione is discovered, since an opening in the back wall can serve as either an entrance or a discovery space. The discovery of the supposed statue could not have taken place in the 'above' since Perdita and Leontes try to touch it and, unless the entire scene was played in the stage balcony (which would have been highly unusual), they are at least nine feet below on the main stage. One means of performing a discovery on the main stage would have been to fully open a stage door and fasten it to the frons scenae and to place a curtain across the exposed space. Although not strictly necessary, since the opening of a door could itself effect the discovery, curtains would make it clear that something was being ostended rather than merely allowed to enter. In this scene the discovery is certainly made using a curtain since, in demanding that the supposed statue remain visible, Leontes commands "Doe not draw the Curtaine" (TLN 3255). We might speculate that curtains give discoveries a special atmosphere because they resemble clothing and that if the conventions of theatrical discovery usually provided a sexualized charge the unveiling of a statue by Julio Romano would be doubly charged because he was famous for his erotic works (Sokol 1995, 85-133).

The frons scenae of the Wanamaker Globe is decorated in relief with columns and statues. The stage doors open onto the stage rather than into the tiring house, so the embedded

columns prevent the doors being opened to their fullest extent and then fastened to the frons. This leaves the central opening between the stage doors as the only means of performing a curtained discovery behind the scenic wall. If the stage doors could be made to open both ways, onto the stage and into the tiring house, the problem would be solved because the doors could be tucked away inside the tiring house when a discovery was to be performed. In The Duchess of Malfi, Webster made a clear allusion to the special kind of hinges needed to achieve this:

I know death hath ten thousand seuerall doores
For men to take their Exits: and 'tis found
They go on such strange geometricall hinges,
You may open them both wayes:

(Webster 1623, K2v)

The Duchess of Malfi must have been completed by 16 December 1614 because the list of actors' names which appeared in the first edition gives the part of Antonio to William Ostler (Webster 1623, A2v). Documents from a case brought against John Heminges by Ostler's widow were found in the Public Record Office by C. W. Wallace and in one of these Ostler's death is recorded as occurring on 16 December 1614 (Wallace 1909a; Wallace 1909b). Webster's reference to the strangeness of the hinges suggests that they were a new invention and the explicit theatrical metaphor (emphasized by the use of italic fount for the word "exits") gives good reason to suspect that stage doors were an early application of the invention. It should be noted that hinges had long been available which

allowed gates to travel more than 180 degrees, but these required a gap between the door and the frame: the wider the gap, the greater the range of movement. A "strange geometricall" hinge probably used two articulations--essentially the same topology as a triptych folded into a 'z' shape--to achieve 360 degrees of movement (with a slight translation equivalent to the width of the door). Such an arrangement of hinge upon hinge would preserve the snug fit within the frame which is afforded by conventional door hinges. Each articulation need provide only 180 degrees of movement but an interlock device (presumably Webster's 'geometry') is required so that when one joint is in use, the other is locked in the closed position.

If the hinges were a new invention, or a new application of existing technology to theatre doors, this might explain why the frons of the Swan, as shown by De Witt, was flat. Although often said to show a bare stage De Witt's drawing actually indicates quite clearly that the Swan was highly decorated. As Richard Southern noted, De Witt's description that the building was "ligneis suffultum columnis" means not only 'supported by wooden columns' but also 'embellished with wooden columns' (Southern & Hodges 1952, 58). In De Witt's text the columns were said to be "marmoreum colorem" ('painted to resemble marble') and in the picture they are provided with bases. Not only the stage posts, but also the posts in the stage balcony and those in the spectators' galleries have bases and so should be called columns rather than posts. Amid this decorative splendour the flat and apparently bare frons

is hard to explain unless stage doors were used for discoveries and hence relief decoration was impractical. If there was any surface painting of the frons it would be no more visible in the picture than the marbelization of the stage posts to which De Witt's description attests but which his drawing lacks.

Webster's reference to "strange geometrical hinges" permitting two-way doors "for men to take their Exits" was made around the time that the Globe was being rebuilt. The replacement Globe was no larger than its predecessor and yet, as Herbert Berry showed, it cost more than twice as much to construct even after allowance has been made for the recycled timbers of the 1599 building and the inferior 'furred' timber of the replacement (Berry 1987, 151-94). Berry concluded that the extra money must have gone on decoration, and if the flat frons of the Swan is at all representative of the one at the first Globe, this part of the playhouse would have been an obvious candidate for improvement. The newly available hinges would have provided the designers of the second Globe with a means of decorating the frons in relief without preventing the use of the stage doors for discoveries.

Fastening a stage door to the frons and then covering it with a curtain is not a trivial task but several stage hands working at once could execute it in a few seconds between the end of 5.2 and the beginning of 5.3. However, there is reason to believe that as little as possible was done to 'dress' the stage for the final scene. Concerning the staging of The Winter's Tale at the Blackfriars, and the question of use of

the 'rear stage', Irwin Smith noted that ". . . special curtains would inevitably have attracted the attention of Leontes, who up to the moment of discovery remains innocent of any suspicion as to the whereabouts of the statue" (Smith, Irwin 1964, 371n16). Smith's anxiety might be due to an excess of realism, but it is reasonable to assert that part of the charm of the final scene is its use of surprise and that the audience ought to be allowed to share as much of Leontes's wonder as possible. Too much fixing of curtains would detract from this effect.

If it is believed that the element of surprise rules out the use of special curtains covering the frons as the means of discovering Hermione, the same objection rules out the use of a booth in the midst of the stage. A booth would have the advantage of making the discovery visible to all, whereas those sitting in the stage balcony would see nothing of the supposed statue and would miss the surprise of its apparent 'awakening' if this took place within an opening in the frons. Howsoever it is staged, there appears to be a problem of visibility since a booth must either have a closed top, which would restrict the view for those high up in the galleries until Hermione began to move, or else have a open top, in which case those same spectators would have a full view of Hermione even before the discovery. The problems associated with a stage booth appear to be insurmountable and affect a greater number of spectators than the problems of discovery with an opening in the stage door. Gurr's argument that the spectators in the stage balcony were disproportionately

important (Gurr 1996b) is refuted in the appendix to this thesis which considers the location of the Lords Room. The availability of 360 degree hinges makes any of the three openings in the frons a possible location for the discovery even if the frons were decorated in relief as at the Wanamaker Globe. The choice of opening must be made on other criteria. The central opening would be unavailable for the discovery if it were used as an entrance or an exit. Although there are lords present, the imagined location is Paulina's house and this can hardly be seen as a formal occasion. However, Gurr's theory that the central opening could be used to symbolize reconciliation gives good reason to imagine that the play ended with a massed exit through the central opening (Gurr 1996b). If this is accepted, then one of the stage doors must have been used as an entrance at the beginning of the scene and the other must have been used for the discovery.

The scene begins with the entrance of Leontes, Polixenes, Florizel, Perdita, Camillo, Paulina, and two or more lords through the stage left door. Leontes says to Paulina "Your Gallerie / Haue we pass'd through" (TLN 3197-8) and complains that the promised statue was not in it. This suggests that the imagined location of the scene has no works of art in it, but the frons of the Wanamaker Globe has embedded columns fronted, at the level of the stage balcony, by statues of Classical figures. Paulina describes this place as "the Chappell" (TLN 3290) and says that the statue is located somewhere "Louely [probably 'lonely'], apart" (TLN 3206). There is considerable disjunction between the imagined location and the features of

the stage upon which it was staged. This disjunction might be dismissed as irrelevant to the original audience who were used to disregarding the decoration of the frons in scenes for which it is inappropriate: battlefields, orchards, and streets are frequently to be imagined and statues are no more appropriate in these places than in a chapel. Assertions that the Elizabeth stage was bare often derive from inaccurate interpretation of De Witt's evidence and a desire to emphasize the role of imagination in theatrical performances of the period. Bare walls are as inappropriate as decorated walls for scenes of battlefields, orchards, and streets and if imaginative effort allows one kind of frons it must allow the other.

In the final scene of The Winter's Tale the presence of statues in the frons raises important concerns even if the audience was used to ignoring decoration which was inappropriate in a scene. Sokol argued that the final scene engages with a contemporary change in taste concerning statues: ". . . as early 1608 or 1609 a certain group of English connoisseurs already held painted statues in contempt" (Sokol 1995, 58). Paulina's warning that "The ruddiness vpon her Lippe, is wet: / You'le marre it, if you kisse it; stayne your owne / With Oyly Painting" (TLN 3283-5) is not merely an excuse to prevent Leontes discovering the truth too soon, but is intended to evoke anxiety about painted statues. This anxiety was overdetermined and for the majority of spectators it involved misogynistic attitudes towards female cosmetics and a suspicion of Catholic idolatory. For an elite circle

around Prince Henry there was also an aesthetic preference for the continental practice of leaving statues unpainted (Sokol 1995, 55-84).

In Sokol's reading, the point of the statue scene is to force Leontes to think of Hermione as a person with her own interiority by first shattering his conflation of symbol and symbolized: the supposed statue is Leontes's fetishized conception of his wife. Sokol took no account of the possibility that statues might have adorned the frons but noted that the Globe stood near the masons' yards which "busily supplied much of England with richly painted funeral effigies" and argued that "such commercial image-making, perhaps precisely because so crude, fascinated the late Shakespeare . . . [who] represented versions of the popular Southwark trades of effigy-making, the exhibition of bears, and theatrical representation side by side in The Winter's Tale" (Sokol 1995, 58). Sokol's thesis raises the possibility that the statues decorating the frons were part of the intended effect of the final scene of The Winter's Tale. Unlike funeral effigies, the statues in the frons did not represent recently deceased mortals but rather ancient deities. The supposed statue of Hermione represents a woman presumed dead but immortalized not as she was but as she would have become over time, with wrinkles "As she liu'd now" (TLN 3222). The statues which decorated the frons were precisely what the supposed statue is not: idealized representation. The presence of these statues would enhance the effect Sokol attributes to the final scene since they are examples of the

idealization which Leontes must give up. However, if Sokol is right that monochromatic colouring became fashionable only around the time of composition of The Winter's Tale then the statues in the frons, if unaltered since 1599, would be fully coloured. The effect described by Sokol would be strongly conditioned by the presence of statues in the frons but it is difficult to determine whether fully coloured or monochromatic statues would be preferable. The former would represent old-fashioned aesthetic taste which the cognoscenti held in slight regard and the latter--which could be the former whitewashed for the occasion--would represent avant-garde taste incomprehensible to the majority. In either case the material fabric of the playhouse would assert its influence upon what at first appears to be a subtle artistic effect and forces upon the performance a choice which throws in relief one or other side of a cultural divide.

The statues in the frons of the Wanamaker Globe are at the level of the stage balcony, but statues might have been present at stage level also. Inigo Jones's designs for a conversion to a theatre, Worcester College drawings 7b and 7c, show statues in niches set in the frons (Foakes 1985, 64-7). In the absence of direct evidence about the frons of the Globe, and the rejection of De Witt's representation of flat frons at the Swan, the designers of the Wanamaker Globe used indirect evidence from a range of sources including hall screens and triumphal arches (Ronayne 1983; Ronayne 1997). If statues at the level of the stage balcony are accepted as a possible feature of the Globe frons, there is no reason to

reject the possibility of statues at stage level. This hypothesis would make Hermione merely one supposed statue amongst several actual statues. These statues might constitute the "Gallerie" (TLN 3197) through which Leontes says the party have passed although Paulina's reference to the present place as a "Chappell" (TLN 3290) suggests that the gallery is an imagined location offstage. It is not likely that Hermione stood against the frons and attempted to look like one of the decorative statues since, for reasons of visibility and surprise discussed above, a location behind the scenic wall seems necessary. However, decorative statues at the level of the stage would be especially suitable for Sokol's conception of the psychological effect upon Leontes of the 'awakening' of the statue since he (and the audience) would see the animated statue juxtaposed with static statues. This effect might be heightened if in all other respects Hermione looked like the real statues. This would require that the statues be fully coloured.

Since the party are to be imagined to have been viewing the works of art in Paulina's gallery, a degree of bunching during their entrance would be permissible: the two kings may walk together, as may the young lovers. When Leontes asks Paulina where the statue is, she leads him to the opening of the stage right door. The door has been folded back inside the tiring house and a curtain fitted on the inside to cover the opening. Paulina describes this location as "Louely [probably 'lonely'], apart" (TLN 3206) and indeed, depending on the spacing of the stage doors, it is a considerable distance from

the door through which they entered. There is no stage direction for the moment of discovery, but it appears to occur as Paulina says "behold, and say 'tis well" (TLN 3208). Daniel Seltzer (1966, 163) pointed out that there is an implied silent pause after this line since Paulina next says "I like your silence, it the more shewes-off / Your wonder" (TLB 3209-10). It is not clear how the discovery is effected but presumably the curtains are on a rail and can be parted. There is no indication that Paulina parts them herself and it would not be unreasonable to suppose that unseen stage hands open the curtain by means of a hidden cord. Such assistance to her lawful magic would be no more destructive of the dramatic tension than Paulina's call for music (TLN 3306) from musicians who are not present on the stage.

What is revealed in the discovery is Hermione pretending to be a statue. It is clear that she is standing on a raised surface since Paulina later commands her to "descend" (TLN 3307). The time between the discovery of Hermione-as-statue and her descent is one of intense dramatic tension, not least because of the shared sense of breath-holding felt by an audience watching a player attempt to remain utterly motionless. Coghill estimated the duration of the period during which the player of Hermione-as-statue has to remain motionless as four minutes, on the basis of twenty lines per minute being the average rate of speaking of Shakespearian dialogue (Coghill 1958, 40). Coghill gave no defence of this rate of speaking, but from Spevack's concordances we may determine that the average number of lines in a Shakespeare

play is 2918 (Spevack 1968a; Spevack 1968b; Spevack 1968c). The evidence of contemporary references to the running time of plays suggests that 2 hours is a reasonable minimum and 3 hours a reasonable maximum (Chambers 1923d, 195, 198, 230, 316), and this line count works out at 24 lines per minute and 16 lines per minute respectively. Coghill's figure of 20 lines per minute is, therefore, reasonable. Some allowance must be made for wordless action, but Coghill's average is useful for long stretches of text within which wordless action occurs. This average will be a little too low for shorter segments consisting only of speech. As well as variations in pace between different plays, it must also be granted that the pace can change within a play and hence that the average figure for the whole of a single play may well be significantly more or less than the actual figure for a particular section of the text.

During this period of stillness, the tension contained within the device of a dramatic-world statue being played by a theatre-world player is fed into the dramatic situation via Paulina's teasing of Leontes's desire to believe that the statue is alive. This masterly device provides a margin of error for the player since any tension lost by perceptible movement of Hermione-as-statue is recovered by the audience being encouraged to view this as a metatheatrical device whereby they, the audience, see the statue through the distorted perception of Leontes, who wants to see it move. Only gross failure to remain still would spoil this effect by dispelling the illusion that what is represented is a statue.

The 'awakening' of the supposed statue begins with Paulina's call to the musicians in the stage balcony "Musick; awake her: Strike" (TLN 3306). As indicated by the Clown's calls for music in 4.4 ("strike vp" TLN 1982 and 1987), Paulina's instruction to the musicians indicates that their status within the playworld was indeterminate: the act of calling to them does not make their assistance supernatural. In his analysis of the moment of descent, Coghill argued that dramatic tension is further heightened by the non-response of Hermione-as-statue to the entreaties of Paulina:

. . . Shakespeare does not allow her to budge; against all the invocations of Paulina, he piles up colons, twelve in five lines; it is the most heavily punctuated passage I have found in the Folio. It can be no other than his deliberate contrivance for this special effect; only at the end of the long, pausing entreaty, when the suspense of her motionlessness has been continued until it must seem unendurable, is Hermione allowed to move. (Coghill 1958, 40)

Although the precise significance of Crane's use of colons is not clear, Coghill is certainly right to point to a slow awakening of the supposed statue. Paulina speaks five lines of entreaty before commenting that "she stirres" (TLN 3311) and it is at this point that most editors choose to insert the missing stage direction which indicates that Hermione descends. As Hermione descends Paulina instructs Leontes to offer his hand ("present your Hand" TLN 3315) and it is clear that he touches Hermione from his comment "Oh, she's warme"

(TLN 3318). The most fitting touch would be a holding of hands followed by the embrace reported by Polixenes ("She embraces him" TLN 3321). That the embrace is not mutual is suggested by Camillo's comment that "She hangs about his necke" (TLN 3322) which is presumably a sign of Leontes's amazed failure to comprehend that it is Hermione herself, not a moving statue. The intensity of Hermione's emotional state is suggested by her remaining apparently oblivious to all but Leontes and having to be told by Paulina to "turne good Lady" (TLN 3331) in order to greet Perdita.

From Paulina's instruction "Please you to interpose (faire Madam) kneele, / And pray your Mothers blessing" (TLN 3330-1) we may surmise that Perdita kneels to her mother, who responds with an invocation of grace: "You Gods looke downe, / And from your sacred Viols poure your graces / Vpon my daughters head" (TLN 3333-5). If it is believed that the statues in the frons are functional in the dramaturgy of the final scene, it would be quite reasonable for Hermione to address her invocation to them. Leontes's instruction "Come Camillo, / And take her by the hand" (TLN 3357-8) indicates that Paulina and Camillo join hands. Just prior to the final exit, then, there are three couples on stage: Leontes and Hermione, Florizel and Perdita, and Camillo and Paulina. If the couples are holding hands, as seems likely given the hand-play throughout, Polixenes would be notably single. Leontes's reference to himself and Polixenes as "a paire of Kings" (TLN 3360) would probably draw attention to this situation. The final stage direction of the play is "Exeunt"

(TLN 3369) and, as discussed above, use of the central opening would suggest reconciliation.

CHAPTER 7. THE ORIGINAL STAGING OF CYMBELINE AT THE GLOBE

7.1 The Status of the Text

The only substantive early text is the Folio of 1623. The play will be quoted from the Norton Facsimile of the Folio (Shakespeare 1968) and referenced using the facsimile's Through Line Numbering (TLN). Since the spelling of characters' names is not always consistent in the Folio the spellings used in the Oxford Complete Works (Shakespeare 1986) will be followed except in direct quotation of the Folio, where the facsimile will be followed. In quotations the lineation of the Folio will be followed except in stage directions which will be treated as prose.

7.2 Before the Start of the Performance

As discussed in the chapter 6 section '6.1 Before the Start of the Performance', there is no reason to suppose that the practice of sounding trumpets to announce that a performance was about to begin changed after the King's men acquired the Blackfriars.

7.3 Scene-by-Scene Reconstruction of the Original Staging

Act 1 Scene 1

The play begins with the stage direction "Enter two Gentlemen" (TLN 2). From their speech it appears that their conversation began offstage, and so they should enter together through the stage left door. Since the purpose of the scene is to impart important background information, the first gentleman's parenthetical comment "if this be worth your hearing, / Marke it" (TLN 66-7) might be delivered as an audience-directed aside. The scene is highly artificial in tone and the second gentleman does little more than feed questions to the first, and for this reason direct address to the audience without engagement of the aside convention would not be problematic. If the second gentleman's part were cut altogether, the first gentleman's lines would need little alteration to become a prologue. The scene ends with the stage direction "Exeunt" (TLN 81) but the last speech is the first gentleman's "Heere comes the Gentleman, / The Queene, and Princesse" (TLN 80-1). It is possible for advance warning of entrance to be given by offstage sounds but the specificity of the list of characters given by the first gentleman ("the Gentleman, / The Queene, and Princesse") strongly suggests that he has seen and identified them, in which case they must have entered. This is an unusual example of overlapped exit and entrance across a scene division. Ichikawa argued that overlapping was normal and occasionally served dramatic

purpose, for example by contrasting groups of characters who are momentarily on stage together although in different scenes (Ichikawa 1995). However, since the departing gentlemen are aware of the presence of the oncoming characters, editors have argued for continuation of the first scene (for example Shakespeare 1960, 136-7). Gary Taylor's observation that scene divisions are always scribal because they have nothing to do with theatrical practice provides support for continuing the scene without a break (Taylor & Jowett 1993, 237-43). The gentlemen exit through the stage right door.

Act 1 Scene 2

The opening stage direction is "Enter the Queene, Posthumus, and Imogen" (TLN 83). The imagined location is the same as the preceding scene, since the two gentleman saw these three coming, and the tone of the ensuing conversation is especially informal because secretive, and hence the Queen, Posthumus, and Innogen enter via the stage left door. At TLN 99 the Queen exits to "fetch a turne about the Garden" (TLN 97) and although her destination is named there is no need for the stage doors to take on directionality since she is gone for 20 lines and the garden need not be nearby. The Queen exits via the stage right door and returns at TLN 119 via the stage left door. Having warned Innogen and Posthumus to hurry their leave-taking because Cymbeline might find them, the Queen delivers an audience-directed aside "yet Ile moue him / To walke this way: I neuer do him wrong, / But he do's buy my

Injuries, to be Friends: / Payes deere for my offences" (TLN 122-5). This must not be heard by Posthumus and Innogen and is probably delivered just before the Queen exits. Her exit lacks a stage direction but is implied by the direction for her re-entrance at TLN 184 and since she reveals an intention to bring Cymbeline to 'find' the lovers, the end of her aside would be the most logical point for her to leave. Since the Queen has been on stage for only 6 lines since her last entrance it is not clear by which door she exits. Ichikawa's rule 'd' concerning 'Entrance and Immediate Exit' (discussed in the chapter 2 section '2.5 The Logic of Stage Entrances') does not put a figure on the duration implied by the word 'immediate', but in private correspondence Ichikawa expressed the belief that the queen "may pass over the stage . . . without being awkward" (Ichikawa 1997a). As discussed in the analysis of the staging of the final scene of The Winter's Tale in chapter 6, the average rate of speaking Shakespearian dialogue appears to have been about 20 lines per minute; at this rate the Queene would have been on stage for 18 seconds. Irwin Smith argued that the usual 10 lines allowed a character between exiting at the end of one scene and entering at the beginning of the next not only served to make travel to the location of the new scene plausible, but also served "the practical theatrical purpose of providing time for an actor to cross from one side of the stage to the other behind the scenes . . ." (Smith, Irwin 1967, 8). Examples of less than 10 lines being allowed indicate that this was not the practical minimum for a backstage cross (Smith, Irwin 1967, 9) but for

an onstage cross different criteria apply. The stage of the Wanamaker Globe is 44 feet wide and hence even a slow pace of 2½ feet per second would take an actor from one door to the other within the 18 seconds available to the Queen in this scene. Since Beckerman's rule of one-way traffic is preferable to Ichikawa's exceptions, the Queen should exit via the stage right door at TLN 125.

The dialogue during their brief period alone on stage indicates that Innogen gives Posthumus a ring ("This Diamond was my Mothers" TLN 132) and that he gives her a bracelet ("a Manacle of Loue" TLN 143). At TLN 147 Cymbeline enters with lords, presumably through the stage left door, and Posthumus departs through the stage right door at TLN 155. The Queen re-enters through the stage left door at TLN 184 and Cymbeline exits at TLN 195. Although the Folio direction is a singular "exit" there is no reason for Cymbeline's attendant lords to remain after he leaves and they should follow him through the stage right door. The direction for Cymbeline's exit is followed by "Enter Pisanio" (TLN 196), presumably through the stage left door, and then follows the Queen's speech "Fye, you must giue way: / Heere is your Seruant" (TLN 197-8). The first clause might be directed either to the departing Cymbeline or to Innogen, but the second can only be directed to Innogen whom Pisanio serves in default of serving Posthumus. The Queen instructs Innogen to "walke a-while" (TLN 220) and Innogen tells Pisanio to come to her in half an hour but "For this time leaue me" (TLN 224). The final direction is "Exeunt" but Innogen's command suggests that Pisanio does not leave with

the women. Ichikawa's rule 'b' regarding 'Simultaneous Exits' via different doors need not apply since even when characters take leave of each other "it is at least possible that two exiters go together towards the same door just after or while bidding farewell to one another" (Ichikawa 1996, 6-7). The Queen and Innogen exit via the stage right door and if Pisanio does not follow them then an inter-scene pause is necessary in order that he does not clash with Cloten and the two lords who are about to enter.

Act 1 Scene 3

The opening stage direction is "Enter Clotten, and two Lords" (TLN 226). All of the second lord's comments are audience-directed asides except for his final agreement to go with Cloten (TLN 261). All three exit through the stage right door at the end of the scene (TLN 261).

Act 1 Scene 4

Innogen and Pisanio enter at the start of the scene through the stage left door. At TLN 307 a lady enters to summon Innogen to the Queen. This conforms to Ichikawa's rule 'h' for 'Summoner's Entrance and Summoned Character's Exit' for which "it is natural that they should exit through the door from which the summoner has entered" (Ichikawa 1996, 12). Since Innogen appears to again depart from Pisanio ("Those things I bid you do, get them dispatch'd, / I will attend the

Queene" TLN 310-1) there is a possibility of a split exit. Since this would risk a clash with the characters entering at the beginning of the next scene, however, it is safer to assume that the summoning lady enters through the stage right door, as Ichikawa suggested for summons at the end of a scene (Ichikawa 1996, 12), and that all three exit through the stage right door, with Pisanio perhaps pausing a moment to signify their different destinations.

Act 1 Scene 5

The opening stage direction is "Enter Philario, Iachimo: a Frenchman, a Dutchman, and a Spaniard" (TLN 314-5). The specificity of the nationalities of the two dramatic mutes, the Dutchman and Spaniard, does not warrant a visual signal such as national dress even if appropriate styles could be determined. Although the superfluous detail of nationality might derive from an unfulfilled authorial intention to give them lines, no playhouse purpose would have been served by removing it and so this direction does not indicate that the underlying copy is pre-theatrical. The colon in the direction might suggest initial grouping on stage, since Giacomo and Filario appear to have begun their conversation off stage, and bunching can be achieved by a slight pause between the entrances of the first two and the entrances of the following three. All five characters enter through the stage left door.

At TLN 341 Posthumus enters through the stage left door and is noticed by Filario who twice instructs the others how

to treat him: "Let him be so entertained . . ." and "I beseech you all be better / knowne . . ." (TLN 342, 344-5). This repetition suggests that the first is delivered as a factional-aside and the second as ordinary speech intended for Posthumus to hear. When Posthumus agrees to the wager with "I dare you to this match: heere's my / Ring" (TLN 461-2) he presumably gives the ring to Filario who initially refuses the role of stakeholder: "I will haue it no lay" (TLN 463). The dialogue of 2.4 does not make clear who is in possession of the ring when Giacomo shows the bracelet as evidence of sexual conquest. The wager is formalized by Giacomo and Posthumus joining hands (TLN 479) and they exit through the stage right door to "haue these / things set downe by lawfull Counsell" (TLN 479-80). Filario, the Frenchman, the Dutchman, and the Spaniard "follow 'em" (TLN 487) to end the scene.

Act 1 Scene 6

The opening direction, "Enter Queene, Ladies, and Cornelius" (TLN 489) brings these four or more on through the stage left door. The ladies are almost immediately dismissed (TLN 494). In a similar case of rule 'd', Peter's dismissal after two lines in Romeo and Juliet Q2 (Shakespeare 1599, Flr), Ichikawa argued that "practical staging" makes exit via the stage left door more probable than a pointless crossing of the stage (Ichikawa 1996, 8-9). Peter is told to "stay at the gate", which suggests a location he and the Nurse came from, but in the present case the ladies are sent away on an errand

(gathering flowers) which is sufficient justification for preservation of Beckerman's rule of traffic by crossing the stage to leave by the stage right door. Cornelius presumably gives the Queen the supposed "poysounous Compounds" when he says "here they are, Madam" (TLN 496). The container of the compounds is later specified by Pisanio: "Heere is a boxe, I had it from the Queene" (TLN 1881).

Pisanio's entrance through the stage left door elicits the Queen's comment "Heere comes a flattering Rascall, vpon him / Will I first work" (TLN 522-3) which should be delivered as an audience-directed aside if the Queen is to avoid alienating Cornelius. That the doctor is already alienated is indicated by his audience-directed asides "I do suspect you, Madam, / But you shall do no harme" (TLN 527-8) and "I do not like her. She doth thinke she ha's / Strange ling'ring poysons . . . So to be false with her" (TLN 530-41). His presence noticed by the Queen, Cornelius is dismissed and exits through the stage right door at TLN 544.

During Cornelius's revelatory audience-directed aside the Queen and Pisanio hold a conversation to which the audience is not privy until the Queen recapitulates: "Weepes she still (saist thou?)" (TLN 545). During her attempt to persuade Pisanio to seek another master, the Queen appears to drop the box of compounds which the servant retrieves: "Thou tak'st vp / Thou know'st not what: But take it for thy labour, / It is a thing I made, which hath the King / Fiue times redeem'd from death." (TLN 560-3). At the end of her speech the Queen sends Pisanio to fetch in her ladies (TLN 574). In accordance with

Ichikawa's rule 'g' for summoned characters, Pisanio exits through the stage left door and returns 9 lines later through the same door bringing in the ladies (TLN 583). One might detect in their almost immediate disappearance ("Exit Qu. and Ladies" TLN 587) a reluctance to let the audience examine these flower collectors closely, although the preceding and following scenes do not stretch the doubling abilities of the company. Unless attention is to be drawn to the pointless summoning and dismissal of the ladies, the party should exit through the stage right door in the conventional manner. Pisanio completes the metre of the Queen's final line but since she is either near or through the stage door there is no need for him to invoke the audience-directed aside convention. Pisanio delivers his two and a half line soliloquy before following the party through the stage right door ("Exit" TLN 590).

Act 1 Scene 7

Innogen enters via the usual stage left door in accordance with the opening stage direction: "Enter Imogen alone" (TLN 592). All the scenes of the play which begin with a single character (1.7, 3.6, 4.1, and 5.1) have opening directions which specify that they are "alone" (TLN 592, 2081, 2218, 2857), and the modifier appears in directions in other Shakespeare plays with no apparent significance beyond the literal meaning (Spevack 1975, 319). Although she reveals nothing to the audience that is not known to her enemies,

Innogen's response to the approach of Pisanio and Giacomo ("Who may this be? Fye" TLN 601) might indicate fear of being overheard soliloquizing as well as giving a realistic indication of her emotional state. Pisanio and Giacomo enter via the stage left door (TLN 602) and Pisanio's first line might be interpreted as an answer to Innogen's question: "Madam, a Noble Gentleman of Rome, / Comes from my Lord with Letters" (TLN 603-4). The comma after "Rome" makes this two clauses, with an implied "Who" before "Comes". Editors such as J. C. Maxwell (Shakespeare 1960, 22) and J. M. Nosworthy (Shakespeare 1955. 33) who retain this comma are implicitly treating Innogen's "Who may this be?" as a question heard by Pisanio, since the comma has no place in a single clause initiating a conversation. It is possible that Innogen's question is part of her soliloquy which Pisanio overhears but chooses to treat as though it were addressed to him because he senses, and wants to calm, her fear.

The logical moment for Giacomo to hand Innogen the letter from Posthumus is as he says "Leonatus is in safety, / And greetes your Highnesse deerely" (TLN 606-7). Some of what Giacomo next speaks (especially "I / Haue lost the wager" TLN 612-3) should not be heard either by Innogen or Pisanio, and the simplest solution is that from "All of her, that is out of doore . . ." to ". . . I shall flying fight, / Rather directly fly" (TLN 610-6) Giacomo uses the audience-directed aside convention. As with the oracle's answer and other documents read aloud in The Winter's Tale, discussed in chapter 6, the

text of Posthumus's letter is rendered in italic fount in the Folio, perhaps to indicate the change of prosody.

After accepting Innogen's greeting, Giacomo makes the first of three speeches which appear to be audience-directed asides: "What are men mad? . . . can we not / Partition make with Spectales so pretious / Twixt faire, and foule?" (TLN 628-34). As Gyde noted (Gyde 1990, 50-4) there are occasions when others present notice that the maker of an audience-directed aside is behaving oddly, but cannot hear what is being said. Gyde offered the examples of Margaret noticing that Suffolk "talkes at randon" in Shakespeare's 1 Henry 6 (Shakespeare 1968, TLN 2522), and Lussurioso noticing that Vindice is talking but unable to see to whom when the former makes an aside in The Revenger's Tragedy (Tourneur 1608, D2v). The present case is more complex, however, in that Giacomo's plans would be furthered by making Innogen believe him to be enraptured and so distracted. Keightley invented the stage direction "Half-Aside" (Shakespeare 1864a, 407-8) to show that Giacomo intends to be perceived making his asides, and Dowden called these speeches "feigned soliloquy" (Shakespeare 1903, 38). It appears that Shakespeare extended an existing aspect of the aside convention (that the aside maker might be thought to be behaving oddly) to allow an arch-manipulator sublime mastery of theatrical conventions in order to further his playworld plans. A similar situation arises with the asides of Camillo and Autolycus towards the end of the sheep-shearing scene in The Winter's Tale,

discussed in chapter 6, in which playworld ends are served by mastery of theatrical means.

After Giacomo's first intentionally-perceived audience-directed aside, Innogen asks "What makes your admiration?" (TLN 635). Giacomo's failure to respond to this question increases the likelihood that acting strangely is part of his plan since he otherwise must appear counterproductively rude. Giacomo's second audience-directed aside ("It cannot be i'th'eye . . . so allur,d [sic] to feed" TLN 636-43) elicits Innogen's "What is the matter trow?" (TLN 644) and his third ("The Cloyed will . . . for the Garbage" TLN 645-8) elicits Innogen's "What, deere Sir, / Thus rap's you? Are you well?" (TLN 649-50). To this Giacomo finally responds "Thanks Madam well" (TLN 651) and he dismisses Pisanio, who leaves via the stage right door (TLN 655). After Giacomo's repulsed attempt and quick-witted exculpation, he and Innogen exit at the end of the scene via the stage right door (TLN 837). An act interval follows during which, assuming Blackfriars practice had spread to the Globe, musicians played in the stage balcony.

Act 2 Scene 1

This scene parallels 1.3 in both purpose and structure: Cloten enters with two lords via the stage left door, and the second lord makes audience-directed asides which mock Cloten's speeches. The definite article in the opening stage direction, "Enter Clotten, and the two Lords" (TLN 839), suggests that

these are the same two lords as in the earlier scene. One of the second lord's audience-directed asides must be delivered with incomplete engagement of the convention since Cloten asks "Sayest thou?" (TLN 863). It is not clear how the distinction was made between audience-directed asides which appear to others on stage to be merely distracted behaviour (as with Giacomo's asides in the previous scene) and those which are perceived to be conversations with an unseen interlocutor, as here and in Gyde's examples from 1 Henry 6 and The Revenger's Tragedy. A possible explanation is that incomplete engagement results from turning or stepping insufficiently far or with insufficient speed to make the audience certain that the convention is being invoked. In such cases, the subsequent content of the speech indicates to the audience that the speech is an aside, but until this is perceived the addressee is indeterminate and the first few words may arouse the interest of onstage characters.

A singular "Exit" (TLN 887) appears to take Cloten off to "go see this Italian" (TLN 885) but he appears to expect to be accompanied since his last words are "Come: go" (TLN 886). However, the final stage direction is "Exeunt" (TLN 901) and it is possible that the first lord waits near the stage right door while the second lord delivers his final audience-directed aside (a kind of prayer for Innogen's well-being) and the two lords exit together through the stage right door at the end of the scene.

Act 2 Scene 2

The opening stage direction is "Enter Imogen, in her bed, and a Lady" (TLN 903). In his study of the 23 uses of beds in Chamberlain's/King's men's plays from 1595 to 1642, Richard Hosley found that on 8 occasions it was stated, and on another 8 it was implied, that the bed was thrust out from the tiring house (Hosley 1963). In the other 7 instances the staging was unclear and might instead involve a discovery. The most reasonable interpretation of the present stage direction is the literal one: Innogen's bed is propelled onto the stage with her in it. A small single bed could pass through the Wanamaker Globe's 4 feet wide stage doors, but if something larger is imagined then the 6 feet wide central opening would be needed. There is no direct evidence about the size of the bed, but the sumptuous decorations described by Giacomo (to be imagined by the audience), and the fact that she is a princess, point to something impressive. At least one stage hand would be needed to push the bed into place, and two or more would have to carry on the trunk for which there is no stage direction. For convenience both bed and trunk should come through the amply wide central opening. Gurr and Ichikawa asserted that stage hands wore coats of blue, the traditional colour of service (Gurr 1997, 162; Ichikawa 1997b, 18n33). In the prologue to Thomas Nabbes's Hannibal and Scipio reference is made to "blue-coated Stage-Keepers" but there might have been a distinction between stage-hands, who worked during the performance, and stage-keepers who performed menial tasks

before and after the performance (Nabbes 1637, A3v). The only specified duties of the fictional stage-keeper in Jonson's Bartholomew Fair are "sweeping the Stage" and "gathering vp the broken Apples for the beares within" and he appears to have more in common with the door-keepers at the puppet-show than with a modern scene-shifter (Jonson 1631, A4v, L2v-L3r), although Nabbes's imaginary stage-keepers seem to be responsible for offstage sounds: "the horrid noise of target fight" (Nabbes 1637, A3v).

Although this scene requires special dressing of the stage it is not necessary to abandon rules of stage door usage and imagine that everyone and everything comes through the central opening. Innogen's first line, "Who's there? My woman: Helene?" (TLN 904) might be a command or a question. Nosworthy noted the "nervous tension throughout the scene" (Shakespeare 1955, 50) and since the opening stage direction brings the lady on and Innogen is sleepy, it is reasonable to assume that Innogen hears her lady enter through the stage left door behind her. Innogen's instructions to the lady suggest that two properties, a book and a taper, are present. The book might simply lie on the bed, but in the absence of a table upon which to place a handheld lamp, the taper is presumably free-standing and high enough to cast light on the bed. Alan C. Dessen argued that a taper could provide a theatrical shorthand means of signifying night-time, but it would not be lit in an outdoor theatre because it was likely to blow out (Dessen 1984, 76). Although there is no exit direction for the lady, Innogen's "to bed. / Take not away the Taper" (TLN

910-1) and the unlikelihood that the lady sleeps on the floor make one necessary. The lady should exit through the stage right door a little before the emergence of Giacomo from the trunk (TLN 917) in order that tension mounts in the stillness of the bedchamber.

After her prayer for protection, Innogen "Sleepes" (TLN 916) for an indeterminate period of time before "Iachimo [emerges] from the Trunke" (TLN 917). Herbert G. Wright noted that the first English translation of Boccaccio's Decameron added a detail not present in the original story (Day 2 Novel 9) which was a source for Cymbeline (Wright 1953, 20). Boccaccio's Ambroginolo is described as "stepping forth [from the chest] in his sockes made of cloath" (Boccaccio 1620, N4r), and since the translator on other occasions made use of theatrical terminology alien to the original, Wright wondered if these socks might reflect contemporary staging of the parallel scene in Cymbeline. Giacomo removes Innogen's bracelet from her arm ("Come off, come off" TLN 940) while taking written account (TLN 931) of the features of the imagined bedchamber. Furness noted that, although the bracelet is described as a "Manacle" (TLN 143) and hence is fastened with a clasp, dramatic tension is heightened if Giacomo tries to slide the bracelet off and if his "As slippery as the Gordian-knot was hard" (TLN 941) is an expression of triumph in this dangerous attempt (Shakespeare 1913, 119). As Giacomo returns to the trunk a "Clocke strikes" (TLN 958) and he counts "One, two, three: time, time" (TLN 959), which might indicate either three or four tolls. Nosworthy wondered if "in

actual performance, the clock was sounded at regular intervals throughout the scene, as it apparently was at the end of Doctor Faustus" (Shakespeare 1955, 55). Giacomo's return to the trunk at the end of the scene might seem implausible if time had not been compressed since he could hardly be expected to rest many hours inside it. The clock striking at the end of the scene should perhaps be regarded as a device to reassure the audience that he will not have long to wait before emerging again, and hence the tolling of the intervening hours is unnecessary. The final stage direction is "Exit" (TLN 959) and presumably marks the moment of his return to the trunk, after which stagehands emerge to carry bed and trunk off through the central opening.

Act 2 Scene 3

Although the opening stage direction, "Enter Clotten, and Lords" (TLN 961), follows the form of those at the beginning of 1.3 and 2.1, the second lord has no mocking audience-directed asides and may be a different character. Cloten and the lords enter via the stage left door and are shortly followed by the musicians. Cloten's reference to the musicians' "fingering" (975-6) does little to narrow the range of possible instruments carried by the musicians since this term can be applied to string, brass, and woodwind. Richmond Noble thought Cloten's dismissal of the musicians revealed the instruments used: "So, get you gone: if this pen trate, I will consider your / Musicke the better: if it do not, it is a

voyce in her eares / which Horse-haires, and Calues-guts, nor the voyce of / vn-paued Eunuch to boot, can neuer amed" (TLN 989-92). Noble commented that "The 'horse-hairs and calves' guts' refers to viols" which accompanied a male alto imitating a eunuch (Noble 1923, 133-5). However, Cloten cites these as things which might be thought to make amends for the performance given, so perhaps they are not used on this occasion. The number of musicians is uncertain but Cloten's instruction to play "First, a very excellent good conceyted thing; after a wonderful sweet aire, with admirable rich words to it" (TLN 977-9) indicates that before the song was sung there was an instrumental piece. A seventeenth-century setting of the song, possible by Robert Johnson, is reprinted by Nosworthy (Shakespeare 1955, 220-2). The music is directed towards what Cymbeline calls "the doore of our stern daughter" (TLN 999) but both stage doors are needed for the traffic of entrances and exits. Since the central opening was associated with Innogen's bedchamber in the previous scene it should here represent the entrance to her rooms. When the central opening represents a place all entrances from and exits to that place are made through the gap in its curtains. There is no stage direction for their exit, but the musicians should leave through the stage right door after Cloten says "get you gone" (TLN 989).

The entrance of Cymbeline and the Queen immediately follows the exits of the musicians, which further increases the likelihood that the usual cross-stage traffic is maintained since otherwise a clash at the stage door is

inevitable. The messenger who announces the arrival of the Roman ambassadors (TLN 1018-9) may enter through the stage left door immediately before speaking. The news causes an "Exeunt" (TLN 1029) which appears to take all but Cloten off through the stage right door. Cloten twice calls "by your leaue" (TLN 1031, 1042) and "Knocks" (TLN 1042), presumably on the wooden surface of the frons if the central opening itself is curtained. In response to his knocking a lady enters (TLN 1043) through the gap in the curtains covering the central opening, is offered money by Cloten, and shortly after Innogen enters through the central opening (TLN 1057). There is no exit direction for the lady but, unless she is to be imagined standing idly by when Innogen feels the loss of the bracelet and sends Pisanio to instigate a search, she should exit through the central opening once Innogen has emerged.

After an exchange of insults with Cloten, Innogen calls "How now Pisanio?" (TLN 1114) in response to which Pisanio enters through the stage left door (TLN 1115). That this is a summons is suggested, but not proven, by the stage direction occurring after the call and by the fact that Innogen has an errand for Pisanio. Nosworthy plausibly suggested that the "How now" could register "Imogen's sudden realization that the bracelet is no longer on her arm" (Shakespeare 1955, 62). Nosworthy thought that Pisanio being sent on an errand to "Dorothy my woman" (TLN 1117) might be a minor inconsistency since Helen was the name of Innogen's lady in 2.2 (Shakespeare 1955, 63). Assuming that the lady in this scene is Helen, it is possible that the lack of an exit direction for her

(discussed above) is the cause of Innogen's reference to another of her ladies since it would be absurd to send Pisanio on an errand to someone who was on stage. Possible justification for Helen not taking part in the search would be that she is a senior and/or an elderly servant but there is no evidence to support either hypothesis. Pisanio's exit is not marked in the Folio but he would scarcely remain after Innogen's "go and search" (TLN 1130) and must exit through the central opening beyond which Innogen's rooms are to be imagined. The scene ends with Innogen's departure through the central opening ("Exit" TLN 1139) and Cloten's "Exit" (TLN 1141) through the stage right door.

Act 2 Scene 4

The scene begins "Enter Posthumus, and Philario", using the stage left door, and after Posthumus's speech praising his own country's soldiers Giacomo joins them via the same door (TLN 1171). At some point Giacomo delivers to Posthumus letters from Innogen, since he asks about their contents (TLN 1277), and the obvious moment would be as he says "Heere are Letters for you" (TLN 1184). Whatever moment is chosen, Posthumus does not appear to break off his conversation with Giacomo to peruse them, although it would perhaps overstate Posthumus's lack of proper interest if he were not to receive them as soon as they were mentioned. Filario is the stakeholder and either he or Posthumus may be holding the ring when the latter asks "Sparkles this Stone as it was wont" (TLN

1192). Giacomo is certainly holding, perhaps even wearing, the bracelet when he says "I begge but leaue to ayre this Iewell: See, / And now 'tis vp againe: it must be married / To that your Diamond, Ile keepe them" (TLN 1264-6) but his use of the pronoun "that" does not indicate who is holding the diamond. When Giacomo enquires about the contents of the letter ("She writes so to you? doth shee?" TLN 1277) Posthumus might peruse the letters from Innogen, but in any case he gives the ring to Giacomo: "Heere, take this too, / It is a Basiliske vnto mine eye" (TLN 1278-9). Filario's advice "take your Ring againe" (TLN 1287) indicates that Giacomo now has the ring and Posthumus's "backe my Ring" (TLN 1292) and "keepe the Ring" (TLN 1297) need not be accompanied by action. The movement of the ring is worth tracking because it represents not merely the stake of the wager but also the substance: as in The Merchant of Venice, Shakespeare here uses the transfer of rings to symbolize real and imagined sexual possession.

Convinced of Innogen's infidelity, Posthumus exits swearing "Ile do something" (TLN 1331) and is followed five lines later by Filario and Giacomo who wish to "peruert the present wrath / He hath against himselfe" (TLN 1334-5). Presumably all three use the stage right door as usual, but Posthumus returns only 6 lines after his exit. Since Filario and Giacomo seek Posthumus, and since he cannot use the same door they are exiting through (else they clash), Posthumus must make a backstage cross in just 6 lines in order to enter via the stage left door to begin his soliloquy on female inconstancy ("Is there no way . . ." TLN 1338). It appears

that without the stage doors taking on directionality, the convention of stage traffic can indicate that Posthumus has managed to lose those who seek him. Posthumus's distracted haste would best be represented by use of the minimum crossing time and hence, as with the Queen's onstage cross between the stage doors in 1.2 (discussed above), 6 lines appears to be the minimum time required to walk from door to door. After his soliloquy Posthumus exits via the stage right door at the end of the scene (TLN 1372) and an act interval follows.

Act 3 Scene 1

The opening stage direction is "Enter in State, Cymbeline, Queene, Clotten, and Lords at one doore, and at another, Caius, Lucius, and Attendants" (TLN 1374-6). The comma between "Caius" and "Lucius", suggesting two ambassadors, is evidently an error since the name "Caius Lucius" is used in 2.3 (TLN 1019), 2.4 (TLN 1155, 1187), and 5.5 (TLN 3791). Although the phrase "in state" indicates "with great pomp and solemnity; with a great train; with splendid or honorific trappings and insignia" (OED state¹ sb. 17c), which might otherwise suggest use of the central opening, the references to "one doore" and "another" indicate that the left and right stage doors were to be used to represent the opposed national factions. Although the convention of stage door usage does not rely on directionality, the fact that traffic usually moves stage left to right might favour the arriving Romans using the stage left door and the Britons, who are at home,

using the stage right. This usage conforms to Tim Fitzpatrick's 'rule of triangulation' which generalized Ichikawa's special rule 'i' (Fitzpatrick 1995; Ichikawa 1996). It would be appropriate for Lucius's costume to indicate that he represents imperial Rome and the range of styles which might have been used for this is discussed in the chapter 2 section '2.1 Costuming'. The Roman attendants should also indicate their nationality, but from the principles outlined in the chapter 5 section '5.5 Staging Practices' we may presume that if insufficient pieces were available, Lucius's costume took precedence. If the Peacham drawing (Foakes 1985, 48-51) is taken as a model, Lucius might wear a toga and the attendants' costumes might mix contemporary Elizabethan items with Classicizing elements such as sandals and sashes.

Frances Ann Shirley conjectured a flourish (a "Fanfare blown for the entrances and exits of nobility or persons of high rank", Shirley, Frances Ann 1963, 250) at the beginning and end of 3.1, the beginning of 3.5, the beginning of 4.3, and Cymbeline's exit in 4.3 (Shirley, Frances Ann 1963, 197). No edition invented directions for these flourishes until the Oxford Complete Works implemented Shirley's conjecture for 3.1 and 3.5 but not 4.3 (Shakespeare 1986, 1290, 1294, 1303) in the form of conjectured additions marked by broken brackets (Shakespeare 1986, xxxv). Alice Walker counted the lack of flourishes in Cymbeline for royal entries amongst the evidence that the copy for the Folio text was not a prompt book (Shakespeare 1955, xii-xiii). The five Folio comedies transcribed by Ralph Crane lack flourishes and it is possible

that he systematically removed them. In The Tempest and The Merry Wives of Windsor the lack of flourishes is not surprising since there are no suitable moments, but in The Two Gentlemen of Verona, The Winter's Tale, and Measure for Measure one might expect ducal and monarchical entrances to be signalled. The uncertainty surrounding the copy for the Folio texts of The Two Gentlemen of Verona and The Winter's Tale (Wells et al. 1987, 166, 601) makes the absence of flourishes inconclusive since these might not have been added until the text reached the playhouse, but Measure for Measure was probably set from a prompt book and hence a different explanation is needed. It might be argued that the flourishes conjectured by Shirley for the beginning and end of scenes 1.1 and 5.1 of Measure for Measure (Shirley, Frances Ann 1963, 211-2) are inappropriate since the former is a consciously low-key leave taking and the latter an outdoor scene of hastily arranged return. Shirley's study of 'Fanfare and Pageantry' described the various kinds of trumpet sounds used to signify the approach of important persons and convincingly argued for a range of dramatic effects including irony and suspense (Shirley, Frances Ann 1963, 71-87), but the conjectural restoration of 'lost' directions for these sounds might be over-zealous (Shirley, Frances Ann 1963, 193-222).

With the request for tribute denied, the scene ends on a note of partial reconciliation: Cloten requests that the Romans "Make pastime with vs, a day, or two, or longer" (TLN 1458-9) and Cymbeline confirms the offer with "All the Remaine, is welcome" (TLN 1466). This amity and the fact that

the Romans are not to return home immediately suggest that the final "Exeunt" (TLN 1466) is made through a single portal. Use of the central opening might overstate the reconciliation and spoil the effect of the final scene which must show the ending of hostilities, whereas use of the stage right door would not only suggest that the Romans are made guests of the Britons but also signal a return to normal traffic flow.

Act 3 Scene 2

The scene begins with "Enter Pisanio reading of a Letter", using the stage left door. Pisanio uses the name "Leonatus" (TLN 1470) which Nosworthy thought an unlikely familiarity unless Pisanio was reading aloud from the letter (Shakespeare 1955, 83). Nosworthy might have been influenced by the use of italic fount which represented Innogen reading the text of a letter in 1.7, but throughout the play proper names are italicized without signalling a change of prosody. Pisanio appears to read from the letter when he says "Doo't: The Letter. / That I haue sent her, by her owne command, / Shall giue thee opportunitie" (TLN 1486-7). The failure to render the first three words ("Doo't: The Letter") in italic fount might indicate that Pisanio is paraphrasing what he remembers and only begins to quote the letter from "That I haue sent". The consistency with which Ralph Crane appears to have indicated change of prosody (especially when reading a document) by use of italic fount, and the likelihood that Cymbeline was set from a Crane transcript (Wells et al. 1987,

604), make it likely that Pisanio's lines "That I haue sent her, by her owne command, / Shall giue thee opportunitie" (TLN 1486-7) are read from the letter even though these words do not appear in Innogen's reading of the same letter in 3.4. Margreta de Grazia placed Shakespearian non-verbatim quotation and discrepant readings of letters in the context of pre-Enlightenment notions of intellectual property and showed that the modern distinction between paraphrase and quotation partly rests upon property rights which did not exist in the seventeenth century (de Grazia 1991, 177-221). However, for staging purposes it is necessary to decide whether Pisanio looks at the letter, and the evidence of italic fount makes it likely that he does. It is likely that Pisanio is holding in his hand the other letter, which summons Innogen to Milford Haven, in order that the audience may see what "The Letter / That I haue sent her" (TLN 1485-6) refers to.

Shortly after Pisanio reads from the letter, Innogen enters through the stage left door (TLN 1491) and Pisanio hands her the other letter from Posthumus: "Madam, heere is a Letter from my Lord" TLN 1494. Innogen breaks the seal ("Good Wax, thy leaue" TLN 1504) and begins to read: "Ivstice and your Fathers wrath (should he take me in his Dominion) could not be so cruell to me, as you: (oh the deerest of Creatures) would euen renew me with your eyes. . . ." (TLN 1509-11). Editors since Malone have worried that the colon after "as you" makes the intended sense, 'but you', difficult to recover (Shakespeare 1913, 187-8), and Nosworthy agreed that the colon is "evidently an error" (Shakespeare 1955, 85). It is

arguable, however, that the colon indicates a stop precisely for the purpose of delaying realization of the final meaning in order to deliver a dramatic shock: Posthumus's letter seems, for a moment, to reproach Innogen. Comic effect produced by false stops occur elsewhere in Shakespeare (for example, Quince's prologue to 'Pyramus and Thisbe' in A Midsummer Night's Dream) and artistic decorum does not disallow such a reading here. If Innogen were to react to the apparent meaning of the incomplete sentence, perhaps by looking to Pisanio in horror, the comic effect of her realization of her mistake overcomes the shock without effacing the audience's sense that the imagined enmity she has dismissed from her mind is in fact the true state of affairs. Patrick Tucker asserted that Folio punctuation reliably represents the pauses used in early performances and argued that actors should work from minimally-edited Folio texts if they want to recover the original meaning (Shakespeare 1990, 4-6). In his advice about speaking verse Tucker repeatedly misused the word "feet" to mean 'syllable' (Shakespeare 1990, 5), and his arguments about Folio punctuation are equally unscholarly but in the present case it appears that the Folio's colon ought to be retained. After the reading of the letter, and the plans set in motion for the trip to Milford Haven, Innogen and Pisanio "Exeunt" (TLN 1552) at the end of the scene. Although Pisanio is sent by Innogen to "bid my Woman faigne a Sicknesse" (TLN 1543) both may use the stage right door. However, unlike the similar situation at the end

of 1.2, a split exit using both doors would not risk a clash with actors entering to start the next scene.

Act 3 Scene 3

The scene begins with "Enter Belarius, Guiderius, and Aruiragus" (TLN 1554), using the central opening. Harley Granville-Barker argued that there must have been a property representing Belarius's cave since his reference to a house "Whose Roofe's as lowe as ours" (TLN 1556) would otherwise be puzzling until Arviragus mentions "our pinching Caue" (TLN 1595) (Granville-Barker 1930, 253-4). Granville-Barker thought the comment "We house i'th'Rocke" (TLN 1562) insufficient to clear the mystery, but if the cave dwellers crawl out of the gap in the curtain covering the central opening there is perhaps no need for a visible height restriction. If a height restriction is thought necessary, a simple bar or frame in front of the opening would suffice. Nosworthy believed that the scene "would take place on the inner-stage, with a conventional property representing the cave" (Shakespeare 1955, 87). There is no inner stage in modern reconstructions of the Globe and Henslowe's ownership of cave properties, noted by Nosworthy, is poor evidence for Globe practice unless an unproven homogeneity of staging is assumed. Nosworthy argued that Simon Forman's reference to "the Caue in the wodess" (Chambers 1930b, 339) suggests that trees were used in the Globe performances but there is nothing in Forman's account which indicates the venue where he saw the play, and

the activity of hunting with which the scene is concerned is sufficient to put Forman in mind of woods without the use of properties.

The opening stage direction brings the young men on with Belarius, but if Hanmer's emendation of "Sleepe Boyes" (TLN 1556) to "stoop, boys!" (Shakespeare 1744, 160) is accepted, the young men should emerge during the second line of Belarius's speech. Arviragus and Guiderius "Exeunt" (TLN 1638) to go "vp to'th'Mountaines" (TLN 1632) to hunt deer. It is possible that the young men use different doors to exit because they are in competition ("he that strikes / The Venison first, shall be the Lord o'th'Feast" TLN 1633-4), and that Belarius gestures in the direction taken by each as he describes them: "This Paladour, / The heyre of Cymbeline . . ." (1647-8) and "The yonger Brother Cadwall, / Once Aruiragus, in as like a figure . . ." (TLN 1656-7).

There appear to be offstage sounds during Belarius's soliloquy informing the audience of the boys' parentage. Belarius's comment "Hearke, the Game is rows'd" (TLN 1659) presumably follows the sound of hunting horns being used by Arviragus and Guiderius, and Shirley noted (Shirley, Frances Ann 1963, 197) that either horns or shouts should precede Belarius's comment that "The Game is vp" as he exits (TLN 1668). Since Belarius is to "tread these Flats" (TLN 1567) while the boys are up the mountain and he will meet them "in the Valleyes" (TLN 1638), he probably exits through the central opening rather than either stage door. Whether the cave is represented by a simple bar or frame in front of the

curtain, or by a more substantial property as Granville-Barker envisaged, it may remain in place for the next scene, which is set in the vicinity of Milford Haven, but must be removed before the beginning of 3.5.

Act 3 Scene 4

The scene begins with "Enter Pisanio and Innogen" (TLN 1670) through the stage left door. Innogen is wearing the "Riding Suit: No costlier then would fit / A Franklins Huswife" (TLN 1545-6) that she asked Pisanio to provide in 3.2. Pisanio offers Innogen a letter ("Why tender'st thou that Paper to me" TLN 1681) which she reads aloud. As usual, the text of the letter is printed in italic fount. Pisanio appears to deliver an audience-directed aside after Innogen reads the letter: "What shall I need to draw my Sword, the Paper / Hath cut her throat already? . . ." (TLN 1703-4). This aside may be intended to cover a period of time during which Innogen stares at the letter in bewilderment, since Pisanio ends it with "What cheere. Madam?" (TLN 1710).

In her distracted state Innogen implores Pisanio to carry out his instruction: "Looke / I draw the Sword my selfe, take it, and hit / The innocent Mansion of my Loue (my Heart:)" (TLN 1738-40). The sword she draws must be Pisanio's since it is hardly likely to be part of her riding outfit. Pisanio touches the sword only to deflect its point from her breast: "Hence vile Instrument, / Thou shalt not damne my hand" (TLN 1746-7). Innogen continues to offer her breast for Pisanio to

strike and appears to find there the letter from Posthumus summoning her to Milford Haven:

Come, heere's my heart:

Something's a-foot: Soft, soft, wee'l no defence,
Obedient as the Scabbard. What is heere,
The Scriptures of the Loyall Leonatus,
All turn'd to Heresie?

(TLN 1752-6)

Innogen discards this letter ("Away, away / Corrupters of my Faith" TLN 1756- 7) and, since he shows it Cloten in 3.5 ("This Paper is the historie of my knowledge / Touching her flight" TLN 2012-3), we may assume that Pisanio picks it up.

The gender-changing plan agreed upon, Pisanio might pass to Innogen the bundle of clothes she is to wear as he describes them: "Doublet, Hat, Hose . . ." (TLN 1861). If Innogen and Pisanio exit through different doors then it is essential that the clothes and the box of drugs ("I had it from the Queene" TLN 1881) are first given, but although they are to part company their "short farewell" (TLN 1878) might occur off stage. The scene ends with "Exeunt" (TLN 1887) and they may use different doors without causing a clash with actors entering to begin the next scene.

Act 3 Scene 5

The opening stage direction is "Enter Cymbeline, Queene, Cloten, Lucius, and Lords" (TLN 1889-90). Since the occasion is the formal departure of the Roman ambassador Lucius, use of

the central opening would be appropriate and the presence of more than the minimum two lords would be desirable. There must also be at least one servant who is sent to fetch Innogen. The formal nature of this scene, which would be emphasized if the central opening were used, seems to demand a flourish, and it would be appropriate for the characters to enter in the order given in the direction.

After shaking hands with Cloten (TLN 1906) Lucius exits with an unspecified number of lords: "Exit Lucius, &c" (TLN 1912). It seems that all the lords who entered at the beginning of the scene go with Lucius since the direction for Cymbeline's exit later in the scene is singular ("Exit" TLN 1955) and in his absence the scene becomes informal and full of intrigue. Although there is no stage direction, Cymbeline's "Call her [Innogen] before vs" (TLN 1931) must send a messenger off. Ichikawa's rule 'g' for 'Summoner's Exit' suggests that the servant should use a single door to exit and then re-enter without Innogen. Ordinarily this would be the stage left door since a summoned character's entrance would follow the usual flow from stage left to right. However, Cymbeline's response to Innogen's non-appearance is to seek her himself and Cloten must follow him and then re-enter. To avoid Cymbeline apparently heading in the wrong direction to seek Innogen, and Cloten making a pointless backstage cross, it is perhaps better to suspend the usual pattern of traffic and imagine that the central opening represents 'further in' as suggested by Cloten's "Go in and cheere the King" (TLN 1973). The messenger exits through the central opening in

response to Cymbeline's "Call her before vs" (TLN 1931). It is possible that an association of the central opening with Innogen's bedchamber, or the entrance to her rooms, lingers from 2.2 and 2.3. The messenger re-enters without Innogen at TLN 1940 and Cymbeline exits through the central opening at TLN 1955. Cloten follows him through the central opening three lines later, in response to his mother's command ("follow the King" TLN 1956), leaving her alone on stage for her soliloquy "Pisanio, thou that stand'st so for Posthumus . . . of the Brittish Crowne" (TLN 1960-9). Cloten re-enters through the central opening and instructs his mother to "Go in and cheere the King" (TLN 1973). On her way through the central opening ("Exit Qu" TLN 1976) the Queen comments on Cymbeline's rage: "All the better: may / This night fore-stall him of the coming day" (TLN 1975-6). S. Walker conjectured that Cloten ought not to hear this comment by his mother, and W. G. Clark and W. Aldis Wright invented the necessary aside direction in their single-volume Globe edition (Shakespeare 1864b, 960), and acknowledged Walker as their source in their multi-volume scholarly edition (Shakespeare 1866, 235). Subsequent editors have concurred with this invention (Shakespeare 1903, 112; Shakespeare 1955, 109; Shakespeare 1960, 65), although Maxwell admitted that it is "not perhaps absolutely necessary" (Shakespeare 1960, 180). It is difficult to see why editors find the aside marker at all necessary, unless some lords remained after Lucius's departure in which case it ought to be either a factional aside to Cloten or an audience-directed aside. However, for the reasons give above and below, it is

likely that Cloten and his mother are alone. The Queen's exit marks the end of the use of the central opening as a privileged space associated with the formal departure of the Roman general from Cymbeline's court.

Alone on stage, Cloten delivers his soliloquy concerning his feelings towards Innogen: "I loue, and hate her . . ." (TLN 1977). If there are lords present on stage this would have to be an audience-directed aside, but Cloten's speech ends with a characteristic marker of a soliloquy: he breaks off suddenly ("For, when Fooles shall--" TLN 1986), apparently because concerned that he might have been overheard ("Who is heere?" TLN 1988). As discussed in the chapter 2 section '2.2 Acting Styles and Convention', the fear of being overheard never strikes a character who knows himself to be in company because engagement of the aside convention deafens those he knows to be present. Alerted to Pisanio's presence by the sound of his entrance through the stage left door (TLN 1987) Cloten seizes the servant and threatens him ("Ile haue this Secret from thy heart, or rip / Thy heart to finde it" TLN 1995-6) with, Pisanio later recalls, "his Sword drawne" (TLN 3573). Pisanio hands Cloten a document ("This Paper is the historie of my knowledge / Touching her flight" TLN 2012-3) which is presumably the letter summoning Innogen to Milford Haven which he picked up when Innogen discarded it in 3.4. In the final scene of the play Pisanio says he gave Cloten "a feigned Letter of my Masters" but this need not be "one of the instances of the 'folly of the fiction' which Dr Johnson found in this play" (Shakespeare 1913, 257) if it is accepted that

the substance of the letter, and not its form, is "Contrived for deception" (OED feigned a. 2b): it need not be a counterfeit, merely misleading.

While Cloten is reading the letter, Pisanio makes two audience-directed asides: "Or this, or perish. / She's farre enough, and what he learns by this, / May proue his trauell, not her danger" (TLN 2016-8) and "Ile write to my Lord she's dead: Oh Imogen, / Safe mayst thou wander, safe return agen" (TLN 2020-1). Dowden suggested that "Or this, or perish" need not be part of the aside but might be "meant to deceive Cloten by apparent reluctance in showing a letter which Pisanio believes can really do no harm to Imogen" (Shakespeare 1903, 114). In Gyde's model of address there is no place for self-directed speech and so Dowden's suggestion can only be accommodated by assuming that Pisanio deliberately fails to fully engage the audience-directed aside convention because he wants Cloten to hear. If this is accepted then all of the first aside ("Or this . . . not her danger" TLN 2016-8) might gainfully be overheard, but it is perhaps asking too much of Cloten to read a letter and listen to Pisanio at the same time.

Pisanio exits to fetch Posthumus's clothes (TLN 2046) and, in accordance with Ichikawa's rule 'f' for 'Exiting to Fetch Something and Re-enter with it', he uses the stage left door behind which the property bundle is ready. In Pisanio's absence Posthumus's words "Meet thee at Milford-Hauen" (TLN 2047) are either read from the letter by Cloten or he is paraphrasing the substance while perusing it, although the

words are not rendered in italic fount and do not appear in this form when Innogen reads the letter in 3.2. However, it is difficult to make sense of "thee" without assuming that Cloten is looking at the letter. The direction for Pisanio's re-entrance occurs after Cloten's soliloquy revealing an intention to kill Posthumus and rape Innogen: "Meet thee at Milford-Hauen . . . merry in my Reuenge" (TLN 2047- 62). Nosworthy argued that Pisanio's account of Cloten's intention, given in the final scene ("away he postes / With vnchaste purpose, and with oath to violate / My Ladies honor" TLN 3580-2), indicates that Pisanio overhears at least part of Cloten's soliloquy (Shakespeare 1955, 112). This is an unnecessary assumption, however, since Cloten insists that Pisanio will be "a voluntarie Mute to my designe" (TLN 2070) and we may assume that the plan is divulged some time later. Pisanio's failure to report Cloten's murderous intent (he refers only to intended rape, TLN 3570-83) need not be because he is trying to edit his version of events as he recounts them (so calls the letter "feigned" because he is "unwilling to disclose to the King the savage jealousy of Posthumus", Seymour 1805, 234) nor that he overhears only the latter part of Cloten's soliloquy (Shakespeare 1955, 112), but might simply be because Cloten withholds this part of the plan. Pisanio re-enters through the stage left door carrying the bundle of Posthumus's clothes and is instructed by Cloten to "Bring this Apparrell to my Chamber" (TLN 2068). Cloten exits through the stage right door (TLN 2073) and, after addressing his departed putative new master ("Thou bids't me to my losse

. . . whom thou pursuest" TLN 2074-7) and then the gods ("Flow, flow / You Heavenly blessings . . . Labour be his meede" TLN 2077-9), Pisanio follows carrying the bundle. Before the beginning of the next scene the property, if any, which makes the central opening become Belarius's cave must be set in place.

Act 3 Scene 6

Innogen enters through the stage left door to fulfil the opening direction, "Enter Imogen alone" (TLN 2081), wearing the young man's clothes provided by Pisanio at the end of 3.4. Perceiving the cave ("'tis some sauage hold" TLN 2099) Innogen exits through the central opening with sword drawn (TLN 2108).

Act 3 Scene 7

The scene begins with "Enter Belarius, Guiderius, and Aruiragus" (TLN 2110) through the stage left door carrying whatever they are thought to have caught in their hunt. Belarius approaches the central opening ("Poore house" TLN 2119) but before exiting through it he perceives Innogen within and prevents his putative sons following him: "Stay, come not in" (TLN 2124). After Belarius comments on the "Angell: or . . . earthly Paragon" (TLN 2128-9) Innogen emerges from the central opening: "Enter Imogen" (TLN 2131).

It might be argued that part of Arviragus's speech must be made aside:

Ile make't my Comfort

He is a man, Ile loue him as my Brother:

And such a welcome as I'ld giue him

(After long absence) such is yours. Most welcome:

(TLN 2163-6)

Arviragus's use of personal pronouns ("He", "him") might indicate an audience-directed aside or a factional aside to Belarius and Guiderius, but the transition from third person to second person address ("Ile loue him . . . such is yours") requires a subtle disengagement of the aside convention if Innogen is to understand him. A simpler explanation is that Arviragus has not learnt to avoid using the third person when the subject is present. Innogen would undoubtedly avoid such rudeness, and hence her "would it had bin so, that they / Had bin my Fathers Sonnes, then had my prize / Bin lesse, and so more equall ballasting / To thee Posthumus" (TLN 2169-72) must be an audience-directed aside. Consistent with Gyde's theory of the aside/soliloquy convention, Belarius perceives that Innogen is doing something strange while making this aside ("He wrings at some distresse" TLN 2173). Belarius calls to Arviragus and Guiderius "Hearke Boyes" (TLN 2177) and it is clear that they have a private conversation excluding Innogen since Belarius's next line is "It shall be so" (2186). While they talk, Innogen delivers an audience-directed aside ("Great men . . . Since Leonatus false" (TLN 2178-85). A similar situation occurs in The Winter's Tale 4.4 when Florizel calls

Perdita to have a private conversation ("Hearke Perdita" TLN 2362) during which Camillo delivers an audience directed aside about them ("Hee's irremouable . . . much thirst to see" TLN 2364-70). After her aside, Innogen is invited into the cave and all four exit through the central opening ("Exeunt" TLN 2195).

Act 3 Scene 8

This short scene begins with "Enter two Roman Senators, and Tribunes" using the stage left door. This functional scene indicates the approach of war and the senators and tribunes might be distinctively dressed to aid assimilation of their summary of the Roman action and to indicate their status difference: the costume of Lucius from 3.1 would be appropriate for one of the senators and those of the attendants in that scene would suit the tribunes. Lucius no longer needs his toga since he will henceforth appear in military dress. At the end of the scene all three exit through the stage right door (TLN 2216) and an act interval follows. During the interval whatever property aids identification of the central opening as Belarius's cave is put into place.

Act 4 Scene 1

The scene begins "Enter Clotten alone" (TLN 2218) using the stage left door and it becomes clear from his speech ("How fit his Garments / serue me?" 2220-1) that he is wearing

Posthumus's clothes supplied by Pisanio at the end of 3.5. If the cave property used in the next scene is visible here the sense that danger is near to Innogen would be enhanced. During his soliloquy of fantasized violence Cloten draws his sword ("out / Sword" TLN 2239-40), and after it he exits through the stage right door (TLN 2242).

Act 4 Scene 2

The opening direction is "Enter Belarius, Guiderius, Aruiragus, and Imogen from the Caue" (TLN 2244-5) and as before the central opening is used to represent the cave entrance. Belarius and Innogen deliver audience-directed asides on the untutored nobility of the princes: "Oh noble straine . . . lov'd before mee" (TLN 2274- 8) and "These are kinde Creatures . . . Pisanio, / Ile now taste of thy drugge" (TLN 2284-91). At the end of her aside Innogen swallows the drug contained in the box supplied by Pisanio at the end of 3.4. In response to Belarius's "go in, and rest" (TLN 2298) Innogen exits through the central opening (TLN 2303).

As Belarius leads Arviragus and Guiderius off they encounter Cloten apparently entering by the door they were about to use: "Come away: Who's there?" (TLN 2324). Since Cloten is exhausted and distracted it is perhaps desirable that it is he who uses the wrong door, in which case it is the stage right door. Cloten's entrance forces the others away from the stage door. A stage direction for the exit of Belarius and Arviragus is clearly lacking since they must

re-enter approximately 45 lines later ("Enter Belarius and Arviragus" TLN 2379). The likeliest moment for their exit is after Guiderius's "Let me alone with him" (TLN 2335) at which point Belarius and Arviragus exit through the usual stage right door. After exchanging insults, Guiderius and Cloten "Fight and Exeunt" (TLN 2378) using the stage right door and Belarius and Arviragus immediately re-enter using the stage left door (TLN 2379). Belarius's question "No Companie's abroad?" (TLN 2380) suggests a slight interval between their entrances to indicate that they have only just found each other. Guiderius re-enters (TLN 2394) using the stage left door and, although there is no direction for it, his speech indicates that he is carrying a property which represents the head of Cloten ("this Foole had borne / My head, as I do his" TLN 2399-400).

Guiderius exits through the stage right door (TLN 2443) to dispose of the head, and Belarius sends Arviragus back "to our Rocke" (TLN 2455) which requires an exit through the central opening (TLN 2462). Belarius delivers a soliloquy on the untutored nobility of Guiderius and Arviragus ("Oh thou Goddess . . . will bring vs" TLN 2463-77) which ends as Guiderius enters through the stage left door (TLN 2478). At TLN 2482 appears the first explicit direction for music in the play ("Solemn Musick") which Belarius recognizes as his "ingenuous Instrument" (TLN 2483) being activated by Arviragus. Joseph Hunter thought an Aeolian harp was indicated (Hunter 1845, 297-8), but Belarius wonders "what occasion / Hath Cadwal now to giue it motion", which, together with the

adjective "ingenuous"--presumably meaning 'ingenious', a common seventeenth-century mistake (OED ingenuous a. 6)--suggests something mechanical. Nosworthy claimed that "Henry VIII possessed 'a virginal that goethe with a whele without playing vpon'" without citing his source for this or for his claim that the music was "a consort of viols" (Shakespeare 1955, 134). The reason for the reference to the "ingenuous Instrument" is to justify the occurrence of solemn music in an imagined mountainous location, but naturalism need not be taken as far as the production of sound within the central opening: the musicians in the stage balcony may provide the music. The music room at the Globe in the 1610s was presumably well equipped since it provided inter-act entertainment and probably the only instruments it lacked were woodwinds which, because quieter, were used instead of brass at the indoor playhouses. (Gurr 1994b, 48).

The next direction is "Enter Aruiragus, with Imogen dead, bearing her in his Armes" (TLN 2495-6), using the central opening. Nosworthy rejected Capell's emendation, followed by many editors, to "with Imogen, as dead," (Shakespeare 1768b, 01r) because "the audience should believe that she is dead at this point" (Shakespeare 1955, 135). For staging purposes there is no difference between the original and the emendation and in any case only those who partially recall the origin of the drug will suffer Nosworthy's delusion. Those who recall that Pisanio had the drug of the Queen will think it deadly poison but those who recall that the Queen had it of Cornelius will know it to be harmless.

Guiderius excuses himself from singing a dirge ("I cannot sing: Ile weepe, and word it with thee" TLN 2553) and Arviragus decides "Wee'l speake it then" (TLN 2556). Noble took this to indicate that the company lacked singers to take the young men's parts (Noble 1923, 137), but Nosworthy noted that is "a state of affairs which could hardly have been permanent" (Shakespeare 1955, 223). If Noble is right then we should imagine a typical 1610s staging of the scene in which the dirge is sung and the excuses cut, but there is insufficient evidence to decide the matter. There is no direction for Arviragus to lay Innogen on the ground, but this appears to occur after Belarius suggests fetching the headless body of Cloten so that it and Innogen may "Together haue one dust" (TLN 2561):

Arui. If you'l go fetch him,
Wee'l say our Song the whil'st: Brother begin.
Gui. Nay Cadwall, we must lay his head to th'East,
My Father hath a reason for't.

(TLN 2569-72)

An earlier opportunity to lay the body occurs when Arviragus says "Say, where shall's lay him?" and Guiderius replies "By good Euriphile, our Mother" (TLN 2545-6). Unless Euriphile was buried facing the wrong way, or Guiderius took 25 lines (TLN 2546 to 2571) to notice that Innogen was not parallel with her, this exchange should be taken to indicate that Innogen is carried to the correct spot but not laid down. Presumably Belarius exits after Arviragus's request "go fetch him" (TLN 2569) and since he is to be gone for 32 lines he may follow

the usual traffic pattern by exiting through the stage right door. Arviragus appears to carry Innogen until just before Guiderius's objection that the body should lie pointing east (TLN 2571). In response to Guiderius's "Come on then, and remoue him" (TLN 2574) Arviragus orientates Innogen and the brothers begin their dirge.

The dirge is printed under the heading "SONG" and is rendered in italic fount with speech prefixes for "Guid.", "Arui.", and "Both." indicating the parts (TLN 2576-2600). There is reason to suspect that the song printed in the Folio is not the one originally intended by Shakespeare: Arviragus says they will "sing him to'th'ground / As once to our Mother: vse like note, and words, / Saue that Euriphile, must be Fidele" (TLN 2549-51). This suggests that they will re-work a song by substituting the name Fidele for the name of their putative mother. However, Fidele's name does not occur in the song in the Folio which has references to youth ("Golden Lads, and Girles TLN 2581, "All Louers young" TLN 2593) quite inappropriate for a dirge to their mother. Nosworthy interpreted Arviragus's comment to mean that "the song which serves as a dirge for Imogen was one which the Princes used to sing to their mother during her lifetime", and that Fidele is Euriphile's substitute in being the object of their devotion, noting that Shakespeare could hardly have been unaware that "to alter 'Euriphile' to 'Fidele' might involve metrical, if not musical, difficulties" (Shakespeare 1955, 223-4).

After Guiderius and Arviragus speak their dirge, Belarius enters with a property corpse dressed in Posthumus's clothes

and representing "the body of Cloten" (TLN 2601) using the stage left door and lays the property next to Innogen as planned. Belarius seems to have collected flowers as well as Cloten's corpse and throws them on the bodies: "Heere's a few Flowres, but 'bout midnight more" (TLN 2604). Belarius's next lines are perplexing: "The hearbes that haue on them cold dew o'th'night / Are strewing fit'st for Graues: vpon their Faces" (TLN 2605-6). Cloten's corpse lacks a face unless, as Deighton guessed, "Faces" simply means 'fronts' (Shakespeare 1889, 187). Nosworthy thought that "vpon their Faces" might mean "Lay them [the bodies] face downwards" (Shakespeare 1955, 140) and that this would make better sense of Innogen's slow identification of body parts when she awakes: "I know the shape of's Legge: this is his Hand: / His Foote Mercuriall: his martial Thigh / The brawnes of Hercules: but his Iouiall face" (TLN 2631-3). Laying the body face down would violate early modern Christian orthodoxy as described by David Cressy:

Churchyard graves were supposed to be six feet deep, oriented east and west, with the body buried face up to greet the angel at the resurrection dawn. Dead parishioners would be oriented in their graves in the same direction they had sat or knelt in church. It was a gross violation, more often imagined than practised, to bury a human 'face downwards' or 'with his head pointing in the wrong direction'.

(Cressy 1997, 466)

Innogen is to be buried with her head, rather than her feet, to the east because, Guiderius says, "My Father hath a reason

for't" (TLN 2572). Whatever Belarius's reason, burying Innogen with her head to the east would violate Christian orthodoxy and, together with Nosworthy's 'face down' suggestion, it might serve as part of Shakespeare's depiction of non-Christian English ritual in the early Christian period. However, Nosworthy's suggestion requires that Guiderius's knowledge of his father's practice is incomplete: he is aware of the need for east-west orientation but requires his father's prompting to put the corpses "vpon their Faces" (TLN 2606). Emendations which diminish the difficulty of the phrase "vpon their Faces" have been offered (Shakespeare 1898, 326-8) with Deighton's suggestion that "Faces" means 'fronts' being the simplest because it requires no textual interference. Apart from Keightley (1864a, 463) who marked a missing line, editors have ignored another difficult line: "Come on, away, apart vpon our knees" (TLN 2609) which absurdly suggests that Belarius, Arviragus, and Guiderius leave while kneeling. The cave dwellers "Exeunt" (TLN 2611) through the stage right door.

Immediately following the exit of Belarius, Arviragus, and Guiderius is a stage direction "Innogen awakes" (TLN 2612), although a few intervening moments of stillness would be appropriate. There is no direction to indicate when Innogen notices the headless corpse, but "Oh Gods, and Goddesses!" (TLN 2617) seems the right moment. Innogen smears her face with blood from the body of Cloten ("Giue colour to my pale cheeke with thy blood" TLN 2652) and then apparently lies down on the body since Lucius asks "Or dead, or sleeping on him?"

(TLN 2683). At TLN 2655 is the direction "Enter Lucius, Captaines, and a Soothsayer", using the stage left door. A minimum of two captains is indicated by the text and no more are needed to carry Cloten's body off. With perhaps the exception of the soothsayer, the Romans are dressed for battle and Lucius later refers to the "Pikes and Partizans" (TLN 2731) which presumably are carried by the captains. These Elizabethan weapons are anachronistic in the hands of soldiers of the imperial Roman army (OED pike sb.⁵ 1; partisan sb.² 1) who might look something like the halberd-carrying soldiers in the Peacham drawing (Foakes 1985, 48-51). Lucius rouses Innogen who should be standing in order to make the audience-directed aside "If I do lye, and do / No harme by it, though the Gods heare, I hope / They'l pardon it" (TLN 2707-9). Gyde's model of the aside convention requires some bodily movement, probably a step towards one of the edges of the stage, to indicate engagement of the convention (Gyde 1990, 36, 51-2). At the end of the scene Lucius, Innogen, the Soothsayer, and the two captains bearing Cloten's body exit through the stage right door ("Exeunt" TLN 2735).

Act 4 Scene 3

The scene begins "Enter Cymbeline, Lords, and Pisanio" (TLN 2737) using the stage left door. Shirley invented a flourish to accompany Cymbeline's entrance (Shirley, Frances Ann 1963, 197) but the Oxford editors who followed her conjectures for other scenes left this one out, presumably

because the scene is domestic rather than formal (Shakespeare 1986, 1303). Only two lords are needed to satisfy the opening direction, and only one speaks, so it may be the other who leaves via the stage right door when Cymbeline commands "Againe: and bring me word how 'tis with her" (TLN 2738). An "Exeunt" at TLN 2778 takes all but Pisanio off through the stage right door, and after his soliloquy Pisanio follows them at the end of the scene ("Exit" TLN 2789).

Act 4 Scene 4

The opening direction is "Enter Belarius, Guiderius, & Arviragus" (TLN 2791), using the stage left door. It appears that before they enter there is an offstage sound since the first line of speech is Belarius's "The noyse is round about vs" (TLN 2792). Shirley invented a direction "Alarums" and explained that the term covered both drums and brass used as a "Call to arms and signal to the infantry to attack; also a warning of danger" (Shirley, Frances Ann 1963, 54-71, 197, 250). Belarius's final couplet must be delivered as an audience-directed aside since it refers to the princes in the third person: "Lead, lead; the time seems long, their blood thinks scorn / Till it flye out, and shew them Princes borne" (TLN 2854-5). Bent on joining the British forces, all three exit through the stage right door at the end of the scene (TLN 2855) and an act interval follows.

Act 5 Scene 1

The final act begins with "Enter Posthumus alone" (TLN 2857) through the stage left door and carrying the bloody cloth sent by Pisanio as a sign of Innogen's death ("Ile giue but notice you are dead, and send him / Some bloody signe of it" TLN 1807-8). The entire scene is a soliloquy with moments of explicit acknowledgement of, and engagement with, the audience as men who have lives outside the theatre: "You married ones . . ." (TLN 2859). Posthumus says he will remove "these Italian weedes" and take on the appearance of "a Britaine Pezant" (TLN 2880-1), which suggests that the opposing armies are distinguishable by what they wear. It is reasonable to suppose that the imperial Roman army is more uniformly and smartly dressed than that of the native Britons, but the detail is beyond recovery. In 5.3 Posthumus reverts to Roman allegiance but is not recognized by his appearance so it appears that he does not here pocket his "Italian weedes" in order to put them on later. So that the audience might recognize Posthumus in the next scene it would be appropriate for his transformation here to be made on stage, and it would be sufficient to merely remove whatever constitutes a Roman army uniform (a tunic would suffice) and so become a relatively naked "Britaine Pezant" (TLN 2881). An additional item of headgear would make Giacomo's failure to recognize Posthumus in the next scene ("this Carle" TLN 2901) more realistic. At the end of the scene Posthumus exits through the stage right door (TLN 2890).

Act 5 Scene 2

The opening direction is detailed and governs a considerable amount of action: "Enter Lucius, Iachimo, and the Romaine Army at one doore: and the Britaine Army at another: Leonatus Posthumus following like a poore Souldier. They march ouer, and goe out. Then enter againe in Skirmish Iachimo and Posthumus: he vanquisheth and disarmeth Iachimo, and then leaues him" (TLN 2892-7). Since both stage doors are needed there must be a slight pause between the end of the previous scene and the beginning of the present one if a clash between the exiting Posthumus and an entering army is to be avoided. Granville-Barker thought the absence of alarums was part of a deliberate reworking of dumbshow conventions (Granville-Barker 1930, 259) but the text is generally deficient in directions for necessary offstage sounds and it is more reasonable to follow Shirley (Shirley, Frances Ann 1963, 197) and the Oxford editors (Shakespeare 1986, 1304) in inventing alarums between the scenes and during enactment of this opening direction. The usual traffic from stage left to right must be suspended for a battle scene. At the beginning of 3.1 the stage left door was associated with the oncoming Romans and the stage right door with the Britons at home, and since Posthumus exited at the end of 5.1 through the stage right door he may easily emerge from it again. Suspension of the usual traffic conventions provides an opportunity to reinforce horizontal polarity (Britons stage right, Romans stage left) in this scene and again in 5.5. If the alarums are prolonged the awkwardness of

Posthumus's re-entry after his exit at the end of the previous scene would be reduced, although it is not clear how closely he is "following" nor how many are followed.

The first action described in the opening stage direction is completed when "They", presumably the armies, "march ouer, and goe out" (TLN 2894-5). It is not clear if the two armies are to march simultaneously, in which case they presumably pass close to one another, or if one is to wait for the other to complete its march before moving off. Spevack's concordances give other examples of the words 'march' and 'marching' in Shakespearian stage directions, but none are followed by the word 'over' (Spevack 1975, 384). The Shakespearian usage closest to the present direction is in Antony and Cleopatra:

Camidius Marcheth with his Land Army one way ouer the stage, and Towrus the Lieutenant of Cesar the other way: After their going in, is heard the noise of a Sea-fight. Alarum. Enter Enobarbus and Scarus.

(Shakespeare 1968, TLN 1973-6)

Here too it is not certain that the armies march simultaneously, although the additional detail about direction--implied in Cymbeline by use of different doors--shows a concern for precision which might encourage us to expect that consecutive marching would be noted if it was to be used. On the other hand, without analogous Shakespearian moments we have no reason to assume that simultaneous marching was the convention from which deviation would be noted.

The second action in the present stage direction is ambiguous: "Then enter againe in Skirmish Iachimo and Posthumus: he vanquisheth and disarmeth Iachimo, and then leaues him." The lack of a punctuation mark between "Skirmish" and "Iachimo" suggests that only Giacomo and Posthumus enter, but the next direction (TLN 2908-10) requires the continuation of the battle, the flight of the Britons, and the capture of Cymbeline. All editions I have found assume that only Giacomo and Posthumus enter "in Skirmish" here and so the first part of the next direction ("The Battaile continues" TLN 2908) is made to imply the re-entry of the two armies at this point. This reading is problematic since the audience sees only the single combat of Giacomo and Posthumus, and then a battle of which the audience has seen nothing "continues" at the point at which it is first shown. Spevack's concordances show that the only other uses of 'skirmish' in Shakespearian stage directions are the four occurrences in 1 Henry 6 which, given the dramatic context and the numbers of soldiers on stage, must all signify group rather than single combat (Spevack 1975, 409; Shakespeare 1968, TLN 441, 629, 1298, 1305). The concordances show (Spevack 1970, 2932) that the word 'skirmish' occurs just twice in dialogue: once in 1 Henry 6 ("none but Samsons and Goliasses / It sendeth forth to skirmish" Shakespeare 1968, TLN 230-1) and once in Much Ado About Nothing ("they neuer meet / but there's a skirmish of wit betweene them" Shakespeare 1600c, A2v). The word 'skirmishes' occurs just once in Shakespeare's work: in 1 Henry 6 Talbot says "this Citie must be famisht, / Or with

light Skirmishes enfeebled" (Spevack 1970, 2932; Shakespeare 1968, TLN 538-9). Only the metaphorical use in Much Ado About Nothing implies single combat, and Beatrice and Benedick's intellectual powers might just as easily be imagined as armies rather than single combatants. In the present direction it is better to imagine that a period has been lost between "Skirmish" and "Iachimo" and that "Then enter againe in Skirmish" refers to the two armies. This indicates that the armies met off stage and requires that a few of each party make a backstage cross to join the opposite group before the two groups re-enter using both stage doors at once. Giacomo and Posthumus are in one of the groups of skirmishers which enters and the stage direction describes what happens to them while general fighting takes place: "Iachimo and Posthumus: he vanquisheth and disarmeth Iachimo, and then leaues him". It may be complained that this is pleonastic, but the same can be said for the use of Posthumus's full name and the two untheatrical uses of 'then'. If this reading is accepted then Cymbeline must enter with his army at the beginning of the scene since there is no intervening opportunity for entrance before he is captured. After Posthumus vanquishes Giacomo he "leaues him" which need not imply an exit since he may return to the skirmish occurring elsewhere on stage. Giacomo delivers an audience-directed aside ("The heuinesse and guilt . . . you are Goddes" TLN 2898-907) which casts the audience as representatives of the heroic race of Britons in the play and which indicates that he has not recognized Posthumus ("this Carle" TLN 2901). After his aside Giacomo exits (TLN 2907). If

the polarity of stage doors assumed at the beginning of the scene still applies, Giacomo should leave by the stage left to indicate his return towards the Roman positions.

There follows the direction "The Battaile continues, the Britaines fly, Cymbeline is taken: Then enter to his rescue, Bellarius, Guiderius, and Aruiragus" (TLN 2908-10). This indicates that the skirmish described in the opening direction continues until the British army exit through the stage right door, returning to their positions before the skirmish began. Of the Britons only Cymbeline remains onstage among the Romans. Once the last fleeing Briton has left, Belarius, Guiderius, and Arviragus enter from the stage right door to face the Romans and to shout encouragement to the Britons offstage and behind them: "Stand, stand, we haue th'aduantage of the ground . . . Stand, stand, and fight" (TLN 2911-3). Next is the direction "Enter Posthumus, and seconds the Britaines. They Rescue Cymbeline, and Exeunt" (TLN 2915-6). Presumably Posthumus enters from the stage right door having retreated through it with the other Britons. These four rescue Cymbeline from the Romans and then "Exeunt" clears the stage of both armies. Since the Britons are defending what Posthumus later calls a "strait Lane" (TLN 2934), it does not seem likely that they chase the Romans off but rather that the Romans exit through the stage left door and the Britons exit through the stage right door. This action is later explained by Posthumus: "Then beganne / A stop i'th'Chaser; a Retyre" (TLN 2967-8). At this point the onstage fighting ends, although the offstage sounds should continue until the end of

the scene, and the usual pattern of traffic from stage left to right may resume.

The final action of the scene is set in another part of the field and begins "Then enter Lucius, Iachimo, and Imogen" (TLN 2917) through the stage left door. Lucius instructs Innogen to keep away from the fighting and then all three "Exeunt" (TLN 2923) through the stage right door at the end of the scene.

Act 5 Scene 3

The scene begins "Enter Posthumus, and a Britaine Lord" (TLN 2925) through the stage left door. Posthumus describes the defence of the lane and how the stand taken by Belarius, Arviragus, and Guiderius caused a "stop i'th'Chaser; a Retyre: Anon / A Rowt" (TLN 2968-9). Nosworthy followed Madden in explaining "stop" as a technical expression for horses being thrown onto their haunches (Madden 1897, 298; Shakespeare 1955, 158), but since the audience saw both sides exit through their respective doors ("Exeunt" TLN 2916) it may simply stand as an explanation that the unknown heroes caused the oncoming Roman army ("the Chaser") to stop, and then retreat. The lord exits through the stage right door (TLN 2994) and Posthumus makes a soliloquy revealing his intention to surrender in the hope of being executed: "Still going? This is a Lord . . . end it by some meanes for Imogen" TLN 2995-3014. It appears that Posthumus changes his appearance during this soliloquy although he might be referring merely to his allegiance: "No

more a Britaine, I haue resum'd againe / The part I came in" (TLN 3006-7). If Posthumus wore headgear to avoid being recognized by Giacomo and his fellow Romans he might remove it now.

After Posthumus's soliloquy is a direction "Enter two Captaines, and Soldiers" using the stage left door. Their dialogue indicates they are Britons and, as Nosworthy noted (Shakespeare 1955, 160), if Posthumus had resumed his discarded "Italian weeds" (TLN 2880) the following exchange would be unnecessary: "1[st Captain] . . . Stand, who's there? / Post. A Roman" (TLN 3021-2). It seems, therefore, that Posthumus has not put back on his imperial Roman uniform. The final stage direction of the scene is clearly incomplete: "Enter Cymbeline, Belarius, Guiderius, Aruiragus Pisanio, and Romane Captiues. The Captaines present Posthumus to Cymbeline, who deliuers him ouer to a Gaoler" (TLN 3029-31). J. Payne Collier considered this direction to constitute a dumbshow (Shakespeare 1858, 353) but it calls for little wordless action and needs only slight emendation. The entrance of Cymbeline and his train is given a flourish by the Oxford editors although Shirley thought none necessary (Shakespeare 1986, 1306; Shirley, Frances Ann 1963, 197). The Oxford editors removed the Folio's scene division after the incomplete direction, presumably to avoid Posthumus and his gaolers exiting and immediately re-entering even though Posthumus did the same between 5.1 and 5.2. Minimum interference in the 'dumbshow' direction would be to add "Exeunt" after Posthumus is handed over to the gaoler.

Cymbeline and his train enter through the stage left door and all exit through the stage right door at the end of the scene. The procession of a long line of "Romane Captiues" and perhaps a slight pause between the scenes would give sufficient time--apparently equivalent to 6 lines of dialogue, as discussed in 1.2 and 2.4 above--for Posthumus to make a backstage cross and be ready for the next scene.

Act 5 Scene 4

The opening direction is "Enter Posthumus, and Gaoler" (TLN 3033) using the stage left door, but the speech prefix for "2. Gao" (TLN 3037) indicates that the opening direction should read "Gaolers". Posthumus is apparently shackled at the ankles and wrists ("My Conscience, thou art fetter'd / More then my shanks, & wrists" TLN 3043-4) but there is nothing to indicate that he is tied to an immovable object. The shackles are probably made of wood or metal rather than rope since a messenger later instructs the gaoler to "Knocke off his Manacles" (TLN 3231). There is no direction for the exit of the gaolers, but they ought to be gone before the visions appear and may leave by the stage right door after the second gaoler's single line: "I, or a stomacke" (TLN 3037). The gaolers gone, Posthumus's speech of repentance ("Most welcome bondage . . . Ile speake to thee in silence" TLN 3038-64) is a soliloquy addressed in parts to the gods ("giue me / The penitent Instrument . . ." TLN 3044-5, "For Imogens deere life, take mine . . ." TLN 3057) and to the soul of Innogen

who he believes dead ("Oh Imogen, / Ile speake to thee in silence" TLN 3063-4). The long stage direction which follows indicates that Posthumus falls asleep after his soliloquy.

The stage direction for the entrances of the figures in the vision is:

Solemne Musicke. Enter (as in an Apparation)
Sicillius Leonatus, Father to Posthumus, an old man,
attyled like a warriour, leading in his hand an
ancient Matron (his wife, & Mother to Posthumus)
with Musicke before them. Then, after other Musicke,
followes the two young Leonati (Brothers to
Posthumus) with wounds as they died in the warrs.
They circle Posthumus round as he lies sleeping.

(TLN 3065-71)

Since there is no suggestion that the characters in the visions carry instruments the solemn music presumably comes from the musicians in the stage balcony, although the instruments can no more be determined here than in 4.2. The direction calls for the figures to enter "as in an Apparation" without saying how this is to be done. Dessen argued that the word 'as' in stage directions might occur when it is necessary to convey a sense of particular location without stage properties, but here it seems to govern the appearance or demeanour of the actors (Dessen 1989). This apparition is unusual and may use the central opening for this reason alone. The solemn music appears to be punctuated or replaced by a different musical effect which occurs before the entrance of the ghost of Posthumus's mother: "Enter . . . with Musicke

before them". Alternatively, as Stanley Wells assumed, "Musicke" may mean 'attendant musicians' although this would be an uncommon usage (Wells 1990). The ghost of Sicilius is "attyred like a warriour", which presumably means he wears something like the costumes worn by the British army seen earlier. If it is to be suggested that the ancestors of the present Britons were superior in military prowess this might be indicated by Sicilius's costume being more impressively formal than those of the British army. There is no indication of the costume worn by the ghost of Posthumus's mother. The musical effect which preceded the entrance of the parental ghosts is repeated for the entrance of the siblings: "Then, after other Musicke, followes the two young Leonati". Without military costume and with their wounds visible, the brothers might be nearly naked as though ready for burial. The final sentence in the stage direction is ambiguous and might mean that the ghosts walk around Posthumus as they speak, or that they stand still around him.

The speeches of the four figures in the vision are addressed to Jupiter ("thou Thunder-Master" TLN 3072) and appear to be directed upwards towards the playhouse heavens. Sicilius calls to Jupiter: "Thy Christall window ope" and "Peepe through thy Marble Mansion" (TLN 3116, 3121). If a representation of Jupiter was part of the fabric of the playhouse, as at the Wanamaker Globe (Gurr 1997, 150), the references to a "Christall window" and a "Marble Mansion" would presumably direct the attention of the audience away from the irrelevant decorative feature and towards the trap

through which Jupiter will descend. When Jupiter ascends he refers to his destination as "my Palace Christalline" (TLN 3149) and Sicillius comments that "The Marble Panement clozes" (TLN 3157). In the Folio text of Shakespeare's Othello, but not in the 1622 quarto, Othello refers to "yond Marble Heauen" (TLN 2110) and it appears that the marmoreal painted decoration of the playhouse included parts of the heavens. Cosmological designs seem to be the appropriate decoration for a heavens and C. Walter Hodges found what he thought to be an appropriate model in Cullen House, Banffshire (Southern & Hodges 1952, 59-60). The final choice of design for the heavens of the Wanamaker Globe was zodiacal signs painted on a background of dark blue indigo (Ronayne 1997, 139), but the evidence from Othello and Cymbeline suggests that the background ought to include a layer of painted marbelization.

Jupiter descends from the part of the playhouse called the 'heavens' which was apparently painted with images of the night sky, but as Wells noted (Wells 1990) the soothsayer's visions are of the eagle in a sunlit sky: "I saw Ioues Bird, the Roman Eagle wing'd / From tbe spungy South, to this part of the West, / There vanish'd in the Sun-beames" (TLN 2674-6) and "For the Romaine Eagle / From South to West, on wing soaring aloft / Lessen'd her selfe, and in the Beames o'th'Sun / So vanish'd" (TLN 3802-5). Designs for the heavens of the Wanamaker Globe included simultaneous representation of the sun, moon, and zodiacal signs which defies logical realism but makes perfect sense as an iconographic statement of what constitutes the cosmological heavens. Wells argued that the

second of the soothsayer's reports of his vision "gains in resonance from our memory of the vision that only we and the sleeping Posthumus have seen" (Wells 1990) but the resonance works both ways since the audience must also now reevaluate its experience of Jupiter and his eagle as something shared by the soothsayer, for whom the night-time vision was filled with sunlight. Neither day nor night sky could reasonably be said to look like marble and the references to marble made by Othello and by the ghosts in Cymbeline are at least partially attributable to the appearance of the playhouse decoration, although in both plays it might be argued that the cold hardness of divine indifference helped the dramatist to the metaphor. It seems that the dramatic effect of playhouse decoration must not be considered in realistic but rather in iconographic terms. A statue of Jupiter, or a trompe l'oeil picture of Jupiter, high in the frons scenae would not clash with the appearance of Jupiter as a character but would, especially if surrounded by other deities as at the Wanamaker Globe (Keenan & Davidson 1997, 150), serve as a reminder of his usual environment and extraordinary nature of his descents to the mortal world.

In answer to the appeal of the ghosts, Jupiter appears: "Jupiter descends in Thunder and Lightning, sitting vppon an Eagle: he throwes a Thunder-bolt. The Ghostes fall on their knees" (TLN 3126-8). Taking the Shakespeare plays in chronological order of composition proposed by the Oxford editors (Wells et al. 1987, 69-144) this is the earliest example of flight in Shakespeare's work. The eagle is

presumably functionally equivalent to the throne known to have been installed in Henslowe's Rose. J. Nathan French noted that the object at the flying end of the flight machine is "variously referred to as a car, chair, throne, or chariot" and thought the generic term "aerofloat" preferable because it avoids implying limitation of the direction of movement and avoids specifying the vehicle (French 1964, 115-6). French listed all uses of the aerofloat in plays written between 1558 and 1625 and these occur in a total of 29 plays including Cymbeline (French 1964, 120-3). If we take 1610 to 1611 as the years during which Cymbeline was composed, of the other 28 plays 9 are earlier, 15 are later, 2 fall within this period and for 2 the date was unknown to French. The last two are John Fletcher's A Wife for a Month and The Mad Lover which the most recent edition of Harbage's Annals of English Drama 975-1700 assigns 'first performed' dates of 1624 and 1617 respectively (Harbage 1989, 330, 289). Fredson Bowers's edition of the plays assigns composition of A Wife for a Month to the period shortly before it was licensed on 27 May 1624 (Beaumont & Fletcher 1985, 357) and first performance of The Mad Lover to late 1616 (Beaumont & Fletcher 1982, 3). It appears that the descent of Jupiter in Cymbeline was by no means exceptional as a dramatic effect. However, French's data includes plays written for performance in universities, and if we exclude such plays and those for which the venue is not known, Cymbeline emerges as possibly the first use of an aerofloat at the London theatres. Co-eval with Cymbeline is

Thomas Heywood's The Golden Age which contains a stage direction very like the one under consideration:

Sound a dumbe shew. Enter the three fatall sisters, with a rocke, a threed, and a paire of sheeres; bringing in a Gloabe, in which they put three lots. Iupiter drawes heauen: at which Iris descends and presents him with his Eagle, Crowne and Scepter, and his thunder-bolt. Iupiter first ascends vpon the Eagle, and after him Ganimed. (Heywood 1611, K2v)

Heywood's The Golden Age was printed in 1611 and can be dated no later than its entry in the Stationers' Register on 14 October 1611 (Arber 1876, 212v). It might, however, be considerably earlier. Otelia Cromwell noted Henslowe's payments for works by Heywood in the 1590s (Cromwell 1928, 14-5) and that the association was strengthened when Heywood joined the Admiral's men as an actor in 1598 (Foakes & Rickert 1961, 241). Frederick Fleay thought several of the properties owned by Henslowe suitable for plays by Heywood and that some of the titles recorded in the diary were possibly alternative names for Heywood's work. In particular, Fleay identified "seleo & olempo", which was "ne" (presumably short for 'new'), on 5 March 1594/5 as Heywood's The Golden Age, "the firste p<ar>te of herculous" on 7 May 1595 as Heywood's The Silver Age, "2 p<ar>te of hercolas", which was "ne[w]" on 23 May 1595, as Heywood's The Brazen Age, and "troye", which was "ne[w]" on 22 June 1596, as Heywood's The Iron Age (Fleay 1890, 114-6; Foakes & Rickert 1961, 28-9, 47). W. W. Greg thought Fleay's identification of "seleo & olempo" plausible

but unproven (Greg 1908, 175), but John Quincy Adams asserted without substantiation that "the Ages in the form we now have them were certainly the product of Heywood in 1610-12" (Adams, John Quincy 1919, 337n1). Cromwell thought the view of Fleay was "not necessarily inconsistent" with that of Adams (Cromwell 1928, 14n38), presumably meaning that Heywood revised his earlier work sometime in 1610-2. Harbage assigned first performance of the play to 1610 (Harbage 1989, 100). The revision hypothesis does not help us determine the direction of influence concerning the theophanies in Shakespeare's Cymbeline and Heywood's The Golden Age. As discussed in the chapter 1 section '1.6 The Textual Status of The Winter's Tale, Cymbeline, and The Tempest', Roger Warren noted that The Golden Age contains borrowings from Shakespeare's Titus Andronicus and Othello and argued that these increase the likelihood that where The Golden Age mirrors Cymbeline Heywood is again borrowing (Shakespeare 1998, 84-5).

If the descent of Jupiter in Shakespeare's Cymbeline is thought to be artistically integrated to the rest of the work then it is more likely to belong to the original composition of the text in 1610-11 than to a later revision, in which case the King's men began to use a flight machine at their outdoor venue about the same time that they began to use act intervals and inter-act music there. French's table of aerofloat usage included "Hymen descends" (Chapman 1612, G2v) in George Chapman's The Widow's Tears, a play "often presented in the blacks and white Friars" according to its title page. These venues indicate that the play belonged to the collection of

companies including the Queen's Revels Children, the Children of the Revels, and the Chapel Children, which Gurr referred to collectively as the 'Blackfriars Boys 1600-1613' (Gurr 1996a, 347-65) and who moved from Blackfriars to the Whitefriars when the King's men regained their hall venue. Topical allusions date The Widow's Tears to 1603-6 (Chapman 1975, xxxi-xxxiii) and hence early performances would have been at the Blackfriars. As discussed in the chapter 5 section '5.4 The Stage Cover', flying appears to be tightly integrated to the artistic conception of The Tempest and there is no reason to reject the possibility that Cymbeline contains Shakespeare's first tentative exploitation of this theatrical technology. Inigo Jones's conception of Jupiter mounted on his eagle can be seen in his sketch for the masque Tempe Restored performed on 14 February 1632 (Orgel & Strong 1973b, 478).

The thunder called for in the present stage direction could be made by the methods described in chapter 6 for producing the storm sounds in The Winter's Tale 3.3. French, a professional magician, evaluated methods for producing lightning and thunderbolts and concluded

Sabbattini's method, which involves cut-out boards and tinsel [Hewitt 1958, 170-1], is too complicated ever to have been used in public theatres, and Furttenbach's method of tossing Greek pitch at a candle [Hewitt 1958, 229] is too simple to have been very effective. William J. Lawrence suggests that ordinary squibs were fired down a perpendicular wire [Lawrence 1927, 256]. The best answer however is a

combination of both of these as is described by Serlio:

Lightning is made by some one in a high place behind the scenes holding a box of powdered resin. The top of the box is full of holes and in the center is a lighted candle. When the box is raised, the powder is thrown out and set on fire by the candle. A thunderbolt is made by letting down a rocket or ray ornamented with sparkling gold on a wire stretched at the back of the scene. Before the thunder has stopped rumbling, the tail of the rocket is discharged, setting fire to the thunderbolt and producing an excellent effect. [Hewitt 1958, 35-6]

(French 1964, 213-4)

French's experience as a performer of illusions encourages confidence in these conclusions, but Serlio's reference to "the back of the scene" is difficult to reconcile with modern ideas about London's amphitheatres. French specifically recommended rockets "fired down perpendicular wires" for the effect in Cymbeline but without indicating where the lines might begin or end (French 1964, 214-5). For a thunderbolt to appear to come from Jupiter the wire would need to descend from the trapdoor in the heavens, but if it ran vertically down as French suggests there would presumably be a danger of fouling the aerofloat and even burning the suspension lines. There is also the difficulty of inconspicuously setting the wire in place ready for the effect. To the non-professional

eye it appears more likely that Jupiter throws a firework carried in the aerofloat and possibly already alight when the descent begins.

It is not specified in the stage direction if Jupiter is to descend to stage level. French noted that "Of the thirty-five descents considered in this chapter only five of them are definitely described as having touched the floor" and that in Middleton's Women Beware Women, probably written between 1620 and 1624 (Middleton 1975, xxxii-xxxviii), a character flying as Juno in an inset masque is forced to land, which provokes the comment that "She was wont to scorn the Earth in other shows" (French 1964, 141-2; Middleton 1657, 01v). From this evidence French inferred a rule that the descent of deities was halted part way down. Sicilius's comment that "the holy Eagle / Stoop'd, as to foote vs" (TLN 3152) suggests that the descent ends near enough to ground level that the ghosts might fear being crushed or seized by the feet of the eagle.

Jupiter passes to the ghosts, presumably by throwing it down, an object which Posthumus later calls a "Book" (TLN 3170): "This Tablet lay vpon his Brest" (TLN 3145). The end of the theophany is marked by the direction "Ascends" (TLN 3149) but Jupiter's rise is slow enough for Sicilius to comment on it for 8 lines before concluding "he is enter'd / his radiant Roofe" (TLN 3157-8). Sicilius presumably describes placing the tablet on Posthumus's breast when he says "Let vs with care performe his [Jupiter's] great behest" (TLN 3159), after which ghosts "Vanish" (TLN 3159). Dessen's analysis of the uses of

the word 'vanish' in stage directions showed that it rarely occurred in connection with exits via the trap and was quite compatible with use of the stage doors (Dessen 1995, 196-214). There is no reason to suppose that the ghosts do not simply exit, as they entered, via the central opening. Dessen argued that when spirits who have taken a physical form are to 'vanish' an additional artistic effect might be gained by a slow exit which indicates that, although no longer available to be seen by the onstage audience, their presence remains for a few moments before they are fully gone. That is to say, the spirits 'vanish' from the gaze of onstage spectators but not from the privileged gaze of the playhouse audience. A slow exit would add poignancy to Posthumus's confusion when he awakes and speaks 4 lines about his dream ("Sleepe . . . as they were borne" TLN 3160-3) before concluding "And so I am awake" (TLN 3164).

The object described as a "Tablet" by Jupiter and as a "Book" by Posthumus must be openable since Posthumus hopes that its outside is not "a Garment / Nobler then that it couers" (TLN 3171-2). As is usual with textual properties, the words of the 'book' read by Posthumus are reproduced in italic fount in the Folio, and once Posthumus has pocketed it ("it . . . Ike keepe" TLN 3187), a gaoler enters through the stage left door (TLN 3189). At TLN 3230 a messenger enters to announce that Posthumus is to be brought before Cymbeline with his shackles removed. The 1632 Second Folio has an "Exeunt" (Shakespeare 1985, ddd2r) after Posthumus's last speech in the scene, which presumably takes Posthumus and the messenger off

so that the gaoler's final speech becomes a soliloquy. Rowe followed the second Folio (Shakespeare 1714, Q5r) and Theobald made the direction explicit "Exeunt Posthumus and Messenger" (Shakespeare 1733b, Ggr). Rowe's emendation, with variant wording, was followed by all editions until the Oxford Complete Works. The messenger's use of the imperative mood in ("bring your Prisoner to / the King" TLN 3231-2) is odd if he is to take the prisoner himself, and the Oxford editors reverted to the First Folio's "Exeunt" at the end of the scene but marked the gaoler's final speech as an audience-directed aside (Shakespeare 1986, 1308). There is nothing in the gaoler's speech which might not be said to the messenger in Posthumus's presence and the First Folio directions require no alteration: the scene ends when Posthumus, the gaoler, and the messenger "Exeunt" (TLN 3246) through the stage right door.

Act 5 Scene 5

The opening direction is "Enter Cymbeline, Bellarius, Guiderius, Aruiragus, Pisanio, and Lords" (TLN 3248-9). Successive entries will crowd the stage and there is no reason to imagine more than two accompanying lords. The Oxford editors added a conjectural "Flourish" to the direction, although Shirley did not (Shakespeare 1986, 1308; Shirley, Frances Ann 1963, 197). The central opening might be used to emphasize the formal nature of the scene, which includes the making of knights, but other arrangements are equally attractive. A mass exit through the central opening at the end

of the scene would emphasize the theme of reconciliation, and all the more so if the two opposing groups (Britons and Romans) entered through different doors. At the beginning of 3.1 the Britons came from the stage right door and the Romans from the stage left door, and the beginning of 5.2 offered an opportunity to repeat this horizontal polarity. In the present scene the Britons cannot enter through the stage right door without clashing with the characters exiting at the end of the previous scene. However, the Romans do not enter until 80 lines have been spoken, so horizontal polarity might be achieved by Cymbeline and his followers taking up and holding stage right positions, similar to those taken by the Britons in 3.1, for the first 80 lines of the scene. The Britishness of the stage right side of the performance space might thus be established even if the Britons entered through the stage left door at the beginning of the scene, and an echo of earlier images of polarity might still occur when the Romans enter through the stage left door to face the waiting Britons. The complex stage picture in this scene is beyond full recovery, but Cymbeline says, presumably to Belarius, Guiderius, and Arviragus, "Stand by my side you, whom the Gods haue made / Preseruers of my Throne" (TLN 3250-1) and they kneel to be knighted: "Bow your knees: / Arise my Knights o' th' Battell" (TLN 3273-4).

After the knighting of Belarius, Guiderius, and Arviragus is the stage direction "Enter Cornelius and Ladies" (TLN 3277), using the stage left door. There need be no more than two of the Queen's women and the three characters might face

Cymbeline until their tale is accepted and then join his party on the stage right side. The first revelations made, "Enter Lucius, Iachimo, and other Roman prisoners, Leonatus behind, and Imogen" (TLN 3331-2) using the stage left door. Leonatus is still wearing the costume that marks him as a Roman soldier and Innogen is still wearing the young man's clothes given her by Pisanio at the end of 3.4. Although the direction does not mention them, the entering party must include the soothsayer Philharmonus who speaks later in the scene and it must be guarded by Britons. The "other Roman prisoners" should be shackled since Cymbeline later refers to "these in bonds" (TLN 3724). Cymbeline's comment "Thou comm'st not Caius now for Tribute" (TLN 3333) strengthens the mirroring of this entrance with that at the beginning of 3.1.

Innogen appears to notice Giacomo--perhaps because he is wearing "this her Bracelet" (TLN 3485) and the ring she gave Posthumus--and says "I see a thing / Bitter to me, as death" (TLN 3373-4). Cymbeline invites Innogen to "walke with me: speake freely" (TLN 3391) and their conversation is not heard by the audience while Belarius, Arviragus, and Guiderius discuss the "Rosie Lad" (TLN 3394) they knew as Fidele. Pisanio has no-one on stage to engage with and so his comment "It is my Mistris: / Since she is liuing, let the time run on, / To good, or bad" (TLN 3402-4) must be an audience-directed aside. After Innogen names as her 'boon' that "this Gentleman may render / Of whom he had this Ring" (TLN 3411-2), Posthumus's question "What's that to him?" (TLN 3413) must be delivered as an audience-directed aside.

In a rage after Giacomo's revelation, Posthumus appears to strike Innogen to the ground as he says "Shall's haue a play of this? / Thou scornfull Page, there lye thy part" (TLN 3511-2), since Pisanio says "Oh Gentlemen, helpe, / Mine and you Mistris: Oh my Lord Posthumus, / You ne're kill'd Imogen till now" (TLN 3513-5). That Innogen goes on to throw her arms around Posthumus's neck is suggested by his comment "Hang there like fruite, my soule, / Till the Tree dye" (TLN 3555-6). With Innogen's identity revealed there is no need for further asides since amazement or confusion can be expressed openly. Rowe invented the appropriate stage direction "Kneeling" (Shakespeare 1714, Q9r) to accompany Innogen's request to her father, "Your blessing, Sir" (TLN 3560), and the Oxford editors provided a conjectural "He raises her" (Shakespeare 1986, 1311) as Cymbeline replies "My teares that fall / Proue holy-water on thee" (TLN 3563-4).

One or two of the lords who entered with Cymbeline begin to act upon his command to "Binde the Offender" Guiderius (TLN 3601), and their hold on him is indicated by Belarius's "Let his Armes alone" (TLN 3607). The following exchange begins with Cymbeline's response to Belarius's claim that Guiderius is the king's social equal:

Cym. Why old Soldier:

Wilt thou vndoo the worth thou art vnpayd for
By tasting of our wrath? How of descent
As good as we?

Arui. In that he spake too farre.

Cym. And thou shalt dye for't.

Bel. We will dye all three,

(TLN 3609-15)

Nosworthy noted that it is not clear to whom Cymbeline says "And thou shalt dye for't":

Dowden [1903, 201] wonders whether this is addressed to Belarius or Guiderius. Is it not possible that Cymbeline, in his extravagant wrath, rounds upon Arviragus, following the latter's interruption? Belarius . . . seems to take the death sentence as covering all three of them.

(Shakespeare 1955, 187)

Nosworthy's conjecture provides a visual correlate, Cymbeline wheeling around to include Arviragus, to match Belarius's statement of collective danger and is preferable to Maxwell's "He continues to address Belarius" (Shakespeare 1960, 217) and the Oxford editors' conjectural direction "to Belarius" (Shakespeare 1986, 1311).

It is clear that Belarius kneels as he says "heere's my knee" (TLN 3636) but it is unclear when he rises. The Oxford editors (Shakespeare 1986, 1312) conjecture "rising" as Belarius says "Be pleas'd awhile" (TLN 3670) and conjecture, perhaps unnecessarily, "Guiderius kneels" after Belarius reveals his identity, "This . . . is true Guiderius" (TLN 3671-2), and likewise "Arviragus kneels" after "This Gentleman, my Cadwall, Arviragus" (TLN 3673). The Oxford editors conjecturally raise the princes after Cymbeline's "You may reign in them now" (TLN 3689; Shakespeare 1986, 1312).

Cymbeline's cancellation of the threat to kill the Roman prisoners ("All ore-ioy'd / Saue these in bonds, let them be ioyfull too, / For they shall taste our Comfort" TLN 3723-5) should cause the guards to free them from their shackles: prisoners cannot shuffle off in bondage if the scene is to end joyfully. Giacomo falls to his knees before returning Posthumus's ring and Innogen's bracelet ("I am downe again: / But now my heaueie Conscience sinkes my knee . . . but your Ring first, / and heere the Bracelet" TLN 3737-41) and is raised by the forgiving Posthumus "Kneele not to me" (TLN 3743).

Philharmonus is called from among the Roman party to read the "this Labell" (TLN 3758), earlier called a "Tablet" and a "Book", which Posthumus produces from his pocket. The text of the document as read by Philharmonus is again printed in an italic fount and a close examination of irregularities (for example the break at the top of the second 'e' in "tender" TLN 3177 and 3767) indicates that the same block of type was used here and in the first reading in 5.4 (TLN 3176-82). The relative positions of the lines within the measure is also preserved with greater accuracy than might have been achieved if the lines were separated: the bottom of the stem of the 'f' in "himsel^e" (TLN 3176 and 3766) meets the top of the 'b' in "by" (TLN 3177 and 3767). It appears, therefore, that the block of italic type was kept intact and transferred from forme bbb3v:4 (end of 5.4 and beginning of 5.5) to forme bbb1v:6 (end of 4.2 and final printed page of the Folio). Perhaps because his method was concerned with recurrence of

individual type rather than blocks of type, Hinman's analysis of the printing of these formes does not draw attention to this unusual movement of a block of text (Hinman 1963, 322-4). Because the Folio was set by formes it is likely that this labour-saving opportunity was noticed during casting off when the content and sequence of formes was determined. If any authorial differences existed between the two readings of the "Labell" they must have been sufficiently small for this interference in the text to have seemed worthwhile. De Grazia's work on the notion of verbatim recitation (1991, 177-221) illuminated discrepancies between successive readings of a single document (for example of the letter read by Pisanio and Innogen in 3.2 above), but the re-use of a block of type for the "Labell" indicates that someone in the printing house accepted the opposite principle: documents should retain their exact wording when re-read, and might be made to do so if the author had failed to quote himself 'verbatim'. Even if the underlying manuscript used the same words for each reading, re-use of a single block of types enforces perfect internal consistency of punctuation and spelling which printed texts of the period seldom show. It is conceivable that in the manuscript copy the punctuation of Posthumus's reading of the "Labell" differed from that of Philharmonus's reading in order to make apparent their differing ability to comprehend what they read.

The final direction of the play is "Exeunt" (TLN 3819) which indicates a formal procession using, for its symbolism of reconciliation, the central opening. It is clear from

Cymbeline's "Let / a Roman, and a Brittish Ensigne waue /
Friendly together" (TLN 3812-4) and "Set on there" (TLN 3817)
that the minor characters exit first and the major ones
follow. The central opening is wide enough to permit a double
file and Cymbeline's pairing of ensigns makes this pattern
likely.

CHAPTER 8. CONCLUSION: THE IMPORTANCE OF PLAYHOUSE DESIGN IN THE STUDY OF ORIGINAL STAGING

8.1 The Wanamaker Globe and the Politics of Historicism

There are important determinants of Elizabethan and Jacobean theatre practice which cannot be recovered. There is no possibility of recreating Elizabethan London, its politics, its relations with a rapidly expanding world of commerce, and its inhabitants who visited its theatres. Scholars of the left-wing schools which may be broadly characterized as American New Historicism and British Cultural Materialism have pointed out that the cultural milieu which gave rise to the London theatres cannot be physically reconstituted and that without it the physical reconstruction of a playhouse is vulnerable to the misapplication of anachronistic ideas about the drama. This theoretical objection has practical correlates. As discussed in appendix 3 it is likely that from the mid 1590s spectators sat on the stage at outdoor theatres, and there are opportunities for characters (for example Autolycus in The Winter's Tale 4.4) to 'hide' amongst the onstage sitters. If a character were dressed in everyday clothes similar to those worn by members of the audience this trick might be reasonably realistic, but in a modern performance this would require the character to wear modern dress. Authentic original dress would be a barrier to the recreation of the authentic original trick.

A similar dilemma relates to the playhouse fabric: as John Ronayne noted, a building with an exposed timber frame is as unusual in late twentieth-century London as one with exterior rendering would have been in early modern London (Ronayne 1997, 122). To use this as a justification for not covering the timber frame of the Wanamaker Globe is to privilege historical effect over historical cause and amounts to a prejudgement of a result of the experiment. If the effect of particular historical details may be determined in advance there is really no need to recreate the Globe since we already possess a wealth of ideas about what, and how, the plays mean. The true historicist value of authentic reconstruction can be measured by the number and detail of apparently insignificant features which are recreated.

New Historicist and Cultural Materialist attacks upon the Wanamaker Globe have concentrated upon the history of the project, on the struggle between Southwark Council and ISGC, and on the support the project has received from right-wing elements of the academic, theatrical, and political establishment. Two typical studies are John Drakakis's "Theatre, Ideology, and Institution: Shakespeare and the Roadsweepers", (Drakakis 1988) and Terence Hawkes's chapter "Bardbiz" in his Meaning By Shakespeare (Hawkes 1992, 141-53). There is insufficient space here to discuss the non-academic history of the project but Drakakis and Hawkes claim that many supporters of the project are motivated not by an urge to historicize Shakespeare but rather by a desire to further 'bardolatry': the glorification of the bard. This view of the

project might be largely accurate, although a truly historicist approach ought to account for the tensions between and contradictions within the various groups and forces which aligned to make Wanamaker's intentions economically viable.

Even if such an unfavourable historical narrative of the project were accepted it would not constitute a theoretical objection to the value of the work. The closest Hawkes came to serious theoretical objection to the project was this:

If the first Globe is the 'original one', then a central problem must be that the timbers from which it was built were themselves 'originally' used to construct Burbage's first playhouse, called The Theatre, situated on the north bank of the Thames and dismantled in December 1598. . . . The dizzying prospect of a third remove enters with the fact that the best physical picture of the Globe is the one afforded by Wenceslas Hollar's 'Long View' of London. But this gives a view of the second Globe, which is of course a reconstruction on the same site of the first Globe. Finally, as if in mockery of all such reaching after authenticity, it happens that Hollar's engraving reverses the captions on the two buildings, with the result that the one it clearly nominates as 'The Globe' is no such thing.

(Hawkes 1992, 142)

Leaving aside the error concerning Hollar's work (it is the preliminary sketch, not the labelled engraving, that constitutes "the best physical picture of the Globe") this

apparent objection is in fact a good example of the relative freedom from theoretical difficulty which certain aspects of the project enjoy as a consequence of evidential plenitude. We possess an exterior view of the Theatre (Abram Booth's 'Utrecht' engraving), plus details of court cases arising from the transformation of the Theatre into the Globe and from the re-negotiation of the lease for the Bankside land on which the second Globe was built, and also a deposition swearing that the second Globe re-used the foundations of the first Globe. There are grave problems concerning the notion of authenticity but the "third remove" identified by Hawkes is not among them and the fact that he can so easily trace the history of the Burbages' outdoor playhouses is testament to early twentieth-century scholarship of historical recovery within relatively unproblematic conceptual parameters.

Hawkes quoted from Joseph Quincy Adam's speech upon the opening of the Washington Folger Library:

Adams spoke of Shakespeare's establishment as 'the cornerstone of cultural discipline' in America at a time when 'the forces of immigration became a menace to the preservation of our long-established English civilization'. (Hawkes 1992, 152)

And yet the resources of the Folger Library are as available to New Historicist and Cultural Materialist scholars as they are to their opponents. Savouring the delicious irony of Karl Marx's use of the resources of the British Museum Library--an institution inextricably linked to colonial plunder--to minutely dissect the economics of capitalism and to plot its

overthrow is surely one of the pleasures of left-wing cultural thinking.

New Historicist and Cultural Materialist studies often aim to create intellectual models of the cultural and political milieu of early modern London which necessarily presuppose that worthwhile knowledge about the past is recoverable. No further theoretical justification for the Wanamaker project is needed if it is accepted that the experiment may as likely fail as succeed. That is to say, it may be discovered that playhouse design has no significant bearing on the meaning of, and methods of signification used within, early modern drama. Much of a distrust of the project felt by left-wing scholars appears to be a reaction to the prejudgement assumed to be embodied in the project. It is reasonable to be suspicious of the conviction that the Wanamaker Globe will answer questions which are in fact subsidiary to the main question: does playhouse design matter? If it is found that playhouse design is an important determinant of the drama then the reconstructed Globe may be defended as a historicist tool which undermines the claim that Shakespeare's work transcends historical and cultural difference. It is reasonable to object that the constituency of, and especially the class antagonisms within, the original audience cannot be recovered. But the same is true of any historical reconstruction whether performed in the study or through performance: our partial, anachronistic, twentieth-century minds are all we have to start with. As Leah Marcus pointed out, E. K. Chambers's motivation for his monumental

studies was anti-historicist: he "advocated the study of history in order to discount it" (Marcus 1996, 21). That is to say, by minute attention to the details of influence Chambers hoped to be able to account for the transcendental supplement. Even if, as Hawkes claimed, the Wanamaker project similarly 'packages' historical difference and smooths over historical tensions and contradictions, the scholarship of the project is available to historicists and anti-historicists alike and, if Chambers's work counts as a precedent, the former group are likely to make most use of it.

8.2 The Methodology of Early Modern Theatrical and Dramatic Historicism: 'Typicality' versus 'Specificity'

The work of Richard Hosley provides a useful framework within which to consider the range of historical methods conditioned by the degree to which one believes that playhouses and playtexts were essentially alike. John Cranford Adams's work was based on the principle that every feature which might be found in a typical playhouse must have been present in the Globe since it was Shakespeare's playhouse and therefore the most important playhouse. In reaction to Adams's work Richard Hosley illogically combined a principle of heterogeneity in play texts (it was important to find which were the 'Globe plays') with a principle of homogeneity in playhouses (the De Witt Swan could be an analogue for the Globe). If we repeat Hosley's work but apply thoroughly his

principle of heterogeneity in play texts, as I have done in appendix 1, there are so many exclusions from the category 'Globe plays' that little useful evidence remains: we cannot defend the presence of a trap, stage posts, or a flight machine at the Globe. If we weaken Hosley's principle of heterogeneity in play texts we arrive back at Adams's method and a Globe for which any play of the period may contain useful evidence. If we assume a greater degree of heterogeneity in playhouses than Hosley did, then the De Witt Swan may not be used as evidence for the Globe and without it we have no interior view of an outdoor playhouse. If we assume a lesser degree of heterogeneity in playhouses then the De Witt Swan will suffice as a complete model of the Globe and there is little more to be said. It is clear that, prior to the Wanamaker project, a methodological impasse had been reached by students of the Shakespearian theatre. This alone demands engagement with the project even by those who object to the company they must keep in doing so.

8.3 What Has Been Learnt About Shakespearian Staging in this Thesis

There are important limitations to work done in the study. It is difficult to conceptualize the effect of the overall size of a playhouse, its location (in this case, urban and by a major river), and the time of performance (mid-afternoon in the summer months). During performance in a reconstructed playhouse these factors are immediately

operative and their effects, if any, need only be observed. In the present study the aspects of the Globe for which we have the most evidence--the overall size and shape of the building--appear to be least important to the dramatic effect and the interior decoration, about which we have almost no reliable evidence, seems to be most important. This would suggest that playhouse reconstruction is not justified since the most conjectural elements (the pictures and monochromatic statues of classical figures in the frons) were the aspects which the scene-by-scene reconstruction of The Winter's Tale and Cymbeline revealed to be most closely related to dramatic effect. However, this outcome might indicate the limitations of the kind of work undertaken here. The assumptions made governing the use of the stage doors and audience address (primarily the work of Mariko Ichikawa and Humphrey Gyde) strongly conditioned the conjectured staging of the plays and other assumptions (for example Tim Fitzpatrick's 'triangulation' rule and Stanislavskian notions of mental interiority) might produce quite different results.

The practical discoveries made here are few in number and easy to summarize. The presence of certain pieces of decoration--classical figures in two and three dimensions--might amplify symbolic resonance at key moments in certain plays. That these moments are ones which have traditionally been thought to carry particular significance (the satyr dance and the final scene in The Winter's Tale, the descent of Jupiter in Cymbeline) is some compensation for the apparent general irrelevance of authentic reconstruction. A

performance at the Wanamaker Globe in late 1996 provided corroboration that playhouse decoration might catalyze a dramatic revelation. During a rehearsal of the Northern Broadsides company's travelling production of A Midsummer Night's Dream, director Barrie Rutter noticed the presence of a representation of Hercules in the keystone of the central opening (Egan 1997, 22). During a rehearsal of the scene in which the mechanicals meet to prepare their court performance, Rutter directed the actor playing Bottom to spot this piece of decoration just before delivering his line "I could play 'Erc'les", and to demonstrate his confidence by raising and supporting his stool in a like manner. The other mechanicals were to look back and forth between the ideal, the picture which is part of the fabric of the playhouse, and their fellow actor poised in imitation of it. Rutter thus grounded Bottom's authority for his claim to mimetic excellence in a feature of the playhouse fabric. The mechanicals' play was made to reach beyond the amateur dramatics of the playworld and to come into contact with the highly professional dramatics within which it is framed. The mechanicals' attempts at dramatic production are often presented as mere boorish ignorance of theatrical conventions, and in particular a failure to trust the audience's willingness to accept a pretence on its own terms. If Bottom is allowed contact with the 'real world' of the playhouse it becomes clear that his company's problems, parodied and trivialized as they are, are the problems of real theatre. Metatheatricality, in all its forms, suggests that Elizabethans were much better at seeing what Robert Weimann

called 'bifold authority' than we are: they could see the player and the role simultaneously but as distinct entities (Weimann 1988).

In this thesis it was found that the use of the central opening in formal scenes (for example The Winter's Tale 3.4) tended to suspend the usual rules of stage traffic for the duration of the scene and so coincided with increased use of Ichikawa's exceptions to Beckerman's 'one-way traffic' system. Concerning the Wanamaker reconstruction, the mis-identification of the location of the Lords Room has affected the decoration of the stage balcony and overstated the distinction between the spectators there and those in the rest of the auditorium. In performance such a misapprehension might encourage actors to pay unwarranted attention to the spectators in the stage balcony. Likewise, the failure to allow spectators on the stage at the Wanamaker Globe will obscure opportunities for characters to playfully exploit their presence.

It is difficult to imagine a Globe more highly decorated than the Wanamaker Globe, whose decorative analogues were chosen for the degree to which they typified taste in the period 1599-1613. However, the extra expenditure on decoration for the second Globe, identified by Herbert Berry and discussed in the chapter 5 section '5.3 The Tiring House', requires that we imagine revivals of Shakespeare's plays during the 1610s and 1620s in a playhouse even more lavish than the Wanamaker Globe. It is possible that the Globe did not acquire a flight machine until the rebuilding after the

1613 fire. This might account for the enlarged stage cover shown by Hollar and for the additional expenditure. In this hypothesis the descents in Cymbeline and The Tempest were either late additions to the plays or were performed only when the venue was the Blackfriars. Irwin Smith undertook an analysis of the plays written for the boy companies at Blackfriars using the methodology Hosley applied to the 'Globe plays' but categorizing in order of descending reliability the evidence used to assign a given play to the playhouse (Smith, Irwin 1964, 210-9). Smith found 133 'Blackfriars plays' from which to determine the conventions used there (Smith, Irwin 1964, 220-42). It seems likely that, even if most are rejected for the reasons I reject most of Hosley's 'Globe plays', a reevaluation of Smith's work would produce a body of data significantly richer than that for the Globe.

8.4 The Winter's Tale and Cymbeline Staged Elsewhere

The evidence of the plays alone cannot be used to determine the differences between playing spaces because we cannot be sure how 'theatre-specific' a particular play text is and in any case the texts are available to us in printed forms which are at some remove from practical playhouse documents. However, it is clear that there is nothing in The Winter's Tale which could not have been presented on tour. It is likely that cuts would have been made to facilitate performance by fewer actors and that doubling would have been more extensively used, although there is no simple

relationship between number of parts, length of text, and cast. There are occasions when additional material and additional characters may help reduce cast size by allowing time for the costume changes needed for doubling. The frequency of music in The Winter's Tale is not of itself difficult to produce on tour, although we might expect that a travelling troupe would carry fewer instruments than a permanent playhouse could muster. As it stands in the Folio text, the dance of satyrs in 4.4 requires 18 actors on the stage at the same time: 12 dancers plus the Old Shepherd, Polixenes, Camillo, Florizel, Perdita, and one servant. The simplest touring expedient would be to cut the dance.

Cymbeline contains staging effects which go beyond what might be expected of touring venues. Most obviously the descent of Jupiter is unlikely to have been achieved at the venues which might be encountered on tour, at least not without prior arrangement. As with The Winter's Tale, the use of music and size of the cast would be limited by the available transportation. If the descent of Jupiter is considered to be artistically integrated to the work then Cymbeline could not have been toured in the form available to us from the 1623 Folio. As discussed in the first chapter, it seems likely that the court venues could run to any staging effect available at the outdoor playhouses and we know that the Blackfriars was able to provide flying effects, so The Winter's Tale and Cymbeline might easily have been performed at all the usual London venues although the latter is, as we have it, not suitable for touring.

APPENDIX 1: ESTABLISHING THE LIST OF 'GLOBE PLAYS'

9.1 The 'Globe Play' Candidates

The following are the candidates for a list of 'Globe plays' formed by combining Hosley's lists (1959; 1960; 1975a, 181-2) with Beckerman's list (1962, ix-xvi) and removing those plays which are no longer thought to have been composed in the Globe-only period (Wells et al. 1987, 120-31). A Warning for Fair Women has been added because Hosley failed to explain its exclusion from a revised version of his list. Henry 5 is retained for reasons given above in the section '1.4.1 The Beginning of the Globe-Only Period'. Marston's The Malcontent is excluded because, as Beckerman noted, it was not written for the Globe. The Oxford editors dated The Merry Wives of Windsor to 1597-8 because rare vocabulary tests associate it with the two Henry 4 plays (Wells et al. 1987, 120); for this reason it is here excluded. The revised list of candidates, representing a conflation of Hosley's and Beckerman's lists, is this:

Anon. A Warning for Fair Women, Q (1599)

Shakespeare As You Like It, F (1623)

Jonson Every Man out of His Humour, Q (1600); F (1616)

Shakespeare Henry 5, Q (1600); F (1623)

Shakespeare Julius Caesar, F (1623)

Anon. A Larum for London, Q (1602)

Shakespeare Hamlet, Q1 (1603); Q2 (1604-5); F (1623)

Shakespeare Twelfth Night, F (1623)

Dekker Satiromastix, Q (1602)
Anon. Thomas Lord Cromwell, Q (1602)
Shakespeare Troilus and Cressida, Q (1609); F (1623)
Shakespeare All's Well That Ends Well, F (1623)
Jonson Sejanus, Q (1605); F (1616)
Anon. The Merry Devil of Edmonton, Q (1608)
Anon. The London Prodigal, Q (1605)
Anon. The Fair Maid of Bristol, Q (1605)
Shakespeare Measure for Measure, F (1623)
Shakespeare Othello, Q (1622); F (1623)
Shakespeare King Lear, Q (1608); F (1623)
Jonson Volpone, Q (1607); F (1616)
Shakespeare Macbeth, F (1623)
Anon. A Yorkshire Tragedy, Q (1608)
Tourneur (?) The Revenger's Tragedy, Q (1607-8)
Barnes The Devil's Charter, Q (1607)
Shakespeare Antony and Cleopatra, F (1623)
Wilkins The Miseries of Enforced Marriage, Q (1607)
Shakespeare Coriolanus, F (1623)
Shakespeare Timon of Athens, F (1623)
Shakespeare Pericles, Q (1609)

Each play will be considered individually, but first some remarks are needed regarding the evidence of intervals in early printed texts.

9.2 Taylor's Act-interval and Scene-interval Tests

Gary Taylor argued that before they acquired the Blackfriars the King's men used continuous performance, but afterwards they used intervals (which were already a feature of the boy company performances at the Blackfriars) at both Globe and Blackfriars (Taylor & Jowett 1993, 3-50). This hypothesis suggests a simple test: if we find theatrically plausible act intervals in an early printed text then the underlying copy can be dated after the acquisition of the Blackfriars, and the play should be excluded from a list of 'Globe plays'. Objections can be raised against this simple test. Taylor's deduction of the King's men's practice is partly based on the evidence of Shakespeare play texts, and hence there is some danger of circularity: the hypothesis depends on certain texts reflecting late practice, and we attempt to date the texts by means of the hypothesis. This danger is small, however, because Taylor brings a wealth of other evidence into the argument.

A second weakness of the test is that, prior to printing, an editor might have imposed the intervals upon a text written for continuous performance, in which case we would get a false result of 'late' for a play that was in fact 'early'. In a play originally composed with no regard for five act structure, editorial imposition of intervals ought to be noticeably arbitrary and inelegant, as seems to be the case with the Folio The Taming of the Shrew and Henry 5 (Wells et al. 1987, 170-1; Shakespeare 1982, 14-5). But as Taylor noted,

T. W. Baldwin advanced the theory that every educated Elizabethan dramatist would write with a five act structure in mind (Taylor & Jowett 1993, 3; Baldwin 1947). If such a structure underlay the original composition an intelligent editor might insert the divisions at the appropriate points without any noticeable disruption, even though intervals were not used in performance. This theory, if proven, would invalidate the 'interval-test' as a means of dating texts since editorial and theatrical division would be indistinguishable.

The presence of unsatisfactory act divisions in the Folio texts of The Taming of the Shrew and Henry 5 is difficult to reconcile with Baldwin's theory. In a work dealing specifically with the Shakespeare Folio, Baldwin proposed a model in which the dramatist wrote using act divisions, the actors ignored the divisions in performance, and the Folio's intermittent use of act divisions reflects the availability of texts to be used as copy (Baldwin 1965). For The Taming of the Shrew and Henry 5 authorially derived copy was unavailable, Baldwin argued, so undivided theatrical copy was used and divisions were inexpertly imposed in the printing house (Baldwin 1965, 77-8, 97). As well as requiring intermediate transcripts from which the intervals were absent (in order that the theatrical texts do not have them), and identifying the copy for these plays as essentially theatrical whereas modern scholars see them as essentially authorial (Wells et al. 1987, 169-71, 375-7), this hypothesis requires that the editor failed to insert divisions at the right places even

though the dramatist had shaped the plays into five sections. These three assumptions are necessary to maintain Baldwin's thesis in the face of the evidence of the Folio The Taming of the Shrew and Henry 5.

Taylor's thesis that Shakespeare began to use five act structure regularly when he began writing for playhouses in which intervals were used is more economical than Baldwin's model and provides a simpler explanation for the awkward act divisions in The Taming of the Shrew and Henry 5 (Taylor & Jowett 1993, 44-7). In Taylor's view the copy texts used for printing the Folio up to Henry 5 were all late theatrical texts except for The Comedy of Errors, The Taming of the Shrew, All's Well that Ends Well and Henry 5, and the printers, instructed that all the plays should be divided, reproduced the intervals present in the copy. Two of these four also had act intervals despite being non-theatrical early texts: The Comedy of Errors because it was written for Gray's Inn (where intervals were always used), and All's Well that Ends Well because the foul papers were "sketchily annotated by a theatrical professional at some later date, perhaps as a preliminary to preparing a new prompt-book" (Taylor & Jowett 1993, 45- 6). Only The Taming of the Shrew and Henry 5 required editorial imposition of intervals on undivided copy, and after Henry 5 the decision was taken not to impose divisions on manuscripts that lacked them (Taylor & Jowett 1993, 46).

A revised version of Baldwin's theory might suggest that when continuous performance was the norm Shakespeare

nonetheless occasionally wrote using an underlying five act structure to shape the work, but without marking the divisions. A play so structured might have editorial divisions which are indistinguishable from late theatrical divisions. The Comedy of Errors illustrates the problem: if we did not suspect that it was written for Gray's Inn we might wonder at an early authorially derived text having act intervals. Had we only a theatrically derived text we might be unable to tell if the act divisions were theatrical or editorial and we might wrongly date such a text using Taylor's hypothesis. Similarly, had we only theatrically derived texts of Jonson's plays for the King's men at the Globe, the knowledge that Jonson wrote with five act structure in mind would make it difficult to determine whether the intervals represented theatre practice or editorial reification of the latent structure. By the weight of evidence supporting it, Taylor's general hypothesis that act intervals spread from the indoor theatres to the outdoor theatres, once the King's men had access to the Blackfriars in addition to the Globe, is satisfactorily proven. But we cannot with certainty use this knowledge to date texts since other explanations can account for individual cases.

In a second paper on intervals in the same volume, Taylor concluded that scene divisions were not marked by Shakespeare and would not have been added to a prompt book because they would serve no useful purpose there: the clearing of the stage needs no indicators other than exit directions. Thus if we

find scene divisions in a Shakespearian early printed text these must come from a scribe (Taylor & Jowett 1993, 237-43).

Because the chronology of Shakespeare's plays has received greater attention than the chronology of the works of any other dramatist, it is useful to split the list of candidates into two categories: Shakespearian and non-Shakespearian plays. The former will be dealt with first.

9.3 The Shakespearian Globe Plays

There are 15 plays by Shakespeare amongst the 'Globe play' candidates in the above list:

As You Like It, F (1623)

Henry 5, Q (1600); F (1623)

Julius Caesar, F (1623)

Hamlet, Q1 (1603); Q2 (1604-5); F (1623)

Twelfth Night, F (1623)

Troilus and Cressida, Q (1609); F (1623)

All's Well That Ends Well, F (1623)

Measure for Measure, F (1623)

Othello, Q (1622); F (1623)

King Lear, Q (1608); F (1623)

Macbeth, F (1623)

Antony and Cleopatra, F (1623)

Coriolanus, F (1623)

Timon of Athens, F (1623)

Pericles, Q (1609)

The chronology of composition established by the editors of the Oxford Complete Works (Wells et al. 1987, 69-144) confirms that these 15 plays were written in the Globe-only period, with Henry 5 a borderline case being either 1598 or 1599. Henry 5 is here accepted as the first play written with performance at the Globe in mind. Only the provenance of the early printed texts needs to be established to determine if these can indeed be called 'Globe plays'.

As You Like It

The play was first printed in the First Folio (Shakespeare 1623) with both act and scene divisions. Apart from the act intervals there are no indications of post-Globe-practice but equally there is nothing to indicate Globe-only practice, and the printing was based on a scribal transcript of unknown copy (Wells et al. 1987, 392, 421; Taylor & Jowett 1993, 237-43). In the absence of evidence dating the text underlying the Folio text the play must be excluded from a list of 'Globe plays'.

Henry 5

The play was first printed in a quarto which appears to be based on a memorial reconstruction made for a provincial tour (Shakespeare 1600a; Wells et al. 1987, 375-7). Later quartos (Q2 and Q3) were based on the first quarto, but the play was printed in the Folio apparently from authorial foul

papers with influence from Q3 (Shakespeare 1602; Shakespeare 1608a; Shakespeare 1623). The nature of this influence is unclear but it appears to be limited: possibly Q3 was consulted to resolve uncertainties which arose in setting type from authorial foul papers. Thus Q1 is a reasonable guide to performance conditions on tour but where spectacular effects were called for these would be scaled down. The Folio text is a better guide to anticipated Globe staging at the time of composition and, since the contamination from Q3 (printed 1619) appears to be small, it qualifies as a 'Globe play'.

Julius Caesar

The play was first printed in the First Folio (Shakespeare 1623) from copy which shows none of the signs of foul papers. A confusion concerning the doubling of Cassius and Ligarius in Julius Caesar might indicate that the text derives from a late revival, although other explanations also fit the case (Wells et al. 1987, 386-8). The text contains directions which in their specificity and completeness suggest the copy was theatrically annotated, and the presence of act but not scene divisions is consistent with a post-Globe-only prompt book. In the absence of evidence dating the underlying text to the Globe-only period, Julius Caesar must be excluded from a list of 'Globe plays'.

Hamlet

Hamlet was first printed in 1603 from what is generally accepted was memorial reconstruction (Shakespeare 1603). A second quarto was printed with surviving examples showing dates of 1604 and 1605 (Shakespeare 1604; Shakespeare 1605). Subsequent reprints of Q2 (Q3, Shakespeare 1611; Q4, Shakespeare 1625; Q5, Shakespeare 1637) need not concern us. The play was printed in the First Folio from a transcript of a prompt-book (Shakespeare 1623; Wells et al. 1987, 396-402). Q1 can be ignored since although it may well contain moments of recollection of actual early performance there would be no reason for the reconstructors to avoid writing unstageable business to fill forgotten gaps in the action. Q2 was printed directly from authorial papers and so reflects staging conditions at the time of composition in 1600-1. In textual variants the Folio text repeatedly agrees with Q1 against Q2 (which was based on foul papers), which means F and Q1 derive from the same manuscript: the prompt book of 1600-3. The Folio text has features, including act and scene divisions, which suggest that a scribal transcript stands between it and the 1600-3 prompt book. This transcript may have been made in the post-Globe-only period. Thus Q2 and, less securely, the Folio text of Hamlet represent staging conditions in the Globe-only period, and Q2 is definitely free of contamination by post-Globe-only practice. Q2 Hamlet is a reliable 'Globe play'.

Twelfth Night

The play was first printed in the First Folio (Shakespeare 1623). The Latinized act interval markers ("Finis Actus . . .") show that the copy was a literary transcript but there is nothing to date the transcription or the scribe's copy (Wells et al. 1987, 421). The division into act intervals is consistent with post-Globe-only theatrical practice. In the absence of evidence dating the underlying manuscript within the Globe-only period, Twelfth Night must be rejected.

Troilus and Cressida

The play was printed in a quarto of 1609 and in the First Folio (Shakespeare 1623). The quarto was set directly from foul papers, and the Folio was set from an example of this quarto which had been annotated by reference to a revised prompt book (Wells et al. 1987, 424-6). One state of the quarto (Qa, Shakespeare 1609b) says on its title page that the play was "acted by the Kings Maisties / seruants at the Globe". A second issue of the quarto (Qb, Shakespeare 1609a) omitted the reference to performance at the Globe and added an epistle claiming that the play was "neuer stal'd with the Stage, neuer clapper-clawd with the palmes of the vulger" (Shakespeare 1609a, A1r). George F. Reynolds argued that this showed it was not a Globe play (Reynolds 1948) but Taylor provided a more convincing explanation (Taylor 1982, 118-21). Taylor argued that the epistle which appears in Qb was written

in 1603 when the play was surreptitiously obtained by a printer after the Inns of Court premiere. The printing was blocked, or not attempted, and the play went on to be performed at the Globe. When it came to be printed in 1609 the printers assumed that it had been played at the Globe and wrote the title page to Qa, but towards the end of the printing they found the epistle, believed it, and so cancelled the Qa title page and set the Qb title page and added the epistle.

If Taylor's conjecture is accepted then the play was written for private performance rather than performance at the Globe. Unlike performance at court and on tour, there is no reason to suppose that the conditions of private performance were like those of the Globe. For our purposes the quarto, then, must be rejected because although it reflects conditions at the time of composition (because based on foul papers), the conditions are not those of the Globe. The Folio was set from an example of Q which was annotated from a prompt book which appears to have contained authorial revisions. This prompt book was presumably the one used for public performance, but there is nothing to date it to the Globe-only period and in any case its influence on the example of Q is theoretically limited to, because conjectured from, verbal variants. Thus the Folio text cannot be reliably associated with a version of the play representing performance at the Globe in the Globe-only period and both Q and F versions of Troilus and Cressida must be rejected from our list of 'Globe plays'.

All's Well That Ends Well

The play was first printed in the First Folio (Shakespeare 1623). The text has many features of pre-theatrical copy (variant speech-prefixes, ghost characters, unplayable inconsistencies) and the presence of Shakespeare's habits of spelling and punctuation strongly suggest this copy was authorial foul papers (Wells et al. 1987, 492-3). However, the foul papers seem to have been annotated by a book keeper in the post-Globe-only period. There are directions for cornets (Shakespeare 1968, TLN 237, 596) which were typical of indoor but not outdoor performance (Gurr 1994b). Taylor argued that "We should not expect the Folio's division into five acts to have stood in foul papers" (Wells et al. 1987, 492) and that they probably also reflect late practice. As we saw in the examination of Taylor's act interval test, a printing house editor might easily insert the intervals if the work was composed in five units. However, the use of post-Globe-only musical instruments is decisive and All's Well that Ends Well cannot be included in our list of 'Globe plays'.

Measure for Measure

Measure for Measure was first printed in the First Folio (Shakespeare 1623) from a Crane transcript. The absence of profanities indicates that, although the play was written in 1603 (Wells et al. 1987, 125-6), the text has come down to us

in a form modified after the 1606 act against profanity (Wells et al. 1987, 468-9). The presence of a song (Shakespeare 1968, TLN 1770-5) which appears to have been popular after Shakespeare's death is easiest explained as late non-authorial interpolation, and once this is accepted a collection of other oddities in the play can be convincingly accounted for by the same hypothesis (Wells et al. 1987, 468-9; Taylor & Jowett 1993, 107-236). The interpolations must have been written after the play from which the song was taken, Massinger's Rollo, Duke of Normandy (Fletcher 1640) and hence after mid-1617 (Taylor & Jowett 1993, 107-236, 260-71). The presence of material from the post-Globe-only period means that Measure for Measure cannot be counted as a 'Globe play'.

Othello

The play was first printed in a quarto of 1622 and was printed again in the First Folio (Shakespeare 1622; Shakespeare 1623). The quarto contains inconsistencies which could not have stood in a prompt book and so the copy was either authorial papers or a transcript of them. The latter is more likely than the former because there appear to be sophistications aimed at helping a reader and also inexpert attempts to clear up ambiguities in the text (Wells et al. 1987, 476-7). The Folio text has about 160 lines absent from the quarto and the large number of verbal variants indicates a different source. The Oxford editors thought the extra lines represent authorial revision of the play and, since they are

too many to have been crammed onto an existing prompt book, conjectured that Shakespeare revised his own manuscript of the play. F's departures from Shakespeare's incidental habits suggest that it was set from a scribal copy of this revised authorial manuscript.

The scribal sophistication of authorial papers might distance the quarto text from Globe-only practice since there is no evidence, other than the presence of act intervals, to date the copying and nothing locates it within the Globe-only period. The Folio text contains authorial revisions which might be post-Globe-only and the interposed scribal copy further weakens the link with conditions at the time of composition in 1603 or 1604. Neither text of Othello can be included in a list of 'Globe plays'.

King Lear

King Lear exists in two distinct versions separated by substantial authorial revision: two quartos (Q1 and Q2) dated 1608 and the First Folio text (Shakespeare 1608b; Shakespeare 1608c; Shakespeare 1623). The authorial revision appears to have taken place within the 'transitional phase' when the Blackfriars became available (Wells et al. 1987, 530) and so might reflect post-Globe-only conditions. The date on the title page of Q1 is 1608 which raises the possibility that it was printed in the post-Globe-only period, but Peter Blayney established that it was printed in December 1607 and January 1608 (Blayney 1982). The printer's copy for Q1 appears to have

been the author's foul papers, and so it reliably reflects conditions at the time of composition in 1605-6 (Wells et al. 1987, 128, 510). Q1 of King Lear, but not the Folio version, may be included in a list of 'Globe plays'.

Macbeth

Macbeth was first printed in the First Folio from a prompt book (Shakespeare 1623; Wells et al. 1987, 543-4). The presence of the opening lines of two songs from Middleton's The Witch (Middleton 1950, 57-8, 87-8), plus some oddly unShakespearian speech from Hecate (Shakespeare 1968, TLN 1432-67, 1567-72) points to late non-authorial revision and adaptation which distances the text from Globe-only practice (Wells et al. 1987, 128-9, 543-4). The presence of post-Globe-only alterations excludes Macbeth from a list of 'Globe plays'.

Antony and Cleopatra

The play was first printed in the First Folio (Shakespeare 1623). The presence of ghost characters and inadequate stage directions points away from prompt book copy, reducing the possibilities to either authorial papers or a transcript of them (Wells et al. 1987, 549). If the copy was a transcript, the scribe did not add act or scene divisions but he did impose his own preference for "oh" instead of "o" (Taylor & Jowett 1993, 248-59). Since the Folio text is based

on authorial papers which reflect conditions at the time of composition (1606), or on a transcript of them in which we have no reason to suspect sophistication, Antony and Cleopatra may be included in a list of 'Globe plays'.

Coriolanus

Coriolanus was first printed in the First Folio (Shakespeare 1623). The nature of the manuscript underlying the printing is uncertain but a number of the incidentals of spelling and punctuation point away from authorial copy (Wells et al. 1987, 593-4). A number of stage directions appear to have been annotated for theatrical clarity, and there are two directions calling for cornets which were a feature of indoor performance, although other directions call for trumpets which were not (Shakespeare 1968, TLN 857, 1120; Gurr 1994b). The play was composed near to the end of the Globe-only period and it is possible that these annotations reflect anticipated transfer to the Blackfriars, although the mixture of indoor and outdoor instruments in one text seems to suit neither venue. Without evidence tying the text to the Globe-only period, and with the cornets pointing to indoor performance, Coriolanus must be excluded from a list of 'Globe plays'.

Timon of Athens

The play was first printed in the 1623 Folio. The Oxford editors asserted that the Folio copy was foul papers but gave

no evidence (Wells et al. 1987, 501-2). The presence of a considerable number of loose ends and inconsistencies has been noted (for example in Shakespeare 1959, xiv-xvi; Shakespeare 1970, 255-62) and these indicate that the copy must have been a rough draft of the play. Attention has focussed on the possibility, accepted by the Oxford editors, that Middleton collaborated with Shakespeare and that some of the problems arose from misunderstandings between the two men. For our purposes this is irrelevant since both theatre professionals are likely to have known the conditions for which they were writing and so the Folio text reliably reflects their expectations of staging at the time of composition in 1605. Timon of Athens is therefore a reliable 'Globe play'.

Pericles

A quarto of Pericles appeared in 1608. This quarto shows a great variation in quality and style of writing and is probably a memorial reconstruction (Wells et al. 1987, 556-60). The Oxford editors used a prose narrative by the likely co-writer of the play, George Wilkin's The Painfull Aduentures of Pericles Prince of Tyre, to reconstruct the parts of the play which the quarto seems most poorly to report, on the assumption that in the prose narrative Wilkins drew upon his recollection of the dramatic version of the story. The prose narrative is useless for our purposes and the poor quality of the 1608 quarto, which might well contain

inventions to cover lapses of memory, excludes it also. Pericles must be excluded from a list of 'Globe plays'.

9.4 The Non-Shakespearian Globe Plays

The non-Shakespearian plays in the Hosley-Beckerman list are:

Anon. A Warning for Fair Women, Q (1599)

Jonson Every Man out of His Humour, Q (1600); F (1616)

Anon. A Larum for London, Q (1602)

Dekker Satiromastix, Q (1602)

Anon. Thomas Lord Cromwell, Q (1602)

Jonson Sejanus, Q (1605); F (1616)

Anon. The Merry Devil of Edmonton, Q (1608)

Anon. The London Prodigal, Q (1605)

Anon. The Fair Maid of Bristol, Q (1605)

Jonson Volpone, Q (1607); F (1616)

Anon. A Yorkshire Tragedy, Q (1608)

Tourneur (?) The Revenger's Tragedy, Q (1607-8)

Barnes The Devil's Charter, Q (1607)

Wilkins The Miseries of Enforced Marriage, Q (1607)

These plays must be taken in turn and the evidence dating the composition and the printing must be examined together with the nature of the copy behind the printing.

Anon. A Warning for Fair Women

The play was entered in the Stationers' Register on 17 November 1599 (Arber 1876, 54r) and a quarto printed the same year claims on its title page that the play had been "lately diverse times acted / by the right Honorable, the Lord Chamberlaine / his Servants" (Anon. 1599, A1r). Charles Dale Cannon dated the play after the mid-1580s because *Comedie* mocks stage effects in which "a little Rosen flaseth forth, / Like smoke out of a Tabacco pipe" (Anon. 1599, A2v), and because "the custom of smoking tobacco in pipes seems to date from the middle of the 1580's" (Anon. 1975, 46). Cannon found no terminus ad quem other than the date of registration (Anon. 1975, 47-8). In the absence of evidence dating composition to the Globe-only period, the play must be excluded from a list of 'Globe plays'.

Jonson Every Man out of His Humour

Every Man out of His Humour was first published in a quarto of 1600 which contained an epilogue, discarded in the folio Workes, referring to "The happier spirits of this faire-fild Globe" (Jonson 1600a, R2v). The final page of the play in the Folio recorded that "This Comicall Satyre was first / acted in the yeere / 1599. / By the then Lord Chamberlaine / his Seruants" (Jonson 1616, P4v). The year "1599" might mean 1 January 1599 to 31 December 1599 or 25 March 1599 to 24 March 1600, depending on Jonson's practice

when changing the year number. On the precedent of our acceptance of Henry 5, composition of Every Man out of His Humour at the beginning of even the earlier period (January 1599 to December 1599) would be sufficient to accept the play as written for the Globe. Scholars call the practice of changing the year number on 1 January 'new-style' dating, but W. W. Greg noted that the 'old-style' and 'new-style' distinction has nothing to do with the day on which the year was changed but has become confused with it

because the bull of Gregory XIII that instituted the New Style reckoning [the Gregorian calendar] also enacted that the year should begin on 1 January, and the same provision was incorporated in the act that introduced the New Style into England.

(Greg 1948, 565)

In the period with which we are concerned some people would increment the year number on 1 January and others on 25 March, and still others (Henslowe included) would be inconsistent. The official practice was to increment the year number on 25 March, but

Ben Jonson, who was certainly educated, and in some ways rather pedantic, altered his practice about the time of his visit to Scotland,¹⁶ when he abandoned the popular [1 Jan] in favour of the official usage, though he was never wholly consistent.

¹⁶ But not in consequence of it, unless through antagonism, for in 1619 when he made his pilgrimage,

1 January had been recognized as the beginning of the year in Scotland for close on two decades.

(Greg 1948, 568)

However, a topical allusion in Volpone (discussed below) appears to indicate that it was written after 19 January 1606 and yet the Folio gives its year of first performance as "1605". Acceptance of this allusion forces acceptance that the Folio references to year of first performance are 'March-March' rather than 'January-December'. If Jonson used the 'March-March' system in the Folio this would put Every Man out of His Humour nearer to the Globe-only period and would relieve our dependence upon the precedent of Henry 5 which was arbitrarily accepted as a 'Globe play'.

R. A. Small dated first performance of Every Man out of His Humour within the period 15 February to 24 March 1600, on the basis of internal allusions (Small 1899, 21-2). Small thought that the duel of Brisk and Luculento alluded to the Emulo-Owen duel in Chettle, Dekker, and Haughton's Patient Grissil for which Henslowe's diary records the final payment to the dramatists on 26 December 1599 and the purchasing of a "grey gowne for gryssell" on 26 January 1600 (Foakes & Rickert 1961, 129, 130). Small reasoned that first performance of Patient Grissil would have followed soon after the costume was purchased. Every Man out of His Humour was entered in the Stationers' Register on 8 April 1600 (Arber 1876, 58r) and in the subsequent quarto appeared a statement, apparently from the printer:

It was not neere his thoughts that hath publisht
this, either to traduce the Authour; or to make
vulgar and cheape, any the peculiar and sufficient
deserts of the Actors; but rather (whereas many
Censures flutter'd about it) to giue all leaue, and
leisure, to iudge with Distinction.

(Jonson 1600a, A4v)

Small thought that this indicates that the play was in
performance by 8 April and that it "was at that date very
recent" (Small 1899, 22). Small's reasoning is faulty here
since the printer's note could have been added at any time
prior to publication and nothing in it suggests recent first
performance. Small offered internal allusions to strengthen
his case. Carlo's comment "I warrant you: would I had one of
Kemps shooes to throw after you" (Jonson 1600a, O1r) was,
Small argued, an allusion to Kemp's jig from London to Norwich
from 11 February to 11 March 1600, and even less convincingly,
Macilente's "S'heart, all her jests are of the stampe March
was fifteene yeeres agoe" (Jonson 1600a, L1r) showed that the
play was performed in March. C. H. Herford and Percy Simpson
cited Small as authority for their assertion that Every Man
out of His Humour's "Several allusions to the play of
Histriomastix, produced not earlier than August 1599, make
this date a definite terminus a quo" (Jonson 1925, 373).
Neither Herford and Simpson nor Small named the allusions
which had been spotted, but incorrectly cited, by Frederick
Gard Fleay (Fleay 1891b, 69-70). In Every Man out of His
Humour 3.4 (not 1.1 as cited by Fleay), Clove uses the words

"Zodiack", "Eclipticke line", "Tropicks, and "punch of Esquiline" in a fustian argument for which he cites "Plato's Histriomastix" as an authority (Jonson 1600b, I1r). Counting scenes by clearings of the stage, 1.3 of Histriomastix contains a speech in which Chrisoganus uses the words "Zodiack", "Ecliptick line", and "Tropick" (Anon. 1610, B2r) and in 3.4 he uses the words "punch of Esquiline" (Anon. 1610, D4r). The precedence of Histriomastix is established by Clove's use of it as a title of a non-existent work by Plato: the satire cannot work in the opposite direction. The earliest possible date of composition of Every Man out of His Humour is, therefore, the first performance of Histriomastix.

Small's dating of Marston's Histriomastix depended upon Perpetuana's report "O sweet heart the Spaniards are come, / We shall all be kild they say" (Anon. 1610, G1r) being an allusion to the invasion scare of August 1599 described by Howe in Stow's Chronicles and Annals (Small 1899, 82-3; Stow 1631, Uuu3v-Uuu4r). Because the scene is one of "civic broil", Small thought that "The Spaniards are come" was a clear example of Marston inserting topical material as he revised the earlier play on which Histriomastix was based (Small 1899, 68-72). Small thought that the words "the Spaniards are come"

could have no possible point unless they were the expression of the actual, present fear of the audience, or, if you will, a satiric hit at that fear. If an allusion to a past fear of foreign invasion had been introduced into a court-presentation of a play in Elizabeth's time, it

would infallibly have taken the form of an added laudation in the epilogue. The play as revised by Marston was, then, presented in 1599, between August 1, when the sudden preparations for war were commenced, and September 4, when the troops of armed citizens were disbanded. (Small 1899, 83)

Small did not consider the possibility that the allusion was not to an earlier invasion fear but was an earlier allusion to a earlier present fear: that is, the play was written before August 1599. Such fear might be said to be continual in the period and the allusion need not be to the particular state of heightened readiness for war described by Howe. However, the combined weight of Small's arguments dating Every Man out of his Humour to early 1600 is considerable. Since the play was also printed in 1600 there is no possibility that this text is influenced by post-Globe-only practice and so it belongs on the list of reliable 'Globe plays'.

Anon. A Larum for London

Although the title page of the 1602 quarto says it was performed by "the Lord Chamberlaine his Seruants" (Anon. 1602, A1r) there is nothing to date composition after the company acquired the Globe. Entered in the Stationers' Register on 29 May 1600 (Arber 1876, 59r), the play may have been written any time before that date. Greg pointed out that

There is no trace thereof in the repertory of the company at the period of their association with

Henslowe, which terminated in the summer of 1594.
Presumably, therefore, the play was first produced
between the autumn of 1594 and the spring of 1600.
(Anon. 1913, v)

Lack of evidence dating composition excludes the play from a
list of 'Globe plays'.

Dekker Satiromastix

Satiromastix was entered in the Stationers' Register on
11 November 1601 (Arber 1876, 76r) and must have been written
after Jonson's Poetaster which it mocks. In the induction to
Poetaster Envy says "Wonder not if I stare: These fifteene
weekes / (So long as since the plot was but an Embrion) / Haue
I, with burning lights, mixt vigilant thoughts, / In
expectation of this hated Play; / To which (at last) I am
arriu'd as Prologue" (Jonson 1602, A2r). In Satiromastix Tucca
says of an epithalamium composed by Horace (Jonson): "Tuc.
What wut end? wut hang thy selfe now? has he not / writ Finis
yet Iacke? what will he be fifteene weekes about / this
Cockatrices egge too? has hee not cackeld yet? not / laide
yet?" (Dekker 1602, D1v-D2r). Other clear mockeries of
Poetaster contained in Satiromastix are detailed by Small
(1899, 119-26) and Tom Cain (Jonson 1995, 30-6). The final
page of Poetaster in the Jonson folio Workes lists the
principal actors and says the play was "first / acted, in the
yeere / 1601" (Jonson 1616, Gg3v). Cain dated composition
after February 1601 because rebellion was topical: "Although

it has been argued that Cynthia's Revels and Sejanus refer to Essex, the allusions in Poetaster have been largely overlooked amidst arguments about the identifications of writers" (Jonson 1995, 40-1).

Satiromastix must also postdate Essex's rebellion and the 1602 quarto would be eligible for the list of reliable 'Globe plays' were it not for the statement on the title page: "As it hath bin presented publikely, / by the Right Honorable, the Lord Cham- / berlaine his Seruants; and priuately, by the / Children of Paules" (Dekker 1602, A1r). Reavley Gair interpreted the Poetomachia as "a purely contrived situation, a seventeenth-century version of a modern publicity campaign" and thought that Dekker's Satiromastix played at two playhouses because "The Globe and Paul's co-operated to resist the greater popularity of their joint chief rival, the Chapel Children at the Blackfriars" (Gair 1982, 134). Whatever the reason for its performance at Paul's, Satiromastix cannot be considered a 'Globe play'.

Anon. Thomas Lord Cromwell

The title page of the first printing, the 1602 quarto, says that "it hath beene sundrie times pub- / likely Acted by the Right Hono- / rable the Lord Chamberlaine / his Seruants" and gave its author as "W. S." (S 1602, A1r). The entry in the Stationers' Register on 11 August 1602 says "yt was lately Acted by the Lord Chamberleyne his servantes" (Arber 1876, 85v). Baldwin Maxwell argued that the words "hath beene and

lately both suggest performance in the not too distant past" (Maxwell 1956, 103) but neither exclude the possibility that it was acted in the distant past also. The strongest pieces of dating evidence offered by Maxwell are

two possible echoes of Shakespeare which, if they are allowed, indicate that the present form of Cromwell dates no earlier than 1599 or 1600. . . . First, there are the choruses, which, crude and awkward though they be, are nevertheless reminiscent of those in King Henry V in wafting the audience o'er the seas and inviting them to sit and see. Then there is the wholly unhistorical and previously unrecorded incident in which Bedford's messenger brings Cromwell the note of warning and unsuccessfully urges him to read it at once as "it doth concerne you neare," a situation which closely parallels and may perhaps have been suggested by Artemidorus' proffered and rejected schedule in Julius Caesar, III, i. (Maxwell 1956, 102-3)

Maxwell did not quote the choruses he referred to, but presumably the following are appropriate examples:

Enter Chorus.

Cho. Now gentlemen imagine, the young Cromwell,
In Antwerpe Ledger for the English Marchantes:
.
What doth fall out, with patience sit and see,

A iust requitall of false trecherie.

(S 1602, B1v)

Enter Chorus.

Cho.

.
Now let your thoughtes as swift as is the winde,
Skip some few yeares, that Cromwell spent in trauell,
And now imagine him to be in England:
Seruant vnto the maister of the Roules,
Wherein short time where he beganne to florish,
An houre shall you what few yeares did cherish. Exit.

(S 1602, D1v-D2r)

Enter Chorus.

Cho.

.
Pardon if we omit all Wolsayes life,
Because our play dependes on Cromwelles death,
Now sit and see his highest state of all;
His haight of rying: and his sodaine fall,
Pardon the errors is all readie past
And liue in hope the best doth come at last:

(S 1602, D3v)

In their references to compression and discontinuity of space and time, to the selection of discrete moments from the connected sequences of history, and in their request to be

pardoned for these dramatic necessities, the choruses are, as Maxwell claimed, reminiscent of Shakespeare's Henry 5. But such ideas are common in contemporary writing on drama and, since there are no compelling verbal parallels, W. S. need not have drawn them from Shakespeare. Moreover, Maxwell offered no evidence that Shakespeare had not acquired his choruses from Thomas Lord Cromwell. Likewise the only verbal parallel between the rejection of Bedford's letter in Thomas Lord Cromwell ("He doth desire your grace to reade it, / Because he sayes it doth concerne you neare" S 1602, F3r) and the rejection of Artemidorus's schedule in Julius Caesar ("O Caesar, reade mine first: for mine's a suite / That touches Caeser neerer" Shakespeare 1968, TLN 1209-10) is that of "neare" and "neerer", and in any case the direction of borrowing is impossible to determine on the present evidence. Since the play may have been written any time before it was published in 1602, it cannot be considered a reliable 'Globe play'.

Jonson Sejanus

The final page of Sejanus in the folio Workes says it was "first / acted, in the yeere / 1603. By the Kings Maiesties SERVANTS" (Jonson 1616, Oo3v). Philip J. Ayres read this as meaning "between 25 March 1603 and 24 March 1604, the old-style dates for the beginning and end of the year" (Jonson 1990, 9). As discussed above in relation to Every Man out of His Humour and below in relation to Volpone, Jonson was

inconsistent about changing the year number on 25 March but an allusion in Volpone seems to show that the first-performance dates in the Folio are March-March. Working out what Jonson meant by "first acted in the yeere 1603" is important because the playhouses were closed for much of 1603 and 1604. Ayres cited Chambers for his assertion that

. . . because the theatres were closed on account of Elizabeth's death on 24 March 1603, and almost certainly remained closed because of the plague until 9 April 1604, the 1603 production to which the title page of F refers 'may have been at Court in the autumn or winter of 1603' [Chambers 1923c, 367], with the most likely dates being 26, 27, 28 and 30 December 1603, 1 January 1604, and 2 and 19 February 1604 [Chambers 1923b, 210]. (Jonson 1990, 9)

In fact the Privy Council order closing the playhouses was issued on 19 March 1603 in expectation of the queen's death, and the playhouses were probably already closed for Lent. Leeds Barroll reproduced and assessed the evidence for Lenten closure for the period 1580 to 1611 and concluded that it was usual although "enforcement varied in intensity" (Barroll 1991, 212-6). The end of Lent would normally mark the end of closure, but on Easter Sunday April 24 1603 the queen was not yet buried. Playing must have resumed after the queen's funeral on 28 April because on 5 May Henslowe noted that "this daye . . . we leafte of playe now at the kynges cominge" (Foakes & Rickert 1961, 209). On 9 May Henslowe noted "Begininge to playe Agayne by the kynges licence" (Foakes &

Rickert 1961, 225). This second period of opening in May must have been brief because the playhouses were again closed by plague when the King's men received their patent from the king on 19 May 1603:

. . . And the said Com«m»edies tragedies histories Enterludes Morralls Pastoralls Stageplayes and such like to shewe and exercise publiquely to their best Com«m»oditie when the infection of the plague shall decrease . . . (Greg 1910, 264)

Barroll (1991, 104-15) confirmed Chambers's view that the ferocity of the plague kept the playhouse closed from the date of this patent until 9 April 1604 when the privy council issued an order to the lord mayor of London and the justices in Middlesex and Surrey:

. . . we thinke it therefore fitt the time of Lent being now Passt that yo^r L doe Permitt and suffer the three Companies of Plaiers to the King Queene and Prince publickly to Exercise ther Plaies in ther severall and vsual howses for that Purpose and noe other vz The Globe scituate in maiden lane on the Banckside in the Countie of Surrey, the fortun in Golding Lane, and the Curtaine Jn Hollywell in the Cowntie of midlesex wthout any lett of Jnterupcion Jn respect of any former Lre of Prohibition heertofore written by vs to yo^r Lo. Except there shall happen weckly to die of the Plague Aboue the Number of thirtie wth the Cittie of London and the Liberties therof. Att w^{ch} time we

thinke it fitt they shall Cease and forbear any further Publickie to Playe vntill the Sicknes be again deceaced to the saide Number. (Greg 1907, 61-2)

Barroll's work modified Chambers's calendar of closure from the death of Elizabeth on 24 March 1603 to the privy council order of 9 April 1604 by inserting two brief periods of opening (Barroll 1991, 101-4). The first is from no earlier than 29 March 1603, the day after the queen was buried, until 4 May 1603, the day before Henslowe "lefte of playe". The second is from 9 May 1603 when Henslowe was "Begininge to playe Agayne" until no later than 18 May 1603, the day before the King's men patent specifies the conditions for re-opening.

Returning to Sejanus, Ayres leapt from Chambers's comment that the 1603 performance "may have been at Court" to a conclusion that the first Globe performance "must have taken place in 1604", without bringing forward evidence or argument and without considering the possibility that the first performance was on tour (Jonson 1990, 9). Sejanus may have played at the Globe during either of the brief periods of opening in April-May 1603, or any time in January-February 1603 if Jonson was being inconsistent about the start and end of 1603, as Greg noted he could be.

Even if Sejanus was first performed at court this need not concern us greatly since the court was no better equipped than the public playhouses and plays were expected to be first perfected before the public. Jonson would have expected the play to be first performed at the Globe and prevention by

unforeseen circumstances should not exclude the play from a list of 'Globe plays'. However, in the address "To the Readers" in the 1605 quarto Jonson wrote

Lastly I would informe you, that this Booke, in all numbers, is not the same with that which was acted on the publike Stage, wherein a second Pen had good share: in place of which I haue rather chosen, to put weaker (and no doubt lesse pleasing) of mine own, then to defraud so happy a Genius of his right, by my lothed vsurpation. (Jonson 1605, ¶2v)

An unidentifiable but significant portion (a "good share") of the quarto text, then, was not performed on the public stage. The owner of the "second Pen" appears to have been Chapman (Corballis 1979), and had Jonson merely cut his colleague's work then what remained would still qualify as a Globe-only text. But the fact that Jonson admits to insertions after public performance makes the quarto inadmissible to a list of 'Globe plays'.

Anon. The Merry Devil of Edmonton

The play was first printed in a quarto of 1608 whose title page claims it was "sundry times Acted, / by his Maiesties Seruants, at the / Globe" (Anon. 1608, A2r). If the date of printing could be established within the Globe-only period then it would only be necessary to date composition within the Globe-only to designate this a 'Globe play'. But if the play was printed in the third or fourth quarter of 1608 it

might reflect alterations made for staging at the Blackfriars unless we find that the underlying copy was authorial papers from the Globe-only period. No attempt has been made to date the printing or to identify the nature of the copy.

In his edition of the play William Amos Abrams attempted to date composition by showing that Dekker was the author and that in 1601-2 he was not doing anything else (Anon. 1942, 1-103). The play must have been written before 22 March 1604 when Middleton's The Black Book, which mentions it, was entered in the Stationers' Register (Arber 1876, 106v): "giue him leaue to see the merry Diuel of Edmunton, or a Woman kild with kindnesse" (Middleton 1604, C3r). Since the playhouses were closed from no later than 19 May 1603 to 9 April 1604 (see discussion of Sejanus above), Middleton's reference means that the play must have been in performance before 19 May 1603.

Fleay dated the play before December 1597 for two reasons (Fleay 1891a, 137-61; Fleay 1891b, 313-4). The first was that in Shakespeare's The Merchant of Venice Jessica calls Launcelot a "merry deuill" (Shakespeare 1600b, C4r). Since The Merchant of Venice was entered in the Stationers' Register on 22 July 1598 (Arber 1876, 39v) then allusion to it, if accepted, means that The Merry Devil of Edmonton must have already been in performance by this date. The second strand of Fleay's argument was that Michael Drayton was the author of The Merry Devil of Edmonton and since he wrote solely for the Admiral's men from 1598 to 1603 he must have written the play before he began working for Henslowe. Abrams rejected the

first piece of evidence because it places The Merry Devil of Edmonton before The Merchant of Venice and yet Shakespeare's "my ducats/my daughter" speech (Shakespeare 1600b, D4r) is, according to Abrams, clearly parodied in a similar speech in The Merry Devil of Edmonton:

Sir Ar. Who? or what are thou?

Bri. My name is Brian, keeper of this walke.

Sir Rap. O Brian a villain,

Thou hast receiued my daughter to thy lodge.

Bri. You haue stolne the best Deere in my walke to night, my Deere.

Sir Ar. My daughter,

Stop not my way

Bri. What make you in my walke? you have stolne the best Bucke in my walke to night.

Sir Ar. My daughter.

Bri. My Deere.

(Anon. 1608, E2v-E3r)

Abrams argued that Shakespeare's famous speech could not be a parody and hence it must be the earlier of the two (Anon. 1942, 29). Abrams noted that Manly, Hopkinson, Oliphant, Hotson, Creizenach, and Lawrence dated The Merry Devil of Edmonton by vague stylistic criteria and formed a broad consensus that it was composed in the period 1597-1603 (Anon. 1942, 29-30).

Abrams rejected the second strand of Fleay's dating of the play, based on identifying Michael Drayton as its author, by presenting a strong case that Dekker was the author (Anon.

1942, 62-103). Abrams showed that The Merry Devil of Edmonton contains many unusual phrases and ideas which are characteristic of Dekker's work. One of Abrams's examples (Anon. 1942, 76) was the "egg of the cockatrice" which occurs in The Merry Devil of Edmonton in the phrase: "I could fight now for all the world like a Cockatrices ege" (Anon. 1608, F3r) and in Dekker's Satiromastix: "will he bee fifteene weekes about this Cockatrices egge too?" (Dekker 1602, D1v). Another of Abrams's examples (Anon. 1942, 77) was the expression "hot-shots" which occurs in The Merry Devil of Edmonton in the phrase "you are a couple of hot-shots" (Anon. 1608, E2r) and in several works by Dekker:

Old Fortunatus: "heelee leade the world in a string,
and then (like a hot / shot) Ile charge and discharge
all" (Dekker 1600, D3v)

Sir Thomas Wyat: "he knowes you to be eager men, /
marttal men, men of good stomacke, verie hot shots, /
verie actious for valour" (Dekker & Webster 1607, E1v)

If It Be Not Good, the Devil Is In It: "Sol. Does my
stump grieue you? / Bri. Not if you bestir your stumps
numbly sir. / Nar. What hot shot's this? / Sol. A
Souldier sir: thats all:" (Dekker 1612, D4v)

News from Hell: "And such dangerous hot shottes are all the women there, that whosoeuer meddles with any of them is sure to be burnt" (Dekker 1606, B4r)

Strange Horse-race: "Out of these Rankes were those Hot-shots (the Masquers) drawne, whom I leaue to double their Files by themselues, because I see the Reare-ward comming vp, and I must likewise teach them their Postures" (Dekker 1613, F2v)

News from Gravesend: ". . . it is the most excellent place for dispatching of old suites in the world, for a number of riding suites (that had lyen long in lauander) were worne out there, only with seuing amongst the hot shots, that marcht there vp and downe . . ."
(Anon. 1604, C1r)

From the large collection of Dekkerisms in The Merry Devil of Edmonton Abrams made a convincing case for his authorship.

However, Abrams's argument for dating the play, a summary of which follows, was less convincing (Anon. 1942, 25-6). The earliest record of Dekker's work is Henslowe's payment to him on 8 January 1598 (Foakes & Rickert 1961, 86), but Meres counted him among "our best for Tragedie" (Meres 1598, Oo3r) in 1598, which indicates that he was no newcomer. According to Greg's tabular summary of the evidence in Henslowe's accounts (confirmed by Carson 1988, 104-16), Dekker wrote two plays alone and collaborated in fourteen others during 1598 (Greg

1908, 367). In 1599 he wrote four plays alone and collaborated in six others, and revised Old Fortunatus. In 1600 Dekker wrote one play alone, collaborated in four others, and altered one 1598 play for Court performance. There is no record for any work other than alterations between September 1600 and April 1601. In 1602 Dekker was paid for five collaborated pieces, one comedy alone, and some miscellaneous alterations and additions (Greg 1908, 368). Dekker was an actor as well as a playwright and unlike Heywood was not under sole contract to Henslowe. The earliest record of Dekker's relation with the Chamberlain's men is Henslowe's payment 2 pounds and 10 shillings "to descarge Thomas dickers frome the a reaste of my lord chamberlenes men" (Foakes & Rickert 1961, 104) on 30 January 1598. In 1601 he wrote Satiromastix for the Chamberlain's men and his output for Henslowe declined. From this Abrams argued that in 1598 and 1599 Dekker was too busy to have written The Merry Devil of Edmonton. After September 1600 Dekker seems to be doing little for Henslowe and he is known to have worked for the Chamberlain's men shortly thereafter. Abrams concluded "If he wrote The Merry Devil of Edmonton, he would seem to have done so between 1601 and May 17, 1603. In the light of our present knowledge, a more definite date cannot be assigned" (Anon. 1942, 36).

Abrams's argument suggests a period in which Dekker would have had better opportunity to write The Merry Devil of Edmonton than hitherto, but there is no evidence that he did so. For our purposes eliminating the possibility of composition in the pre-Globe-only period is all that matters,

but Abrams's argument is weakest at this point. The fact that Dekker is known to have written two plays in 1598 hardly excludes the possibility that he wrote a third, nor do four plays in 1599 make a fifth much less likely. Moreover, Meres's attestation of Dekker's accomplishments makes it quite plausible that the play was written in 1597 or earlier. With no other evidence to date composition the play cannot be included in a list of 'Globe plays'.

Anon. The London Prodigal

The title page of the only early printing, a quarto of 1605, says it was "plaide by the Kings Maiesties seruants" (Anon. 1605b, A1r). Maxwell rejected Fleay's identification of evidence that the play was written after James's accession, but incorrectly cited the source of this argument which I have been unable to determine (Maxwell 1958, 175; Fleay 1891a, 152). The following discussion of Fleay's work depends upon Maxwell's account of it. The first piece of evidence is the statement by Sir Arthur Green-shood: "I am a commander syr vnder the King" (Anon. 1605b, B3r). Baldwin pointed out that "Queen" might simply have been changed to "King" after the accession (Maxwell 1958, 175). The second is the following exchange which Fleay claimed as an allusion to Robert Armin:

Luce. O here God, so young an armine.

Flow. Armine sweet-heart, I know not what you meane by that, but I am almost a begger.

(Anon. 1605b, G1r)

Fleay thought that Armin joined the company in 1603 and "took the part of Matthew Flowerdale", but Maxwell pointed out that "armine" is formed from the Dutch adjective "arm" and is merely part of Luce's pretended Dutch character (Maxwell 1958, 175). In any case Armin joined the company in 1599 to replace the departed Will Kemp (Chambers 1923b, 299-300; Gurr 1996a, 291). Maxwell found what he thought to be an echo of Shakespeare's Romeo and Juliet in The London Prodigal:

Flow. Vse her, theres neuer a gentlewoman in England could be better vsed then I did her, I could but Coatch her, her diet stood me in fortie pound a moneth, but shee is dead and in her graue, my cares are buried. (Anon. 1605b, G1v)

Maxwell likened this to Capulet's "alacke my child is dead, / And with my child my ioyes are buried" (Shakespeare 1599, K2v) which first appeared in the 1599 quarto. If the echo is accepted then

. . . the author of The Prodigal could not have found Capulet's lines in print before 1599 and was not likely to have heard them on the stage before the date Romeo and Juliet was first presented, be that date 1591, as earlier critics suggested, or 1595, as most modern critics prefer.

(Maxwell 1958, 177)

Maxwell ignored the possibility that the echo is due to Shakespeare borrowing from the author of The London Prodigal and even if Baldwin is right the terminus a quo 1595 (the likely date of composition of Romeo and Juliet, Wells et al.

1987, 118) is earlier than the construction of the Globe. In the absence of evidence dating composition of The London Prodigal in the Globe-only period it cannot be included in a list of 'Globe plays'.

Anon. The Fair Maid of Bristol

The play was entered in the Stationers' Register on 8 February 1605 (Arber 1876, 120r) and a quarto appeared in the same year (Anon. 1605a). The play has received little attention and no critical editions exist. In a reprint of the 1605 quarto, Arthur Hobson Quinn made a detailed comparison of the play with the work of John Day and found against Day as the author, with no other candidates appearing likely (Anon. 1902, 14-22). The title page of the quarto claims to reproduce the play "As it was plaide at Hampton, before the / King and Queenes most excellent / Maiesties" (Anon. 1605a, A1r). From this Quinn dated the first performance:

As Mr. Fleay points out, the King was at Hampton Court early in October, 1604, so that we may reasonably conclude that the first performance took place at this time, and as the winter home of the King's company during this period was the Blackfriars' Theatre, it seems probable that this was the place where the comedy, if it proved popular, was afterward acted. (Anon. 1902, 8)

This statement is triply wrong: a play did not have to be new to be performed before the royal family (it merely had to be

new to the most senior royal present), the Blackfriars was not the company's winter home at this time, and public performance was supposed to precede, not follow, royal performance. In the absence of evidence dating composition of The Fair Maid of Bristow within the Globe-only period it must be excluded from a list of 'Globe plays'.

Jonson Volpone

The final page of Volpone in the Jonson folio Workes says it "was first / acted, in the yeere / 1605. / By the Kings Maiesties / SERVANTS" (Jonson 1616, Xx4v) and there is no reason to doubt this statement. R. B. Parker dated composition by Sir Politick's question "Were there three Porcpisces seene, aboute the Bridge, As they giue out?" and Peregrine's statement that "The very day / (Let me be sure) that I put forth from London, / There was a Whale discover'd, in the riuer, / As high as Woollwich" (Jonson 1607, D2v; Jonson 1983, 8-9). Parker identified these as allusions to the incidents recorded in Howe's continuation of Stow's Annals for 19 January 1606: "a great Porpus was taken aliue at Westham . . . & within few dayes after, a very great Whale came vp within 8. mile of Lon.", which a marginal note summarizes as "A great Whale came vp as high as Woollwich" (Stow 1615, Eeee2r). The repetition of "as high as Woolwich" eliminates coincidence but since Volpone was printed before this edition of the Annals, which is unlikely to consciously borrow from a dramatist, the phrase was presumably used in word-of-mouth transmission of the story

of the incident. This allusion indicates that the play was composed and first performed between 19 January 1606 and 24 March 1606. That is to say, the allusion requires acceptance that the year "1606" given in the Folio refers to 25 March 1605 to 24 March 1606. As Parker noted, Greg found difficulty in accepting this proposition (Jonson 1983, 9). Greg correctly identified this allusion as crucial to the discussion of Jonson's chronological habit, but apparently failed to notice the marginal entry in the Annals which eliminates the possibility of coincidence:

Now, although this entry is incorrectly described by the poet's latest editors as being 'in terms almost identical with Jonson's' (for West Ham, far from being above London Bridge, is barely above Woolwich), there is a good deal of weight in the contention that dramatist and annalist are alluding to the same events. Conclusive, however, it is not . . . (Greg 1926, 345)

If the topical allusion is accepted (and with coincidence eliminated there seems no reason to reject it) then all the dates of first performance in the Jonson Folio must be interpreted as 'March-March' rather than 'January-December'. This has a bearing on the dating of Sejanus discussed above. Whatever the precise date of composition and first performance of Volpone, the Folio date makes 1 January 1605 the terminus a quo of first performance and hence the 1607 quarto is a 'Globe play'.

Anon. A Yorkshire Tragedy

The play was entered in the Stationers' Register on 2 May 1608 (Arber 1876, 167r) and printed in a quarto which claims it was "Acted by his Maiesties Players at / the Globe" (Shakespeare 1608d, A1r). The sole source for the drama is the prose pamphlet Two Most Unnaturall and Bloodie Murthers (Anon. 1605c) which was entered in the Stationers' Register on 12 June 1605 (Arber 1876, 124v), which provides the earliest date of composition. A. C. Cawley and Barry Gaines pointed out that oaths ("Slidd", "Sbloud", "sfot" Shakespeare 1608d, A2r, C3v, C4v) suggest composition before the act of 27 May 1606 restraining 'abuses' in plays (Anon. 1986, 1). A second pamphlet called The Araignement Condemnacon and Excucon of Master Caverly at York in August 1605 was registered on 24 August 1605 (Arber 1876, 128r) and, although no copies survive, the title suggests that it relates the conclusion of the infamous true story. Maxwell pointed out that A Yorkshire Tragedy does not conclude the story, which is an unlikely omission unless it was written before the second pamphlet (Maxwell 1956, 177). The topical interest of the story also points to composition of the play shortly after, and to capitalize upon, publication of the first pamphlet in 1605.

Because the play was not printed until 1608 there arises a possibility that the text reflects performance, or at least alteration for performance, at the Blackfriars. As discussed above, once the King's men formed a consortium to manage the Blackfriars in August 1608 any dramatist writing a new play

for the company, or altering an old one, could expect it would be performed at the new venue. Cawley and Gaines noted that the title page of 1608 quarto contains the device and initials of the printer Richard Bradock, who appears to have sold up his printing business by 19 October 1608 (Anon. 1986, 27). An entry in the records of the Court of the Stationers' Company made on this day indicates completion of the deal:

This day vpon the sute of William Hall and Thomas Havylynd / They haue the Consent of the Company in full Courte holden this day to Contracte wth Richard Braddocke for his printinge stuffe & to vse the same themselues in their arte of printinge as p«ar»teners in one printinge house.

(Jackson, William A. 1957, 36)

This indicates that the quarto was printed between 2 May 1608, when it was entered in the Stationers' Register, and 19 October 1608. Cawley and Gaines noted evidence that the play was printed from foul papers (Anon. 1986, 28-9). Stage directions are lacking for the entrance of Sam in scene 1, the exit of a servant in scene 2, the exit of Wife at the end of scene 3, and the mass exit at the end of the play (Shakespeare 1608d, A2v, B1v, B4v, D3v). Some directions are imprecise: "Furnisht with things from London", "Enters a knight with two or three Gentlemen" (Shakespeare 1608d, A2v, D1v). Cawley and Gaines felt that amid the anonymous servants

The character of a single concerned servant who appears in Scenes iii, v and vii on behalf of his mistress seems to emerge from the text, but this

character is not clearly distinguished in the stage directions or speech prefixes. (Anon. 1986, 28) Cawley and Gaines felt that the text lacked the "tell-tale signs of memorial contamination such as mishearings and repetitions" as well as other signs such as "Stage directions which provide stage business . . . [as] a substitute for dialogue" which point to memorial reconstruction by reporters and/or actors (Anon. 1986, 29). The quarto appears to have been based on foul papers, which would have been written between 12 June 1605, when the first pamphlet was entered in the Stationers' Register, and 24 August 1605 when the second pamphlet was registered. Although the quarto might have been printed after the Blackfriars became available to the King's men, the underlying text predates the availability of a second venue and must represent intended staging at the Globe.

Tourneur (?) The Revenger's Tragedy

The play was entered in the Stationers' Register on 7 October 1607 by George Eld (Arber 1876, 158v) who produced a quarto (Tourneur 1608). Some copies of the quarto are dated 1607 and others 1608 because the final digit was changed during press correction (Greg 1970, 385; Price 1960, 270-1). No hard evidence dating composition has been found. Foakes noted similarities to Middleton's A Mad World, my Masters; The Phoenix; and Blurt, Master Constable, Marston's Antonio's Revenge and The Fawn, and Shakespeare's Hamlet and King Lear (Tourneur 1966, lxvi-lxix). However, none of these can be

shown to be borrowings by the author of The Revenger's Tragedy rather than the reverse and so none can help date the play. Foakes overstated the value of these parallels:

It seems very likely that The Revenger's Tragedy was written in 1605-6, since it may owe something not only to King Lear, but to Volpone (written 1605, published 1607) in its satirical tone and its characters with type-names. Even if these debts can be discounted, it can hardly have been written much earlier because of its connections with Hamlet and with plays by Marston; it is without doubt a play conceived and staged in the early years of the reign of James I. (Tourneur 1966, lxix)

Without evidence suggesting the direction of influence where parallels are found such parallels are useless for dating a play. Macd. P. Jackson added to the weight of evidence that Middleton was the author by showing that it contains Middletonian characteristics (for example, the avoidance of "hath", "doth" and "ye") which are distinct in a statistically significant way from the practices of Tourneur and other dramatists (Jackson, Macd P. 1979, 33-40). Demonstration of Middleton's authorship does not of itself help to date the play. In the absence of evidence dating composition of The Revenger's Tragedy within the Globe-only period it must be excluded from a list of 'Globe plays'.

Barnes The Devil's Charter

The title page of the only early printing, a quarto of 1607, claims that the text within reflects the play "As it was plaide before the Kings Maiestie, / vpon Candlemasse night last: by his / Maiesties Seruants" (Barnes 1607, A1r). Jim C. Pogue believed that this court performance was probably "among the first for the play" because plays were tested in the public theatres and then brought to court (Barnes 1980, 2-3). This would date composition to 1606. However, there was nothing to prevent the players offering a revived play for court performance, as they did with Love's Labour's Lost in 1604 (Chambers 1930b, 332). The title page alone cannot be used to date the play but internal evidence suggests that it was composed in or after 1599. Dependence upon source material available in Geoffrey Fenton's 1579 and 1599 translations of Guicciardini's La Historia d'Italia (Barnes 1904, vi-vii) is inconclusive because Barnes's familiarity with Italian texts by Machiavelli (Eccles 1933, 236-8) indicates that he could have read Italian editions of Guicciardini of the 1560s and 1570s. However, if we accept dependence upon Georg Rudolff Widman's Der Dritte Theil Der Historien von Doct. Johanne Fausto, dem Ertzzeuberer und Schwartzkünstener, printed in Hamburg in 1599, then this date is the terminus a quo for composition. Neither McKerrow nor Pogue was entirely satisfied that Barnes must have had a copy of Widman's text in front of him (Barnes 1904, ix-xi; Barnes 1980, 12-5). We cannot, therefore, be sure that Barnes's The Devil's Charter was

written for the Globe, since it might have been written before 1599. Moreover, the title page claims that the text within represents the play as performed for the king "But more exactly reuiewed, corrected, and augmen- / ted since by the Author, for the more plea- / sure and profit of the Reader" (Barnes 1607, A1r). This might suggest that the stage directions have been altered to help the reader visualize the action. The play must be excluded from a list of reliable 'Globe plays'.

Wilkins The Miseries of Enforced Marriage

The play was entered in the Stationers' Register on 31 July 1607 (Arber 1876, 157r) and the title page of the quarto printed later that year claims to represent the play "As it is now playd by his Maiesties / Seruants (Wilkins 1607, A1r). Glenn H. Blayney noted (Wilkins 1964, vi-vii) that the play is based on the story of the Calverly murders for which the major source is the prose pamphlet Two Most Unnaturall and Bloodie Murthers (Anon. 1605c) which was entered in the Stationers' Register on 12 June 1605 (Arber 1876, 124v), providing the earliest date of composition. Maxwell argued that the abundance of religious profanities indicates that the underlying manuscript predates the act of 27 May 1606 restraining 'abuses' in plays (Maxwell 1956, 180-2). The 1607 quarto was written and printed well within the boundaries we are concerned with and so reliably represents performance at the Globe.

9.5 The Reliable Globe Plays

The above examination eliminates 20 of the plays from initial list of 29, leaving the following 9. Where multiple early printings exist the unreliable printings, if any, have been removed.

- 1 Jonson Every Man out of His Humour, Q (1600)
- 2 Shakespeare Henry 5, Q1 (1600) F (1623)
- 3 Shakespeare Hamlet, Q2 (1604-5)
- 4 Shakespeare King Lear, Q1 (1607-8)
- 5 Jonson Volpone, Q (1607)
- 6 Anon. A Yorkshire Tragedy, Q (1608)
- 7 Shakespeare Antony and Cleopatra, F (1623)
- 8 Wilkins The Miseries of Enforced Marriage, Q (1607)
- 9 Shakespeare Timon of Athens, F (1623)

APPENDIX 2: INTERPRETING THE PLATTER ACCOUNT

The account of visits to London playhouses in 1599 by Thomas Platter, a Swiss visitor, is an important document for students of the Elizabethan theatre. Unfortunately the translations made by E. K. Chambers (Chambers 1923b, 365-6) and Clare Williams (Williams, Clare 1937, 166) were imperfect and the superior work of Ernest Schanzer will be used here (Schanzer 1956).

Platter's account of a play "about the first Emperor Julius Caesar" is frequently cited (for example Taylor 1984, 195) as evidence that Shakespeare's Julius Caesar was in performance by 21 September 1599, the date the account was written. This part of Platter's account reads:

On the 21st of September, after dinner, at about two o'clock, I went with my party across the water; in the straw-thatched house we saw the tragedy of the first Emperor Julius Caesar, very pleasingly performed, with approximately fifteen characters; at the end of the play they danced together admirably and exceedingly gracefully, according to their custom, two in each group dressed in men's and two in women's apparel. (Schanzer 1956, 436)

Platter's account of an unknown play at the Curtain (discussed below) indicates that he lodged north of the river, so "across the water" means Southwark. There were three playhouses in Southwark but the Swan had been closed since 1597 (Wickham 1969), so Platter must have gone to either the Rose or the

Globe. Platter's phrase "the straw-thatched house" might be intended to indicate which playhouse he went to, but there is clear evidence that both playhouses were thatched. Accounts of the burning of the Globe indicate that its roof was made of thatch (Chambers 1923b, 419-23; Woudhuysen 1984). Amongst Henslowe's payments for alterations to the Rose in 1592 are eight separate payments to "the thecher" or "the thechers man" ranging from three shillings to twenty shillings and one "vnto the thecher a bondell of lathes" of twelve pence (Foakes & Rickert 1961, 10-2). Only the last payment mentions materials so presumably the other eight are labour and, since they total 2 pounds and 15 shillings the work required must have been substantial. John Norden's engraved panorama Civitas Londini with its inset map which misnames the Rose "the Stare" both show the Rose to be thatched (Foakes 1985, 10-3). Excavations on the site of the Rose show a rainwater erosion line in the yard. Thatched roofing does not permit the attachment of gutters and if Henslowe had gone to the expense of using tiles he would also have used gutters, so the erosion line indicates that the roof was thatched (Bowsher & Blatherwick 1990, 63; Orrell 1990, 110). Whatever Platter's intention, "the house with the straw-thatched roof" was not an unambiguous label.

The Oxford editors assumed that the play was Shakespeare's because "Henslowe's records for that year give no indication of any such play in their [the Admiral's men's] repertoire" (Wells et al. 1987, 121) but there are no records at all for the Admiral's men in the summer of 1599. Taylor commented that "Philip Henslowe's dramatic records for the

Admiral's men--which are quite full for 1599--record no Caesar play in the repertoire" (Taylor 1984, 195n9). After October 1597 Henslowe ceased to note play titles in his record of income so we have little evidence for the company's repertoire. Payments to dramatists tell us of new works entering the repertoire but "seser and pompey", which played in 1594-5 (Carrot 1984, 25-7, 30) might have been revived in 1599. Henslowe made no records of income between 3 June and 6 October 1599 and Carol Chillington Rutter thought that this indicates that the Rose was closed for the summer (Rutter 1984, 168). The absence cannot be due to a sheet being lost to us since, although the 6 October entry begins a new list for the autumn season on folio 62v, a list on folio 48v places a copy of the entries for 6 October and 13 October on adjacent lines directly after the 3 June entry (Foakes & Rickert 1961, 95, 120-1). The list of receipts for the autumn season is headed "Heare I begane to Receue the gallereys agayne / w^{ch} theye Receued begynnyng at myhellmas wecke / being the 6 of octob<er>" which might suggest that the Rose was open during the summer but Henslowe was not receiving any income. It is difficult to imagine how such a state of affairs could have arisen.

The picture becomes muddier still when touring is taken into consideration. Gurr noted that

. . . between August 1597 and late 1599, the company appears to have stayed entirely 'at home'. There were no plague stoppages through the seven summers between early 1596 and March 1603, and the company

appears to have enjoyed its new right to remain permanently in London. (Gurr 1996a, 242)

If so, the gap in Henslowe's receipts cannot be due to the touring because of plague restriction. But the company did tour in late 1599 just when Henslowe's records of income recommence:

Bristol Sept.-Dec. 1599 'to my Lorde Hawardes players', 30s. / Leicester Oct. 1599 'to the Lorde Hawardes playars more then was gathered', 18s. 8d. / Coventry 28 Dec. 1599 'the Lord hawardes players', 10s (Gurr 1996a, 255)

There are as yet no published volumes of the series Records of Early English Drama, Gurr's source, for Bristol or Leicester but the volume for Coventry confirms that two days before Henslowe received 10 pounds and 8 shillings for "the gallereys" on 30 December 1599, the Admiral's men received 10 shillings in Coventry (Foakes & Rickert 1961, 120; Ingram, R. W. 1981, 355). It would have been possible to travel from Coventry to London in two days, but if Gurr's figures for Bristol and Leicester are correct we must either imagine the company rushing to and from London or find another explanation.

Gurr noted that in the early 1590s more than one group of players was using the name of Lord Howard, the Lord Admiral (Gurr 1996a, 234-7) and this explanation would fit the surviving records for late 1599 also. Another explanation would be that Henslowe's receipts are not for the Rose but elsewhere, perhaps the income from the tour. Neil Carson noted

that cumulative dating errors in Henslowe's accounts are difficult to understand unless entries were made in batches (Carson 1988, 16). If this is so then Henslowe's weekly receipts for autumn 1599 do not indicate that he was in contact with the players. Gurr noted that after the departure of three of the Admiral's men sharers to the Swan in 1597 Henslowe's relationship with the company changed: ". . . his involvement became much more like that of a manager of a playing company than the owner of a playhouse" (Gurr 1996a, 239-40). It is possible that Henslowe's records for gallery receipts beginning 6 October 1599 represent the takings on tour, although "gallereys" are unlikely to have been a feature of every venue encountered on tour. It is possible that, like our term 'the gate', "the gallereys" metonymically indicates Henslowe's share of the receipts. It is clear that our understanding of Henslowe's records is incomplete and hence they cannot with safety be relied upon to disambiguate the Platter account. Surveying the evidence, Schanzer noted the scholarly tendency to wish-fulfilment and cautioned that "At the very most we can say with Kittredge that the Caesar play seen by Platter 'was in all probability Shakespeare's play' and that, if this was so, the performance witnessed by Platter was given at the Globe" (Schanzer 1956, 467). However even this is insufficiently cautious since we have no means to guess at the likelihood that it was Shakespeare's play.

Immediately following the account of a play about Julius Caesar, Platter wrote:

On another occasion, also after dinner, I saw a play not far from our inn, in the suburb, at Bishopsgate, as far as I remember. There they presented various nations with whom each time an Englishman fought for a maiden, and overcame them all, except the German, who won the maiden in fights, sits down beside her, and hence got himself and his servant very fuddled so that they both became drunk, and the servant threw his shoe at his master's head, and they both fell asleep. Meanwhile the Englishman went [or, possibly, "climbed"] into the tents, and carries off the German's prize, and so he outwits the German too. At the end they danced, too, very gracefully, in the English and the Irish mode.

(Schanzer 1956, 466)

The playhouse referred to here must be the Curtain, since this was the only one located on the north side of the river in 1599. In his discussion of the passage, Schanzer pointed out that "die Zelten" means "the tents", and not "the tent", as Chambers and Williams rendered it. This is significant because scholars (for example, C. Walter Hodges) had taken this singularity to imply the existence of a permanent tent-like structure as a standard feature of playhouses. A. M. Nagler took "die Zelten" to mean "the tent", although he did not share the view that the tent-like structure was a permanent feature of the playhouse, and indeed his thesis depended upon the use of portable structures. But like Hodges, Nagler took the word "Zelten" as a description of the theatrical property

itself rather than, or as well as, the play-world object that it denoted. That is, he believed that Platter's use of the "Zelten" indicated that a curtained booth was used in the performance, and supported his thesis that such stage furniture was common (Nagler 1958a, 30). Nagler argued that the use of "Zelt" to mean 'stage mansions' in the stage directions of two German plays, Martin Montanus's Von zweien Römern (sometime after 1560) and Johannes Heros's Der irrdisch Pilgerer (1562), supported this reading of Platter's account (Nagler 1958a, 30-1).

Williams believed that Wilhelm Creizenach had identified what Platter saw as the lost play The White Tragedy, but this was merely a misreading of Creizenach's work (Williams, Clare 1937, 238n; Creizenach 1918, 47). Since we do not know the play seen by Platter we cannot be sure whether his "tents" are stage properties or merely the imagined locations. Nagler's argument would be powerful if we knew that the play described had no scenes in which tents are to be imagined, since Platter must therefore have used the word "Zelten" to describe the appearance of the stage properties. But Platter might be referring to the 'represented' location, rather than the 'representing' property, and this is a possibility Nagler does not consider. However, the balance of probabilities is in favour of Platter's "Zelten" being stage properties which looked like tents because it is likely he could not have determined what was being represented without a strong visual clue.

Platter did not understand English (Williams, Clare 1937, 129-32), and he appears to have attended the play alone. The account of the play about the Emperor Caesar specifies that Platter went in company and the dramatic report begins "we saw"; his switch to "I saw" for the report of the unnamed play suggests he had no companions. The oddness of his description of the action of the play, which relates a series of stage actions lacking obvious causal connection, might suggest that he scarcely understood what he saw. Peter Wiles thought that the play might have starred Will Kemp because he saw an allusion to it in Jonson's Every Man out of His Humour when Carlo says "I warrant you: would I had one of Kemps shoes to throw after you" (Jonson 1600a, 01r; Wiles 1987, 36). Throwing a shoe is not sufficiently unusual a piece of business for this claim to carry much weight. Platter's description of the play suggests that he was unable to make sense of the dialogue, and without a companion to tell him what was happening, Platter is unlikely to have written that "the Englishman went [or, possibly, 'climbed'] into the tents" unless he saw objects that looked like tents.

11.1 Lawrence's Problematic Designation of the Stage
Balcony

In The Elizabethan Playhouse and Other Studies (1912) W. J. Lawrence argued that the term "Lords Room" found in contemporary documents referred to a spectating position in the stage balcony available to the most socially elevated members of the audience. It is not clear whether there was more than one such room, or how many lords it may have held, and I will retain the uncertainty by using the terms "Lords Room" and "Lords Rooms" without an apostrophe. Lawrence's conclusion that the Lords Room was in the stage balcony has been largely accepted and repeated with little revaluation of the evidence upon which it was based. The evidence for the use of the stage balcony as a spectating position is overwhelming, and has been cogently organized by Richard Hosley (1957a). That this position was known as the Lords Room has not, however, been adequately shown, and there are good reasons to suspect that this term actually referred to some other spectating position.

The evidence consists primarily of allusions in early printed texts, dramatic and non-dramatic, plus three pictures: De Witt's sketch of the Swan (1596), the vignette on the title-page of William Alabaster's Roxana (1632), and the frontispiece from Henry Marsh's The Wits (1662), all of which are reproduced in Foakes 1985. These pictures show persons,

probably spectators, in the stage balcony. Although I will refer in passing to the De Witt drawing, none of these illustrations can directly help us determine the location of Lords Room because no such label appears in them. In this appendix the textual evidence will be organized into two categories: that which explicitly uses the term 'Lords Room', and that which refers to a position 'over the stage'. To avoid confusion the term 'gallery' will be used to denote only the auditorium scaffold encircling the stage and the yard (at the public amphitheatres), or the stage and the pit (at the private playhouses). The wide aperture half way up the frons scenae will be referred to as the 'stage balcony'.

The single most important piece of evidence, which refers to the Lords Room explicitly and in detail, is Thomas Dekker's The Guls Horne-booke (1609). Examination of the relevant passage will indicate that there is a problem with locating the Lords Room in the stage balcony:

Whether therefore the gatherers of the publique or priuate Play-house stand to receiue the afternoones rent, let our Gallant (hauing paid it) presently aduance himselfe vp to the Throne of the Stage. I meane not into the Lords roome, (which is now but the Stages Suburbs) No, those boxes by the iniquity of custome, conspiracy of waiting-women and Gentlemen-Ushers, that there sweat together, and the couetousness of Sharers, are contemptibly thrust

into the reare, and much new Satten is there dambd
by being smothred to death in darknesse.

(Dekker 1609a, E2r)

Dekker's shift from a singular 'Lords roome' to a plurality of 'boxes' suggests that 'room' is being used not in the sense of 'An interior portion of a building divided off by walls or partitions' (OED sb. 8a) but rather of 'A place in which one is stationed or seated; a particular place assigned or appropriated to a person or thing' (OED sb. 11a). Both meanings were available to Dekker, but the alternative term 'chamber' was more commonly used when the former sense was required by writers of the period. This potential ambiguity must be borne in mind when considering any evidence which refers to a 'room' or 'rooms'. Dekker's Gallant of 1609 could sit either in the Lords Room or on the stage. The disadvantage of the former is that it has been "contemptibly thrust into the reare" and made dark. This can be explained in several different ways. It may be that playhouse design has changed and the Lords Room has been moved. It could be that the terminology itself has altered and now refers to a less favourable position in the playhouse. It is possible that Dekker is using "thrust into the reare" metaphorically (as he certainly is using "suburbs") and that we need look no further than Lawrence's explanation that the Lords Room was not attracting the quality that it used to (Lawrence 1912, 31). The simplest explanation, however, and the one that does most justice to Dekker's satirical purpose in this work, is that the very practice of sitting on the stage had effectively

relegated the Lords Room to an inferior position by obscuring it. The gallant should sit on the stage because, if he were to sit in the Lords Room, he would be obscured by others sitting on the stage. Presumably the "couetousness of Sharers" refers to the management's toleration of the practice because of the extra revenue generated. Certainly the Lords Room is represented as having declined in social status as a consequence of the increasing popularity of sitting on the stage. The ironic force of the passage, however, is in the rapidity with which onstage sitting becomes essential for the gallants because they cannot bear to be eclipsed: as soon as a few sit there they all must sit there.

Taken literally, Dekker's description of the change in aspect of the Lords Room at both the public and private playhouses raises an immediate problem. If the Lords Room is located in the stage balcony, an elevated position, no amount of crowding of the stage by sitters will obscure it. One way around this problem is to argue, as Herbert Berry did, that the Lords Room was in the stage balcony at the public playhouses only, and that at the private playhouses the term referred to boxes at the side and the back of the stage which were insufficiently elevated to clear the heads of onstage sitters (Berry 1987, 50-66). This argument requires that Dekker was referring primarily to the private playhouses when he wrote of the darkening of the Lords Room, and that the only reason he used the phrase "the publique or priuate Play-house" was that the practice of onstage sitting was, by 1609, common to both. Indeed Berry thought that Dekker referred to "gulls

moving onto the stage from 'boxes' vaguely in the 'reare'" and hence this can be applied to "Shakespearean playhouses generally" (Berry 1987, 65). Berry had to characterize Dekker as vague because he believed that at the public playhouses the Lords Room was in the stage balcony, which is much more above than it is behind the gallants on the stage, and he ignored the problem of those on the stage darkening the Lords Room. Such reasoning is disconsonant both with the passage in question and with the rest of the evidence concerning playhouses in The Guls Horne-booke. It is also unnecessary since a more reasonable solution is available. Before considering the two main categories of evidence, it is worth considering the origins of the practice of sitting on the stage.

11.2 The Origins of Sitting on the Stage

E. K. Chambers believed that sitting on the stage first began before 1596, on the evidence of two epigrams by Sir John Davies (Chambers 1923b, 535). In one of these, 'In Sillam', Davies mentioned "He that dares take Tabaco on the stage" (Davies & Marlowe 1595, C2r) and in another, 'In Rufum', he described the actions of a gallant:

Rvfus the Courtier at the theatre,
Leauing the best and most conspicuous place,
Doth either to the stage himself transfer,
Or through a grate doth shew his doubtfull face.
(Davies & Marlowe 1595, A4r)

Chambers, following C. R. Baskervill, believed these epigrams to have been written no later than 1596 (Baskervill 1911, 582-3). The subsequent discovery of a manuscript belonging to Davies's acquaintance Leweston Fitzjames fixed the date of composition firmly within 1595-6 (Krueger 1962). No private theatres were open at this time, Paul's having closed in 1590 or 1591 (Gair 1982, 112), so Davies must have been referring to public playhouse practice. John Orrell suggested that the provision of a stage cover encouraged well-dressed spectators to begin sitting on the stage (Orrell 1988, 90). Davies's 'In Rufum' is of further interest because the "grate" through which Rufus "doth shew his doubtfull face" was presumably the stage balcony with its vertical divisions separating the rooms. Since Rufus might move either onto the stage or into the stage balcony, his original location (the "best and most conspicuous place") must have been neither of these. If the Lords Room was in the stage balcony there must have been an even better and more conspicuous place to sit. Or if the Lords Room was the best and most conspicuous place in the theatre, it was not in the stage balcony.

11.3 'Over the Stage'

There are three references to a spectating position described as 'over the stage' which are usually taken to indicate the Lords Room. The earliest is in Edward Guilpin's Skialetheia, in an epigram called 'Of Cornelius':

See you him yonder, who sits o're the stage,
With the Tobacco-pipe now at his mouth?
It is Cornelius the braue gallant youth,
Who is new printed to this fangled age:

(Guilpin 1598, B1r)

Andrew Gurr cited this as evidence of the location of the Lords Room, but nothing in the epigram substantiates this claim (Gurr 1992, 147). That the stage balcony, if that is what "over the stage" indicates, was a spectating position does not make it the Lords Room.

The two other references to 'over the stage' shed no light on the matter, yet both have been adduced to the argument that the Lords Room was in the stage balcony (Hosley 1957a, 24; Gurr 1987b, 21, 221, 281). The first occurs in Dekker's and Wilkins's Jests to Make You Merie:

The 45. Iest.

A wench hauing a good face, a good body, and good clothes on, but of bad conditions, sitting one day in the two-penny roome of a playhouse, & a number of yong Gentlemen about her, against all whom she maintains talke. One that sat ouer the stage sayd to his friend: doe you not thinke that yonder flesh will stincke anon, hauing so many flyes blowing upon it. Oh (quoth his friend) I think it stinckes already, for I neuer saw so many crowes together, but there was some carion not far off.

(Dekker & Wilkins 1607, C3v-C4r)

This indicates that wherever 'over the stage' was, it had a view of the two-penny room or rooms. The final example of this rubric is in The Dr. Farmer Chetham MS. Commonplace-Book, in 'A Description of Spongius the Gallant':

He plays at Primero over the stage,
fighte for the wall, and keepes a lac'te Cloke page;
Ryde through the streetes in glisteringe braverie
and swallowes not the least indignitie.

(Grosart 1873, 104)

The date of this epigram is uncertain, but Grosart believed that the entire manuscript was completed before 1625 (Grosart 1873, iv). It too tells us nothing other than that spectators could sit somewhere 'over the stage'. The De Witt drawing of the Swan in 1596 lends support to the idea that spectators sat in the stage balcony, although why the rest of the auditorium is depicted as empty is not clear. Similarly those in the stage balcony in the Roxana and The Wits pictures are probably spectators.

11.4 Evidence for the Location of the Lords Room

The earliest mention of the Lords Room is in an entry in Henslowe's account book recording payment for work done at the Rose in 1592:

pd for sellynge the Rome ouer the tyerhowsse. . . x s
pd for wages to the plasterer. iiiij s
pd for sellinges my lords Rome. xiiij s

pd for makenge the penthowsse shed at the tyeringe
howsse doore as foloweth pd for owld tumber. . . .} x s
(Foakes & Rickert 1961, 13)

Chambers suggested that Henslowe's phrase "my lords Rome" may be in the genitive singular case, indicating "not so much a room for 'lords', as a room primarily reserved for the particular 'lord', under whose patronage the actors played" (Chambers 1923b, 535). Hosley defended the usual interpretation of the phrase as being in the genitive plural case by pointing out that "Henslowe is equally possessive about the Rose itself, which he more than once refers to as 'my playhowsse'" (Hosley 1957a, 25n19). Chambers's comment might possibly indicate the origin of the term 'Lords Room', but it is clear that the place denoted became available for others to occupy. It is not clear exactly what is meant by "the Rome ouer the tyerhowsse", but it cannot be the Lords Room whose ceilings are separately itemized as a greater expense. Lawrence suggested that it was the heavens hut, and Hosley agreed (Lawrence 1912, 33-4; Hosley 1957a, 25n19). By 'heavens hut' Lawrence meant "the garret in the Swan sketch out of which the trumpeter is emerging" which he considered to be directly above the tiring house. Hosley subsequently argued that the De Witt drawing wrongly gives the impression that the hut is directly over the tiring house, which would be a highly impractical configuration, and that the back wall of the hut was actually in line with the frons and its front wall in line with the stage posts (Hosley 1987). If the Rose had such a heavens hut, and no matter where it was situated, the greatest

difficulty in identifying it with Henslowe's "Rome ouer the tyerhowsse" is that it would be absurd to provide such a room with a ceiling. We cannot be sure whether Henslowe here used the word "ceil" (which could be spelt in a variety of ways) to mean "To line the roof of, provide or construct an inner roof" (OED ceil v. 3) or the less specific "To cover with a lining of woodwork, sometimes of plaster, etc. (the interior roof or walls of a house or apartment)" (OED ceil v. 2a), both of which meanings were available at the time. We can, however, be sure what Henslowe meant by the word when used in the Fortune contract:

the said Peeter Street shall not be chardged wth anie
manner of pay<ntin>ge in or aboute the saide fframe
howse or Stadge or anie p«ar»te thereof nor
Rendringe the walls wthin Nor seelinge anie more or
other roomes then the gentlemens roomes Twoe pennie
roomes and Stadge before remembred
(Foakes & Rickert 1961, 308)

Since the contract distinguishes between the verbs 'render' and 'ceil', Henslowe must have used 'ceil' not in the general sense applicable to walls or ceilings but in the specific sense applicable only to ceilings. It is reasonable to suppose that Henslowe made the same distinction eight years earlier, and hence that he paid to have a ceiling installed in "the Rome ouer the tyerhowsse" at the Rose. Since a heavens hut needs no ceiling (indeed it would be made less useful by the loss of headroom), we must look elsewhere. The most likely place to be the room over the tiring house is the spectating

space in the stage balcony, and since the fitting of ceilings to the Lords Room is entered as a separate item of expense, the Lords Room cannot be in the stage balcony.

The next explicit reference to the Lords Room occurs in Jonson's Every Man Out of His Humour:

Carl[o] There's ne're a one of these but might lie a weeke on the racke, ere they could bring foorth his name; and yet hee powres them out as familiarly as if hee had seene 'hem stand by the fire i' the Presence, or ta'ne Tabacco with them ouer the stage i' the Lords roome.

(Jonson 1600b, F3r)

This is the only piece of evidence which links the expression 'over the stage' with the Lords Room. Evidence drawn from the dialogue of plays is not the same as evidence from building contracts or account books, and must be considered within its dramatic context. The play is full of metatheatrical dialogue in which the worlds of the play and of the playhouse are conflated. Possibly the actor playing Carlo gestures to the Lords Room as he speaks the line, to create yet another artifice-collapsing effect. If Carlo is merely referring to an abstract playhouse in the world of the play, the clause "ouer the stage i' the Lords roome" is oddly pleonastic, since the audience may be expected to know the layout of a playhouse. But if he is making a gesture it is possible that "ouer the stage" means 'across the stage', in other words 'over there' (OED over prep. 15a, a sense available at the time).

There is one more direct reference to the Lords Room to consider. In Dekker's Satiromastix Horace, representing Jonson, is forced to accept modifications to his habitual behaviour at playhouses:

Sir Va[ughan] Moreouer, you shall not sit in a Gallery, when your Comedies and Enterludes haue entred their Actions, and there make vile and bad faces at euerie lyne, to make Sentlemen haue an eye to you, and to make Players afraide to take your part.

Tuc[ca] Thou shalt be my Ningle for this.

Sir Vau[ghan] Besides, you must forswear to venter on the stage, when your Play is ended, and to exchange curtezies, and complements with Gallants in the Lordes roomes, to make all the house rise vp in Armes, and to cry that's Horace, that's he, that's he, that's he, that pennes and purges Humours and diseases.

(Dekker 1602, M1r)

Berry argued that only the Blackfriars theatre is being referred to here, because Jonson was its resident dramatist in 1602 (Berry 1987, 51). However, Horace is being made to swear not to do the things he habitually does and this diminishes the sense of a specific place being referred to; it is Jonson's general way of behaving that is being censured. If the intention was to mock habits that Jonson had displayed only at the Blackfriars then the allusion was to recent behaviour (since the last quarter of 1600), and the force of

the attack would be diminished by this specificity. Irwin Smith collated the evidence that the Children of the Chapel did not begin using Blackfriars before the last quarter of 1600 (Smith, Irwin 1964, 177-8). It might be argued that the two injunctions (not to distract the players and audience, and not to venture onto the stage) refer to two occasions at two different playhouses, but since the first prescribes what Horace may do during, and the second after, a performance, it seems that a single occasion was intended.

Wheresoever Horace had been displaying this behaviour, the Lords Room and the stage were sufficiently close to one another for Horace to stand on the latter and "exchange curtezie, and complements with Gallants" in the former. Let us assume first that Horace's behaviour at the public playhouses was being mocked. His seat during the performance cannot be in the same place as the Lords Rooms since it would be absurd to forbid him to leave his seat in order to address those in the place he had just left. Horace's spectating position must have been somewhere other than the Lords Room, from where he could pull faces to distract the players and the gentlemen, and afterwards "venture on the stage". There are only two possibilities: Horace sat in a gallery near the stage and the Lords Room was in the stage balcony, or Horace sat in the stage balcony and the Lords Room was in a gallery near the stage. In the first hypothesis Horace would not be well placed to distract anyone by pulling faces, and unless there were direct access between the tiring house and the ends of the galleries closest to the stage, it would be extremely

difficult for him to get onto the stage after the play. Richard Southern suggested that such access might have been useful but the idea has not been taken up by subsequent reconstructors of playhouses (Southern 1959, 30). Without this access Horace would have to scramble past many other spectators, emerging either in the yard or outside the playhouse (depending on how access to the galleries is controlled) and then make his way onto the stage. But in the second hypothesis, if Horace sat in the stage balcony he would be well placed to distract the players and the general eye, and also to venture directly onto the stage via the tiring house. If Satiromastix informs us of the Lords Rooms at the public playhouses, they are probably not in the stage balcony.

Now let us suppose Berry is right in thinking that Jonson's behaviour at Blackfriars alone was being mocked. The same arguments apply with equal force: Horace's seat and the Lords Room must be different places and the former must be a "gallery" and have ready access to the stage. If Horace were at the side of the stage--which might still be "in a gallery" if the galleries continued over the stage--then certainly at Blackfriars it would be easy for him to venture onto the stage from there, but that still leaves us looking for somewhere else to call the Lords Room. Berry posited boxes in the wall behind, and on the same level as, the stage and argued that these were the Lords Rooms (Berry 1987, 54-5). The stage balcony was not a suitable location for the Lords Rooms because of the restricted height of the Upper Frater itself and, more importantly, because "the difficult angle of vision

created by the height and the proximity of the seats to the stage" would limit the number of box seats with a good view (Berry 1987, 56-7). Burbage's solution, argued Berry, was to move the Lords Room down the back wall: from an elevated position in the stage balcony at the public playhouses to a stage-level position at the Blackfriars. This configuration is not implausible, but it is clear that the evidence of Satiromastix cannot be used to argue that the Lords Room was in the stage balcony, no matter which theatre or theatres Dekker was thinking of.

11.5 The Guls Horne-booke

The date of printing, 1609, makes the evidence of The Guls Horne-booke potentially relevant to either the public or the private playhouses or both. In the proemium, Dekker referred to "the twelue penny roome next the stage" and Berry thought it "better than a fair guess" that this refers to the Blackfriars (Berry 1987, 51). In fact the passage cited by Berry contains certain proof that, for this passage at least, Dekker was thinking of the public playhouses:

I coniure you (as you come of the right Goose-caps)
staine not your house; but when at a new play you
take up the twelue-penny roome next the stage,
(because the Lords & you may seeme to be haile
fellow wel met) there draw forth this booke, read
alowd, laugh alowd, and play the Antickes, that all

the garlike mouthd stinkards may cry out, Away with the foole (Dekker 1609a, B1v)

The use of the expression "garlike mouthd stinkards" makes it clear that Dekker was referring to the public playhouses. In The Ravens Almanacke of the same year Dekker referred to the actor "glad to play three houres for two pence to the basest stinkard in London, whose breath is stronger then Garlicke, and able to poyson all the 12. penny roomes" (Dekker 1609b, C1v). This is a formulaic attack on the dirty and smelly groundlings, and cannot possibly suggest the private playhouses. In the passage from the proemium of The Guls Horne-booke quoted above, the point of taking the twelve-penny room is to attract the attention of the Lords and give the appearance of exchanging acknowledgements with them. If the lords were in a Lords Room in the stage balcony, the twelve-penny rooms at the side of the stage would not be well placed to attract their attention. But if the Lords were also in a gallery at the side of the stage, either on the same side or perhaps more plausibly on the opposite side of the stage, then the gallant would be very well placed to exchange acknowledgements with them.

Gurr, citing the sixth chapter ('How a Gallant should behave himself in a Playhouse') of Dekker's The Guls Horne-booke, wrote that "His remarks are meant to apply to any playhouse, but fit best at the leading hall playhouse" (Gurr 1992, 227), that is, the Blackfriars. In fact there is clear evidence throughout the chapter that, although the private

playhouse is mentioned, the public amphitheatres were uppermost in Dekker's mind:

Sithence then the place is so free in entertainment, allowing a stoole as well to the Farmers sonne as to your Templer: that your Stinkard has the selfe same libertie to be there in his Tobacco-Fumes, which your sweet Courtier hath: and that your Car-man and Tinker claime as strong a voice in their suffrage, and sit to giue iudgement on the plaies life and death, as well as the proudest Momus among the tribe of Critick: It is fit y^t hee, whom the most tailors bills do make roome for, when he comes should not be basely (like a vyoll) casd up in a corner. (Dekker 1609a, E2v)

The reference to tinkers and stinkards shows that Dekker was thinking of the public amphitheatres here. The paragraph following this contains the advice to sit on the stage rather than in the Lords Room, and the idea is introduced in this paragraph by the expression "casd up in a corner". A Lords Room in the stage balcony could scarcely be said to be in a corner, but a box at the extreme end of a gallery, abutting the tiring-house side and facing the stage at an oblique angle, certainly is.

Dekker's next paragraph begins with the famous remarks concerning the darkening of the Lords Room (quoted in section 11.1 above), and continues:

But on the very Rushes where the Commedy is to daunce, yea and vnder the State of Cambises himselfe

must our fetherd Estridge, like a peece of Ordnance
be planted valiantly (because impudently) beating
downe the mewes & hisses of the opposed rascality.
(Dekker 1609a, E2v)

As I have suggested, it is the practice of sitting on the stage that had darkened the Lords Room, and this indicates that the Lords Room was not in the stage balcony because such a position could not be obscured. Presumably the mewes and hisses come from those waiting-women and gentlemen-ushers whom the gallant obscures, that is, from the "opposed rascality". That they are "opposed" indicates more than their objection: it shows that they were on approximately the same level as the stage. Those in the yard were not "opposed" but underneath. The Lords Room was clearly in the lowest gallery.

The gentlemen-ushers and waiting-women were not lords and yet Dekker uses the term Lords Room. This suggests a stability of terminology unaffected by the social status of the occupants of this position. If the Lords Room was the name given to wherever the nobility were currently finding it desirable to sit, Dekker's witticisms would not be intelligible to his readers. In the absence of any evidence for a change in the place denoted by the term Lords Room, I propose a continuity throughout the period from the first public amphitheatre to the closing of the theatres in 1642.

In the next few paragraphs of The Guls Horne-booke Dekker lists the advantages to be gained by sitting on the stage, which are so great that

neither are you to be hunted from thence though the
Scar-Crowes in the yard, hoot at you, hisse at you,
spit at you, yea throw durt euen in your teeth: tis
most Gentleman like patience to endure all this, and
to laugh at the silly Animals, but if the Rabble
with a full throat, crie away with the foole, you
were worse then a mad-man to tarry by it: for the
Gentleman and the foole should neuer sit on the
Stage together. (Dekker 1609a, E3r)

The reference to the yard shows that Dekker was thinking of the public playhouses. That he deals here with the yardlings' reaction to the onstage sitters makes it likely that the earlier reference to hissing and mewling was concerned with the objectors in the Lords Room and not those in the yard. At the end of the chapter the problem of getting home across the Thames is discussed, and this too indicates that the public amphitheatres of Southwark were Dekker's primary subject. If we recognise that Dekker was not referring primarily to the Blackfriars theatre, we are left with further evidence that at the public playhouses the Lords Room was in the lowest auditorium gallery close to the stage. Of the private playhouses we know only that Dekker chose to make the same remarks applicable to either "the publique or priuate Play-house". The evidence of The Guls Horne-booke does not indicate that the Blackfriars deviated from the public theatre configuration, rather that its Lords Room was in approximately the same place.

11.6 Weighing the Evidence

In his work on the location of the Lords Room W. J. Lawrence was concerned to dismiss the 'alternation theory' of Cecil Brodmeier which rested in part upon the existence of a large upper stage upon which scenes could be played while the closed-off alcove below was made ready for a subsequent scene. In making the case for spectators sitting in the stage balcony the followers of Lawrence adduced all the available evidence to this end, and so produced the equation of stage balcony with Lords Room that still persists. Even as late as 1987 Herbert Berry, in a revised version of an article first published in 1966, considered it worth commenting that his work on the boxes at Blackfriars could "lend a little force to th[e] attack" on the myth of an alcove and an upper-stage (Berry 1987, 65).

In the third edition of The Shakespearean Stage 1574 - 1642 Andrew Gurr implicitly rejected the custom of sitting on the stage in the public playhouses of the 1590s (Gurr 1992, 12, 164, 255n69). Concerning the earliest theatres, including the Red Lion in Stepney, Gurr wrote that patrons of highest social status "sat in a special section of the galleries closest to the stage called the 'lords' rooms" (Gurr 1992, 116) and "At the Theatre, Rose and Globe there were 'lords' rooms costing 6 \underline{d} ., partitioned off from the galleries closest to the stage" (Gurr 1992, 122). This inclusion of the Globe amongst those with the same configuration as the Red Lion is a tacit statement of continuity of location of the Lords Room

from 1567 to 1599. Such continuity is necessary to my argument and is borne out by Dekker's description of the change of clientele (and hence continuity of location) of the Lords Room by 1609. Gurr also wrote of the first Globe that "above the stage-level in the frons were the lords' rooms" (Gurr 1992, 147), which contradicts his earlier statements unless he meant to imply, without evidence, that the Lords Rooms were moved. Despite Dekker's use of the term Lords Room in The Guls Horne-booke, which he believed to be most applicable to the Blackfriars, Gurr avoided using the term in relation to the private theatres. Gurr wrote only that "boxes flanking the stage" had a better view than "the equivalent lords' rooms in the amphitheatres", and that Inigo Jones's design for a hall playhouse based on the Blackfriars had "space for seating on the balcony where the lords' rooms were positioned at the Globe" (Gurr 1992, 159).

To argue, as I have done, that the Lords Room was in the lowest gallery at the side of the stage is to risk conflating it with the 'gentlemen's rooms' which the contract for the building of the Fortune theatre suggests were there:

wth ffower convenient divisions for gentlemens roomes
and other sufficient and convenient divisions for
Twoe pennie roomes wth necessarie Seates to be placed
and sett Aswell in those roomes as throughoute all
the rest of the galleries of the saide howse
(Foakes & Rickert 1961, 307)

Hosley was typical of the scholarly consensus in arguing that the only logical location for such divided-off seating is at

the far ends of the lowest gallery nearest the stage (Hosley 1981a, 6). The vertical positioning at least is confirmed by the contract to build the Hope theatre, which requires that Gilbert Katherens should make "Two Boxes in the lowermost storie fitt and decent for gentlemen to sitt in / And shall make the p«ar»ticōns betwne the Rommes as they are at the saide Plaie house called the Swan" (Greg 1907, 20). Perhaps the Lords Room might also be referred to as a 'gentlemen's room', since a lord is certainly a gentlemen even though the reverse is not true. If the two terms referred to different places, it is possible that they formed matched pairs flanking the stage, one of each on each side, or even that the Lords Room occupied one side of the stage while the gentlemen's rooms occupied the other. The currently available evidence does not allow certainty on this matter. This is not to say, however, that the evidence requires us to use the terms interchangeably in the way that Gurr appeared to when locating the Globe's Lords Rooms first at the side of the stage and then in the stage balcony, without discussing the relocation. More recently Gurr wrote that "The 'lords' rooms' were evidently distinct from the 'twopenny galleries' and even from the 'gentlemen's rooms' noted in the Fortune and Hope contracts" (Gurr 1994a, 38).

If the Lords Room is taken to mean a spectating position at the side of the stage at both the public and the private playhouses throughout the period then the problems I have described disappear and we can make sense of Dekker using the same term in 1609 as Henslowe used in 1592. Locating the Lords

Room at the side of the stage also eliminates the awkward, but not decisive, problem that the lords would not be able to see discoveries if they are sitting in the stage balcony. The only contrary evidence, which raises the possibility that the Lords Room was in the stage balcony, is the phrase "ouer the stage in the Lords roome" in Jonson's Every Man Out of His Humour. On its own, and subject to varied interpretations, this is insufficient to counteract the overwhelming evidence that the Lords Room could not have been in the stage balcony.

APPENDIX 4: TRIGONOMETRIC ANALYSIS OF THE HOLLAR SKETCH, AND
THE AD QUADRATUM RELATIONSHIP OF THE UPPERMOST GALLERY

The details of Orrell's method are given here in the hope of providing clarification for those who, like this author, have forgotten much of the trigonometry they learned in compulsory education. Orrell's method is described in The Quest for Shakespeare's Globe (Orrell 1983b) which includes, for the sake of completeness, much detail not strictly necessary for calculation of the size of the Globe but useful to establish that the Hollar sketch was made by the perspective glass method. Parts of Orrell's explanation were compressed to a greater degree than some readers might like and this account leads the reader through a greater number of much smaller steps to the conclusion. The method used here is essentially Orrell's with the occasional suggestion of alternative procedures which might be used to double-check the safety of certain conclusions.

12.1 Orrell's Trigonometric Analysis of the Hollar Sketch

The trigonometric analysis of the Hollar sketch depends upon the properties of right-angled triangles. Figure 1 shows a right-angled triangle and it should be recalled from elementary mathematics that the longest side in such a triangle, the one opposite the right angle, is called the hypotenuse. We may choose either of the two angles which are not 90 degrees and label it θ . One side of this angle will be

the hypotenuse and the other side we may label the 'adjacent', and the third side is labelled as 'opposite' the angle. In such a triangle the following ratios exist:

$$\text{sine } \Theta = \frac{\text{length of opposite side}}{\text{length of hypotenuse}}$$

$$\text{cosine } \Theta = \frac{\text{length of adjacent side}}{\text{length of hypotenuse}}$$

$$\text{tangent } \Theta = \frac{\text{length of opposite side}}{\text{length of adjacent side}}$$

The ratios are unaffected by the size of the triangle since, if we enlarge the triangle but retain its shape, the 'hypotenuse', 'adjacent', and 'opposite' must all increase in proportion. It is possible therefore to construct a book of tables which show the values of sine Θ , cosine Θ , and tangent Θ for any desired value of Θ . Such tables exist but have been superseded by pocket calculators which can provide the sine, cosine, and tangent for any number entered.

On page 90 of The Quest for Shakespeare's Globe Orrell encouraged the reader to emulate the conditions of Hollar's work using a clamped unfolded paper clip as a stylus with which to sight objects through a window pane about 9 inches from the stylus. This experiment is highly useful in demonstrating that it is not a matter of recording the image seen on the glass from the sighting point, but of standing back from the stylus and marking the point on the glass struck by a ray passing from a given point of interest in the view (say, the corner of a rooftop) to the stylus. By placing one's eye behind the stylus one can make it line up with the point in question and then mark its location on the glass, or on a

sheet of tracing paper fixed to the glass. Doing this meticulously for all the corners of, say, a rooftop will produce a dot-outline on the glass/paper which is considerably smaller than the image of the rooftop seen from the vantage point. It should be noted that it is extremely difficult to mark a line on the glass because one must move one's hand at the same time as moving one's eye to make the stylus track across the line in the landscape. This method of picture making strongly encourages the marking of key points which are later joined by freehand work. The reader is urged to try this surprising experiment.

Figure 2 shows the aerial view of Hollar (point H) sighting a wall (W_1-W_2) through his perspective glass and producing an image of it (I_1-I_2) on the glass. The wall, it should be noted, is parallel to the perspective glass and begins on the central ray and extends towards Hollar's left. The triangles $H-I_1-I_2$ and $H-W_1-W_2$ are 'similar', which is to say that their angles are the same and the ratios of the lengths of sides in one are the same as the ratios of lengths of sides in the other. Suppose that the perspective glass is 1m from Hollar's eye, that the image of the wall (I_1-I_2) covers 0.03m of the glass, and that we know the wall to be 100m from Hollar's vantage point. Because the larger triangle $H-W_1-W_2$ is simply the smaller triangle $H-I_1-I_2$ scaled up by a factor of 100, the image is one-hundredth the size of the real wall, and so the real wall is 3m wide. Because we know the dimensions of the smaller triangle and the length of one of the sides of the larger triangle, the fact that they are similar triangles

means we can determine the length of the other sides of the larger triangle.

A second feature of the imaginary landscape is shown in Figure 2: a billboard stretching from W_3 to W_4 . This billboard is the same width as the wall and lies in the same plane, although it does not touch the central ray of the perspective glass. It should be noted that the image of the billboard (I_3 - I_4) is the same width as the image of the wall despite the billboard being far from the central ray. The reader may experiment by putting additional features into the landscape at even greater distances from the central ray, but in the same plane as the wall, and it will be found that their images on the perspective glass are in the same scale as the images of the wall and billboard. At the distance $H-W_2$ from Hollar's vantage point a 'slice' through the landscape is represented on the perspective glass, and the widths of any objects which lie on this slice may be measured from the image. A church is represented in Figure 2 and because two of its corners lie on the 'slice' the distance between them can be measured. There is also a transparent amphitheatre with two distinctive and diametrically opposed dark markings, P_1 and P_2 , which are in the same plane as the wall. If these can be seen on the perspective glass, and since this imaginary playhouse is transparent they should be visible, the diameter of the playhouse can be measured from the image on the glass. This measurement, like all the others, relies on knowing the distance from Hollar's vantage point to the edge of the wall, $H-W_2$. There is unlikely to be a wall conveniently located in

the landscape just where our 'slice' through the landscape meets the central ray from the perspective glass, but we could calculate the length $H-W_2$ using one of the other landmarks in the same plane. For example, if we knew that the corner of the billboard W_4 was approximately 141.5m from H and the angle W_4-H-W_2 was 45 degrees, the length of $H-W_2$ could be calculated thus:

$$\text{cosine } \Theta = \frac{\text{adjacent}}{\text{hypotenuse}}$$

or, in our case

$$\text{cosine } 45 = \frac{H-W_2}{H-W_4}$$

A schoolchild's logarithmic tables, or a pocket calculator, will give the value of cosine 45 as approximately 0.7071 and we know $H-W_4$ to be 141.5m, so

$$0.7071 = \frac{H-W_2}{141.5}$$

or, if we multiply both sides by 141.5

$$100.05 = H-W_2$$

This is approximately the distance from the vantage point to the corner of the wall that we assumed at the start, and the small discrepancy is due to the approximation of the distance to the corner of the billboard: we took it to be 141.5m but it must have been a little less than this. So, we have calculated the length of the central ray from the vantage point to the 'slice' through the landscape and we do not need there to be a landmark, in this case the corner of a wall, at this point. Once we have the length ($H-W_2$) of the central ray to the 'slice', and if we know the length of the central ray to the

perspective glass ($H-I_2$), we know that objects in the image will be scaled down by this much:

$$\frac{H-I_2}{H-W_2}$$

or, in this diagram, 1/100. So, if the corners of the church were 0.4m apart in the image, then in reality they must be 40m apart. If the dots on the transparent playhouse were 0.6m apart in the image, the playhouse diameter must be 60m.

Another way of working out the scale of the sketch avoids the need to know the distance of the perspective glass from the stylus ($H-I_2$) but instead relies on knowing the angle subtended at H by the rays from two points in the landscape 'slice' and the distance between those points in the landscape. Suppose W_2-W_3 was known to be 46.6m and the image of this distance, I_2-I_3 , was known to be 0.466m. The scale of the sketch, for objects in the same plane as W_2-W_4 , would be 1 to 100. If we did not know the distance W_2-W_3 , but looking at a map told us that radials from W_2 to H and from W_3 to H subtended an angle of 25 degrees, we could express the size of W_2-W_3 in terms of the size $H-W_2$:

$$\tan \Theta = \frac{\text{opp}}{\text{adj}}$$

$$\tan 25 = \frac{W_2-W_3}{H-W_2}$$

$$W_2-W_3 = \tan 25 \times H-W_2$$

$$W_2-W_3 = 0.466 \times 100$$

$$W_2-W_3 = 46.63$$

Once we know the scale of the drawing, the real-world size of any object producing an image on the perspective glass, say I_5-I_6 , can be calculated. The scale of the drawing is given by

dividing the size of an object in the landscape by the size of the image it creates. We could use, for example, the image I_2-I_3 :

$$\text{Scale of Drawing} = \frac{W_2-W_3}{I_2-I_3}$$

and the real world size of the object (a_1-b_1) that made I_5-I_6 is

$$I_5-I_6 \times \text{Scale of Drawing}$$

By substituting in the formulae for Scale of Drawing:

$$I_5-I_6 \times \frac{W_2-W_3}{I_2-I_3}$$

or, rewriting this:

$$\frac{I_5-I_6}{I_2-I_3} \times W_2-W_3$$

substituting the formula for W_2-W_3 , derived above from the angle subtended at H by radials from W_2 and W_3 , we get:

The size of an object whose image is length I_5-I_6 is

$$\frac{I_5-I_6}{I_2-I_3} \times \tan 25 \times H-W_2$$

As we shall see, this is how Orrell worked. Rather than choose a part of the scene surveyed by Hollar, Orrell used the full width of the sketch, 0.309m, and used a map to find the angle subtended by the radials from the extreme left and right end of the sketch, 68.6° (Figure 5). The central ray from Hollar's perspective glass happens to pass through the exact centre of the sketch, but this need not have been the case. Hollar might have been more interested in one side of the drawing than the other, and indeed the surviving piece of paper might have been cropped along any edge since it was made. But because the central ray was half-way along the 0.309m long sketch

(bisecting it into two 0.1545m halves) and the angle subtended by one half of the scene of London was 34.3°, our formula may be rewritten:

The size of an object whose image is length I_5-I_6 is

$$\frac{I_5-I_6}{0.1545} \times \tan 34.3^\circ \times H-W_2$$

Orrell wrote this as $(I_5-I_6)/309\text{mm} \times 1144\text{ft} \times 2.\tan 34.3^\circ$ (Orrell 1983b, 102), thereby mixing feet and millimetres, and unnecessarily avoiding the SI unit metres. How Orrell derived 1144 feet as the length along the central ray to the 'slice' of London which was parallel to the perspective glass and passed through the Globe must now be explained. But first it should be noted that in Figure 2 the dots P_1 and P_2 , which mark the diameter of the playhouse, could not be registered on the perspective glass unless the playhouse were transparent. In reality, Hollar would have marked the edges that he saw, 'a' and 'b', and so the marks on the sketch I_5 and I_6 do not represent the true diameter of the playhouse but rather represent the interval a_1-b_1 . We will need to correct for this 'anamorphic distortion' before we are finished.

Although he did not need to do so, Orrell was able to calculate the distance that Hollar set his glass from his stylus, represented by $H-I_2$ in Figure 2. At this point we leave the simplified world of the diagram and enter the world of Caroline south London. The distance between Hollar's stylus and his perspective glass can be calculated if we first know exactly where Hollar stood to make his sketch, and then see how large he drew certain distances between known landmarks. For this knowledge to be useful we also need to know the

orientation of Hollar's glass relative to north, and it was this that Orrell determined first. Orrell observed that among the faintly drawn marks in the sketch which represent features of the north side of the Thames, certain landmarks can be found. These are, moving right to left across the sketch: the eastern gable of St Pauls, Bulmer's water-tower, the tower of St Martin's church in Ludgate, the turretted front of Baynard's Castle, the tower of St Bride's church, and the southwest corner of the river frontage of Savoy (Orrell 1981, 112; Orrell 1983b, 78-9). A knowledge of south London indicates that the panorama in the sketch is the view one would have gained from a high vantage point in the region of St Saviour's church in Southwark, and the logical choice must be the tower of this church. But the sketch reveals Hollar's precise vantage point by its alignment of landmarks in the distance with landmarks nearer to the artist. In the sketch, the east gable of Winchester House is directly below the west end of St Paul's (Orrell 1983b, 79). On a reliable map of the area at the time, a line projected from the west end of St Paul's to the east gable of Winchester House continues on to the tower of St Saviour's, but two such lines are needed to fix a position. The centre of the river front of the Savoy is aligned, in the sketch, with the right hand (north face) of the second Globe. Using the position of the Globe determined by W. W. Braines (Braines 1924) we may draw a line on the map from the centre of the Savoy frontage, touching the north face of the Globe site, and on to meet the line already drawn from St Paul's to St Saviour's. The two lines meet, as expected, at

the tower of St Saviour's, which is the only place one could stand and see these landmarks lined up in this way.

The intervals between the landmarks in the sketch were determined by the direction at which Hollar fixed his perspective glass with respect to north. Had Hollar fixed his glass in a north-south plane, with its central ray pointing directly west, the landmarks of interest would be crammed into the right side of the sketch and would be tightly packed. Hollar turned his perspective glass somewhat clockwise from this position, so that its central ray passed through the area of interest. But by how much did he turn it? The answer is found from the intervals between the landmarks in the sketch, which were determined by the bearing upon which Hollar set his glass. On a map Orrell drew lines from the five identifiable landmarks to the vantage point on St Saviour's tower (Figure 3). On a reproduction of the sketch he marked the intervals between the landmarks (Figure 4). To find the angle of the glass on which the sketch was made Orrell merely had to place the card reproduction of the sketch on the map and jiggle it until the intervals between the radial lines on the map were the same as the intervals between the landmarks in the sketch. The angle Orrell had to turn the card to in order to achieve this must be the angle at which the sketch was made. It must be noted that the scale of the card reproduction of the sketch does not matter, since the ratios of the intervals would be the same at any scale. The intervals are set only by the angle of the plane which intersects the radials, and Orrell found that at an angle of 25.25 degrees, the intervals in the sketch

line up with the radials (Orrell 1981, 115). Orrell claimed that this card-jiggling method was merely a demonstration of the method and that trigonometry was used to achieve the precise statement of the angle as 25.25 degrees. However, when Orrell produced the trigonometric method (Orrell 1983b, 81), the stated result was a picture-plane angle of 25.34 degrees. This change in the angle of the picture coincided with a change in Orrell's final figure for the width of the Globe: 103.35 feet (Orrell 1981, 116) was reduced to 102.35 feet (Orrell 1983b, 102). The change of angle of the picture frame cannot explain the difference because its effect would account for only an inch in the final result, and the discrepancy is explained by Orrell's revised figure of 0.309m for the width of the sketch, which was given as 0.306m in the first paper (Orrell 1981, 116n9).

The trigonometric method of determining the angle of the perspective glass contains the most complex mathematics used by Orrell. Readers who are prepared to accept the figure given by Orrell may wish to skip the next few pages of equations to rejoin the discussion of how Orrell used this information. Figure 5 shows the point where Hollar stood, H, with a line running directly north. Suppose that we find three landmarks in the sketch and on a map we draw radials to them. These radials cut the picture plane at points I, I₂, and I₃. On the map we can measure the angles subtended at H by the radials to north and to I₃ (let us call it δ), by the radials to I₃ and I₂ (let us call it τ), and by the radials to I₂ and I (let us call it β). The angle we are interested in is the angle of the

picture plane relative to north, which we shall call α . This last angle is calculable from the other angles plus the intervals I-I₂ and I₂-I₃, which can be measured directly from the sketch in any convenient units.

We want to find α but first let us find I₂- \hat{I} -H:

$$I_2-\hat{I}-H = I-\hat{O}-H + I-\hat{H}-O$$

since $I-\hat{O}-H = \alpha$ (by definition), then

$$I_2-\hat{I}-H = \alpha + I-\hat{H}-O$$

since $I-\hat{H}-O = (180 - \delta - \tau - \beta)$, then

$$I_2-\hat{I}-H = \alpha + (180 - \delta - \tau - \beta)$$

and re-arranging this gives

$$\alpha = I_2-\hat{I}-H - 180 + \delta + \tau + \beta \quad <=== \text{ will be reused (1)}$$

So, we must find I₂- \hat{I} -H to find α . Since, in a triangle all the angles add up to 180 degrees, in triangle I₂-I-H:

$$I-\hat{I}_2-H = 180 - I_2-\hat{I}-H - \beta$$

and in triangle H-I₂-I₃:

$$I_3-\hat{I}_2-H = I_2-\hat{I}-H + \beta$$

and also in triangle H-I₂-I₃:

$$I_2-\hat{I}_3-H = 180 - \tau - I_3-\hat{I}_2-H$$

so, substituting from the line above

$$I_2-\hat{I}_3-H = 180 - \tau - I_2-\hat{I}-H - \beta \quad <=== \text{ will be reused (2)}$$

The Sine Rule says that in any triangle whose angles are a, b, and c, and whose sides opposite these angles are A, B, and C, the following is true:

$$\frac{A}{\sin(a)} = \frac{B}{\sin(b)} = \frac{C}{\sin(c)}$$

So, in triangle I-I₂-H:

$$\frac{I-I_2}{\sin\beta} = \frac{I_2-H}{\sin(I_2-\hat{I}-H)}$$

Multiplying both sides of this by $\sin(I_2-\hat{I}-H)$ gives:

$$I_2-H = \sin(I_2-\hat{I}-H) \times \frac{I-I_2}{\sin\beta}$$

And in the triangle I_2-I_3-H :

$$\frac{I_2-I_3}{\sin\tau} = \frac{I_2-H}{\sin(I_2-\hat{I}_3-H)}$$

Multiplying both sides of this by $\sin(I_2-\hat{I}_3-H)$ gives

$$I_2-H = \sin(I_2-\hat{I}_3-H) \times \frac{I_2-I_3}{\sin\tau}$$

So, in the above equation and the one before the one before it, we have two different ways of expressing I_2-H . We can put them together:

$$\sin(I_2-\hat{I}-H) \times \frac{I-I_2}{\sin\beta} = \sin(I_2-\hat{I}_3-H) \times \frac{I_2-I_3}{\sin\tau}$$

Multiplying both sides by $\sin\tau$ gives

$$\sin(I_2-\hat{I}-H) \times \frac{I-I_2}{\sin\beta} \times \sin\tau = \sin(I_2-\hat{I}_3-H) \times I_2-I_3$$

Dividing both sides by I_2-I_3 gives

$$\frac{\sin(I_2-\hat{I}-H)}{I_2-I_3} \times \frac{I-I_2}{\sin\beta} \times \sin\tau = \sin(I_2-\hat{I}_3-H)$$

We already have formula (2) above for $I_2-\hat{I}_3-H$, so substituting it gives

$$\frac{\sin(I_2-\hat{I}-H)}{I_2-I_3} \times \frac{I-I_2}{\sin\beta} \times \sin\tau = \sin(180 - \tau - \beta - I_2-\hat{I}-H)$$

Another established truth is that, for any values of A, B, and C, $\sin(A+B) = \sin A \cdot \cos B + \sin B \cdot \cos A$. This can be re-written as $\sin A \cdot \cos B - \sin B \cdot \cos A = \sin(A-B)$. We will use "180- τ - β " as our A term and " $I_2-\hat{I}-H$ " as our B term. At this point in the discussion clarity requires use of a typeface small enough to keep long equations within the measure. From the latest truth, it would be valid to say that

$$\sin(180 - \tau - \beta - I_2-\hat{I}-H) = \sin(180-\tau-\beta) \cdot \cos(I_2-\hat{I}-H) - \sin(I_2-\hat{I}-H) \cdot \cos(180-\tau-\beta)$$

The left side of this equation is the right side of the one before the last paragraph of text. So, we can say

$$\frac{\sin(I_2 - \hat{I} - H)}{I_2 - I_3} \times \frac{I - I_2}{\sin B} \times \sin \tau - \sin(180 - \tau - B) \cdot \cos(I_2 - \hat{I} - H) = \sin(I_2 - \hat{I} - H) \cdot \cos(180 - \tau - B)$$

Adding " $\sin(I_2 - \hat{I} - H) \cdot \cos(180 - \tau - B)$ " to both sides, and re-ordering terms on the left side gives

$$\frac{\sin(I_2 - \hat{I} - H)}{I_2 - I_3} \times \frac{I - I_2}{\sin B} \times \sin \tau + \sin(I_2 - \hat{I} - H) \cdot \cos(180 - \tau - B) = \sin(180 - \tau - B) \cdot \cos(I_2 - \hat{I} - H)$$

We may reorder this again to isolate the term " $\sin(I_2 - \hat{I} - H)$ " thus

$$\sin(I_2 - \hat{I} - H) \times \left\{ \frac{I - I_2}{I_2 - I_3} \times \frac{\sin \tau}{\sin B} + \cos(180 - \tau - B) \right\} = \sin(180 - \tau - B) \cdot \cos(I_2 - \hat{I} - H)$$

Another known truth is that $(A \times B) + (A \times C) = A \times (B + C)$. Using " $\sin(I_2 - \hat{I} - H)$ " as our A term, we can re-arrange the left side yet again to give

$$\sin(I_2 - \hat{I} - H) \times \left\{ \frac{I - I_2}{I_2 - I_3} \times \frac{\sin \tau}{\sin B} + \cos(180 - \tau - B) \right\} = \sin(180 - \tau - B) \cdot \cos(I_2 - \hat{I} - H)$$

Dividing both sides by " $\cos(I_2 - \hat{I} - H)$ " gives

$$\frac{\sin(I_2 - \hat{I} - H) \times \left\{ \frac{I - I_2}{I_2 - I_3} \times \frac{\sin \tau}{\sin B} + \cos(180 - \tau - B) \right\}}{\cos(I_2 - \hat{I} - H)} = \sin(180 - \tau - B)$$

Another truth is that $\tan(x) = \sin(x)$ divided by $\cos(x)$, so the $\sin(I_2 - \hat{I} - H)$ and $\cos(I_2 - \hat{I} - H)$ can be reduced to a tan function thus

$$\tan(I_2 - \hat{I} - H) \times \left\{ \frac{I - I_2}{I_2 - I_3} \times \frac{\sin \tau}{\sin B} + \cos(180 - \tau - B) \right\} = \sin(180 - \tau - B)$$

Dividing both sides of this equation by the contents of the curled braces gives

$$\tan(I_2 - \hat{I} - H) = \frac{\sin(180 - \tau - B)}{\left\{ \frac{I - I_2}{I_2 - I_3} \times \frac{\sin \tau}{\sin B} + \cos(180 - \tau - B) \right\}}$$

And so,

$$(I_2 - \hat{I} - H) = \tan^{-1} \left\{ \frac{\sin(180 - \tau - B)}{\left\{ \frac{I - I_2}{I_2 - I_3} \times \frac{\sin \tau}{\sin B} + \cos(180 - \tau - B) \right\}} \right\}$$

And finally, using equation (1) above,

$$\alpha = \tan^{-1} \left\{ \frac{\sin(180-\tau-\beta)}{\left\{ \frac{I-12 \times \sin\tau}{I2-I3 \times \sin\beta} \right\} + \cos(180-\tau-\beta)} \right\} \quad 180 + \delta + \tau + \beta$$

Using this equation the reader may test Orrell's results for the angle of the picture plane (Orrell 1983b, 81). However, practical experimentation with small changes in the starting values indicates that the final result is highly sensitive to errors in the measurements taken from the sketch (for the intervals I-I2 and I2-I3) and from a map of London (for the angles β , τ , and δ). Moreover, Orrell omitted from his list of data the essential angle, relative to north, of the radial from the east end of St Paul's to St Saviour's tower. From Orrell's reproduction of a map (Orrell 1983b, 82) the angle may be measured as approximately 34 degrees west of north, but Orrell undoubtedly used a more accurate figure. It should be noted that the above equation uses an inverse tangent function which gives non-unique results. Only by knowing the quadrant in which one expects to find the answer can one eliminate the incorrect values of α . In this respect the equation given by Orrell, without explanation of its origin, is superior because it uses only sine and cosine functions (Orrell 1983b, 54). Since the general direction of the sketch is obvious to anyone who knows the landscape of the period (Hollar was facing approximately north-east), implausible values of α can be easily rejected.

We may now determine the distance between the perspective glass and the stylus in Hollar's instrument. By placing a reproduction of the sketch on a map and lining up the landmarks in the sketch with the radials on the map from those landmarks to the vantage point (Figure 3) we get not only the

orientation of the sketch but also two radials which represent the edges of the sketch. It so happens that the central ray of the drawing passes through the centre of the sketch. This need not have been so and merely indicates that we have as much sketch to the left of the central ray as we have to the right of it. Orrell proved that the central ray passed through the centre of the sketch by marking the centre of the bottom edge, placing the card on the map, and setting it 25.34 degrees east of north. Since the glass was pointing 25.34 degrees east of north, its central ray was at right angles to this bearing and so was 90 degrees less: a bearing of 295.34 degrees. A line drawn on the map on a bearing of 295.34 from St Saviour's passes through the exact centre of the sketch, as marked on its bottom edge. This symmetry in the sketch makes calculating the distance from glass to stylus particularly straightforward. By drawing lines from the bottom left and right corners of the sketch to the vantage point, we find the angle subtended at the vantage point by the edges of sketch to be 68.6 degrees. Figure 6 shows detail of the relationship between the stylus and the glass. The full width of the glass (or rather the section of it against which the paper was clipped) is the width of the sketch, 0.309m, so half this (0.1545m) is the distance from one edge to the centre point, which is also where the central ray crosses the glass. In the right angle triangle formed by half the glass, the central ray, and the ray from the edge of the glass, the angle subtended at the stylus is half the total angle subtended by rays from the left and right edge of the glass. This is 34.3

degrees. From this angle and the width of the sketch we can calculate 'x', the distance of the glass from the stylus:

$$\tan 34.3 \text{ degrees} = \frac{0.1545\text{m}}{\text{'x'}}$$

$$\text{'x'} \times \tan 34.3 \text{ degrees} = 0.1545\text{m}$$

$$\text{'x'} = \frac{0.1545\text{m}}{\tan 34.4}$$

$$\text{'x'} = 0.22649\text{m}$$

So, Hollar's perspective glass was set about 9 inches from the stylus. It should be noted that a typographical error in Orrell's book renders the value for half the width of the sketch as 0.1544m rather than the correct 0.1545m, but the calculations on the same page are unaffected by this (Orrell 1983b, 89).

Now that we know the distance of the glass from the stylus and the direction in which Hollar placed his glass, the situation shown in Figure 2 could be used to calculate the width of the glass playhouse. Two possible methods of calculation could be used. The distance H-W₂ (1144 feet) divided by the distance H-I₂ (0.22649m) could be used to get the scale of the drawing, although we would have to turn one of the figures into the units of the other. Alternatively, the scale could be expressed in terms of the total angle subtended by the drawing (68.6°), the width of the drawing (0.309m), and the distance H-W₂. Orrell used only the latter method, but to confirm his findings both methods will be used here.

The Globe was not transparent and it was noted above that the left hand edge of the playhouse in the sketch will not be

the point P_1 but a radial from the vantage point which strikes the playhouse slightly to the left of P_2 . Likewise, the right hand edge of the playhouse in the sketch will be radial from the vantage point which touches the playhouse slightly to the right of P_2 . Unlike the frontages of rectangular buildings which, as they deviate from the central ray, are foreshortened, the effective 'frontage' of a circular building is always the half (or slightly less than half if the viewer is near the building) facing the viewer. In Figure 2, I_5-I_6 is the image on the glass which is wider than the lines projected from the true diameter slice P_1-P_2 . This error, anamorphic distortion, is unique to circular objects and its effect can be calculated.

First, let us measure I_5-I_6 in the sketch and determine how large the playhouse would be were there no anamorphic distortion. In his first paper on the subject, Orrell did not state a measurement for the size of the image of the Globe in Hollar's sketch (Orrell 1981). In his book Orrell gave a range of readings from 0.0208m to 0.0212m, with 0.021m being the average reading (Orrell 1983b, 101). The image represents a slice through the circular playhouse and since any slice through the centre of a circle is a diameter, the angle of the slice relative to north is immaterial. However, we must know the shortest distance from that slice from the vantage point. That is to say, we need to find the distance of a point, real or imaginary, equivalent to W_2 in Figure 2. Orrell found this distance by locating on a map the site of the Globe, and then drawing through it a line on a bearing 25.34 degrees east of

north. This line, parallel with the picture plane, is the plane in which all the features (billboard, wall, church corners, and playhouse) in Figure 2 lie. By drawing the central ray from Hollar's perspective glass atop St Saviour's (which, we found above, was on a bearing of 295.34), Orrell was able to determine that the distance H-W₂ was 1144 feet. An alternative method would have been to draw a line from the centre of the Globe site (labelled B in Figure 2), as determined by Braines, to the vantage point atop St Saviour's tower. The angle formed at the intersection of this line and the central ray (on a bearing of 295.34 degrees) could be labelled θ . Because

$$\cos \theta = \frac{\text{adjacent}}{\text{hypotenuse}}$$

$$\cos \theta = \frac{H-W_2}{H-B}$$

$$H-W_2 = \cos \theta \times H-B$$

To check Orrell's method I have measured θ and H-B on a map of London and found the figure for H-W₂ so produced to be 348.1m, which is close enough to Orrell's figure (1144 feet equals 348.674m) to give confidence that the procedures are correct. In either case the figure produced depends upon the Globe being centered mid-way east-west along the plot of land which Braines showed was the site of the Globe (Orrell 1983b, 103), and as discussed in the chapter 4 section '4.14 New Objections to Orrell's Reading of the Hollar Sketch' the discovery of the Globe foundations in 1989 provided a more accurate figure for the distance of the Globe from the Hollar's vantage point.

However, we will proceed with the figure used by Orrell in 1983.

We now have the figures needed to calculate the scale of the sketch for objects in the same plane as the Globe playhouse. This plane is a slice through London and in Figure 6 it is represented by the line S-S₁ and the full sketch, which is an image of this slice, is represented by I-I₁. Half the 'slice' is shown from S-S_½ and half the image by I-I_½. It will be remembered that the angle subtended at H by the edges of sketch is 68.6 degrees, so half of this (marked as θ on the figure) is 34.3 degrees. In the triangle H-S-S_½

$$\tan \theta = \frac{\text{opposite}}{\text{adjacent}}$$

so,

$$\tan 34.3 = \frac{S-S_{\frac{1}{2}}}{1144 \text{ feet}}$$

so,

$$S-S_{\frac{1}{2}} = \tan 34.3 \times 1144 \text{ feet}$$

so,

$$S-S_{\frac{1}{2}} = 780.3838893 \text{ feet}$$

The distance S-S₁ is twice this, or 1560.767779 feet.

Unfortunately, Orrell used both feet and millimeters in his calculation, but we need not resolve the actual distance S-S₁ to a single figure. Instead, it may be expressed thus:

$$S-S_1 = 2 \times \tan 34.3 \times 1144 \text{ feet.}$$

Or, re-ordering the parts into Orrell's order (Orrell 1983b, 102):

$$S-S_1 = 1144 \times 2.\tan 34.3^\circ \text{ feet}$$

So, a sketch 0.309m wide represents a slice 1144 x 2.tan 34.3° feet wide. The real-world width of a playhouse which occupies just 0.021m of that sketch must be:

$$\frac{0.021}{0.309} \times S-S_1$$

or,

$$\frac{0.021}{0.309} \times 1144 \times 2.\tan 34.3^\circ \text{ feet}$$

or,

$$106.07 \text{ feet}$$

This is the diameter of the Globe playhouse, before correction for anamorphic distortion (Orrell 1983b, 102). This figure should be kept to one side until the error produced by anamorphic distortion is calculated, and then we will apply the correction to it.

Figure 2 shows the effect of anamorphic distortion (Orrell 1983b, 99). H is the vantage point and the circle is the playhouse whose diameter we wish to find. Had the playhouse been transparent and with dark markings (P_1 and P_2) showing where the 'slice' pierced its walls, Hollar could have marked them. But, the playhouse being made of wood, Hollar could only have marked the left and right hand edges of it. Thus he would have marked I_5 and I_6 , which represent the real-world distance a_1-b_1 , which is significantly more than the diameter we want, P_1-P_2 . Fortunately, the degree of overstatement is calculable. Imagine that the point of view H could be moved. If it were moved to the left of its current

position in the diagram, the line $H-a_1$ would move clockwise and the angle a_1-B-a would be reduced. If H were moved to a position directly below P_1 on the page, the line $H-a_1$ would be the central ray, the angle a_1-B-a would be zero, the points 'a' and a_1 would lie on top of point P_1 , and there would be no distortion. For every degree that the line $H-a_1$ is rotated anticlockwise from this ideal position, the angle a_1-B-a acquires an extra degree: in fact, the deviation of $H-a_1$ from the central ray equals the angle a_1-B-a . We need to know the deviation of $H-a_1$ and $H-b_1-b$ from the central ray.

On a map, a line from the left side of the Globe could be drawn to the top of St Saviour's tower and its deviation from the central ray (on a bearing of 295.34 from the tower) could be measured. Because the size of the Globe is unknown, Orrell did not try to guess the location of the left side of the Globe but rather he placed a scale reproduction of the sketch on a map at the angle needed to make the horizontal intervals between the known landmarks line up (this is, turned the scale reproduction to 25.34 degrees east of north). Extending the left and right side of the Globe in the reproduction down to the bottom of the piece of card on which the reproduction was printed produced two dots on the map and from each of these dots he drew a radial to the top of St Saviour's (Orrell 1983b, 98). Orrell measured the deviations of these lines from the central ray (a bearing of 295.34 degrees) to be 17.5 degrees for the left side of the Globe and 12.5 degrees for the right side of the Globe (Orrell 1983b, 99). These numbers can be fed into Figure 7. If $H-a_1$ is canted 17.5 degrees

east of the central ray, then, as we saw above, angle a_1-B-a is also 17.5 degrees. Let us assume that the playhouse is 100 units wide, and hence that the radius $B-a$ is 50 units. We can calculate how much greater than $a-B$ is its representation a_1-B . In the triangle a_1-B-a , angle $B-a-a_1$ is a right-angle, a_1-B is the hypotenuse, and $B-a$ is the radius 50 units. Calling the angle a_1-B-a θ :

$$\cos \theta = \frac{\text{adjacent}}{\text{hypotenuse}}$$

$$\cos a_1-B-a = \frac{B-a}{a_1-B}$$

$$\cos 17.5 = \frac{50}{a_1-B}$$

$$a_1-B = \frac{50}{\cos 17.5}$$

$$a_1-B = 52.42645 \text{ units}$$

So, the radius $B-a$ which is 50 units long is overstated by the line a_1-B which is 52.42645 units long. We must now repeat the calculation to find by how much $B-b_1$ overstates the radius $B-b$. In the triangle b_1-B-b , angle $B-b-b_1$ is a right-angle, b_1-B is the hypotenuse, and $B-b$ is the radius 50 units.

Calling the angle b_1-B-b θ :

$$\cos \theta = \frac{\text{adjacent}}{\text{hypotenuse}}$$

$$\cos b_1-B-b = \frac{B-b}{b_1-B}$$

$$\cos 12.5 = \frac{50}{b_1-B}$$

$$b_1-B = \frac{50}{\cos 12.5}$$

$$b_1-B = 51.21397 \text{ units}$$

In total, the two radii a-B and B-b (100 units) are overstated by line a₁-b₁ which measures 103.64 units. That is to say, the method of drawing exaggerates the width of the playhouse by 3.64%. We found the width of the playhouse, before correction for anamorphic distortion, to be 106.07 feet, so when this is reduced by 3.64% the final figure for the width of the Globe is 102.35 feet (Orrell 1983b, 102). Orrell found a range of widths for the image in the sketch, from a minimum of 0.0208m to a maximum of 0.0212m, and these can be fed into the above calculations also. The minimum figure gives a final playhouse diameter of:

$$\frac{0.0208}{0.309} \times 1144 \times 2 \cdot \tan 34.3^\circ \times \frac{100}{103.64} = 101.37 \text{ feet}$$

And the maximum figure gives a diameter of:

$$\frac{0.0212}{0.309} \times 1144 \times 2 \cdot \tan 34.3^\circ \times \frac{100}{103.64} = 103.32 \text{ feet}$$

12.2 Determining the Orientation of the Stage from Hollar's Sketch

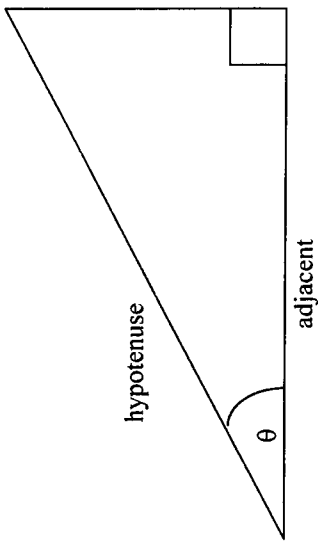
In a linear perspective drawing all the parallel horizontals converge on a point on the horizon. A line extended from the bottom of the fascia board of the stage cover in the Hollar sketch will cross the horizon at the same point that a parallel line from Hollar's vantage point would strike the horizon. This point can be located on a modern map and a line from St Saviour's to this point is about 42 degrees west of north. The fascia board must be parallel to this line and hence it too pointed 42 degrees west of north and

therefore the front edge of the stage was also on this bearing. The main axis of the playhouse--the direction that its stage 'faced'--was at right angles to this bearing and so was 48 degrees east of north (Orrell 1983b, 153). Orrell showed that this could also be demonstrated using the diagrammatic projection of the sketch made by Hodges (Hodges 1973, 39) and the known deviation of the Globe from the centre line of the picture plane, whose bearing Orrell had already established to be 25.34 degrees east of north (Orrell 1983b, 81). Adding the Globe's deviation from the centre of the picture plane (15 degrees) to the deviation of the fascia from the perceived diameter (52 degrees) produced a deviation from the bearing of the topographical glass of 67 degrees. 67 minus 25.34 gave the actual bearing of the fascia board as 41.66 degrees west of north, which was very close to the 42 degrees determined by the alternative procedure (Orrell 1983b, 154). 48.25 degrees east of north is very nearly the bearing on which the sun would have risen at midsummer in Southwark (Orrell 1983b, 154-7).

12.3 McCurdy's Re-introduction of Ad Quadratum Design at the Globe Using Jetties

In McCurdy's proposed design the depth of the gallery bays was 12½ feet measured across the outer faces using the short radial which bisects each bay rather than the slightly longer radial which forms the boundary with the next bay (McCurdy 1993). To this 12½ feet was added an additional foot

for each additional gallery, making the uppermost gallery bay $14\frac{1}{2}$ feet deep. But measured along the boundary radial this uppermost gallery bay is 14 feet $7\frac{1}{4}$ inches deep, its outer edge being 50 feet from the centre of the yard and its inner edge being 35 feet $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches from the centre of the yard. 50 feet is 35 feet $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches multiplied by $\sqrt{2}$, and hence the uppermost circuit of bays is in ad quadratum proportion (McCurdy 1993, 3, fig. 2). McCurdy felt obliged to explain his mixture of 'between-centres' and 'face-to-face' measurements in the construction of the Globe, but failed to account for the discrepancy between his textual description of the wall plate having a total jetty of $23\frac{1}{2}$ inches and his diagram showing 24 inches of jetty (two 12 inch jetties are labelled), as well as the discrepancy within the diagram between the two 12 inch jetties and their diminution of the radius by 23 and $\frac{5}{8}$ inches, from 36 feet $10\frac{5}{8}$ inches to 34 feet 11 inches (McCurdy 1993, 4).



$$\text{sine } \theta = \frac{\text{opposite}}{\text{hypotenuse}}$$

$$\text{cosine} = \frac{\text{adjacent}}{\text{hypotenuse}}$$

$$\text{tangent} = \frac{\text{opposite}}{\text{adjacent}}$$

Figure 1

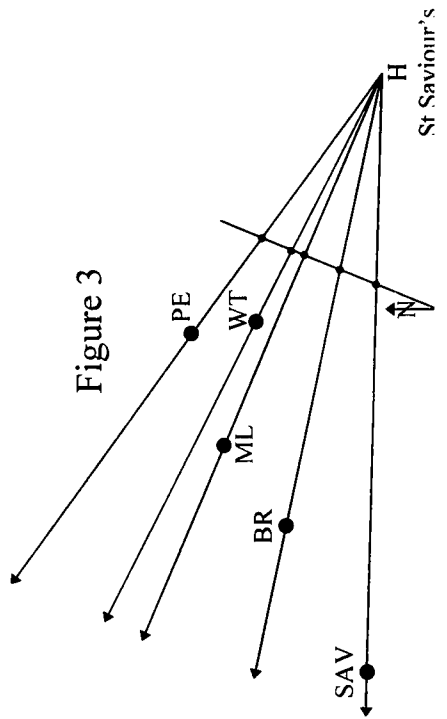


Figure 3

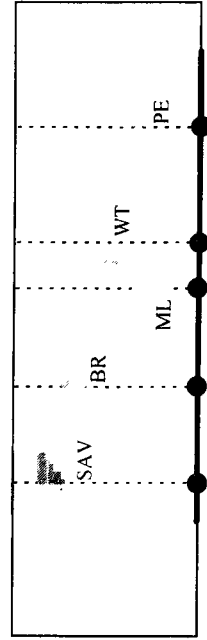


Figure 4

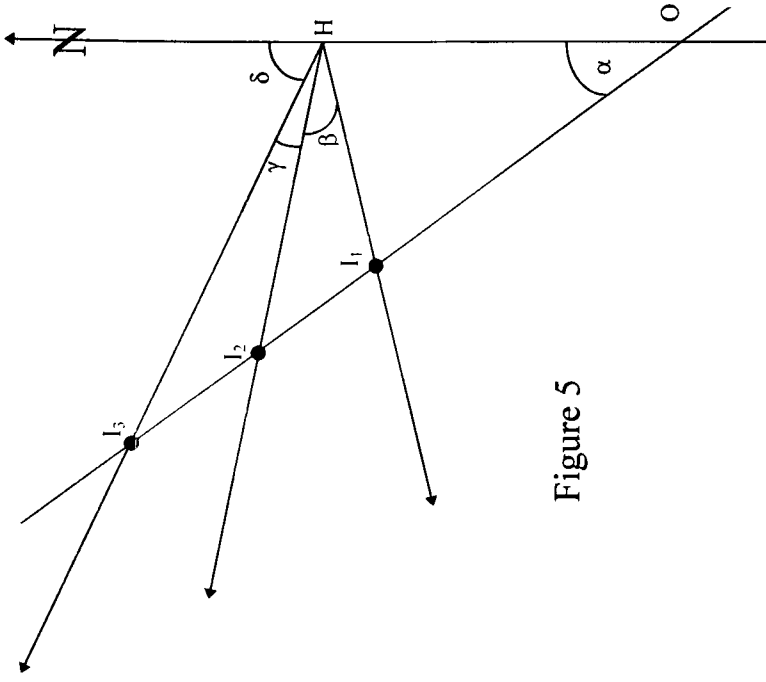


Figure 5

WORKS CITED

- Adams, John Cranford. 1942. The Globe Playhouse: Its Design and Equipment. Cambridge, MASS.: Harvard University Press.
- . 1943. The Globe Playhouse: Its Design and Equipment. 2nd Printing With Corrections. Cambridge, MASS.: Harvard University Press.
- . 1948. "The Original Staging of King Lear." Joseph Quincy Adams Memorial Studies. Ed. James G. McManaway, Giles E. Dawson, and Edwin E. Willoughby. Washington: Folger Shakespeare Library. 315-35.
- Adams, John Quincy. 1919. "Shakespeare, Heywood, and the Classics." Modern Language Notes 34.6: 336-339.
- Anon. 1599. A Warning for Faire Women. Containing, the Most Tragicall Murther of Master G. Sanders. London: V. Sims for W. Aspley.
- . 1602. A Larum for London, or the Siedge of Antwerpe. London: [E. Elldel] for W. Ferbrand.
- . 1604. Newes from Graves-End: Sent to Nobody [On the Plague. By T. Dekker. In Verse]. London: T. C[reede] for T. Archer.
- . 1605a. The Faire Maide of Bristow. As It Was Plaide At Hampton. London: [W. Jaggard for] Thomas Pauyer.
- . 1605b. The London Prodigall. London: T. C[reede] for N. Butter.
- . 1605c. Two Most Unnatural and Bloodie Murthers: The One By Maister Caverly, a Yorkshire Gentleman. The Other, By Mistris Browne. London: V. S[immes] for N. Butter.

- . 1608. The Merry Devill of Edmonton. London: H. Ballard for A. Johnson.
- . 1610. Histrion-Mastix. Or, the Player Whipt. [By J. Marston?]. London: [G. Eld] for T. Thorp.
- . 1662. The Wits, or, Sport Upon Sport. In Select Pieces of Drollery. [Part I]. London: For Henry Marsh.
- . 1672. The Wits, or, Sport Upon Sport. In Select Pieces of Drollery. Part I. London: By E. C. for Fancis [sic] Kirkman.
- . 1902. The Faire Maide of Bristow, 1605. Ed. Arthur Hobson Quinn. Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia.
- , ed. 1913. A Larum for London, 1602. Ed. W. W. Greg. London: Malone Society. 38 of Malone Society Reprints.
- . 1942. The Merry Devil of Edmonton, 1608. Ed. William Amos Abrams. Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press.
- . 1975. A Warning for Fair Women. Ed. Charles Dale Cannon. The Hague: Mouton. 86 of Studies in English Literature.
- . 1986. A Yorkshire Tragedy. Ed. A. C. Cawley and Barry Gaines. Manchester: Manchester University Press. The Revels Plays. Gen. ed. E. A. J. Honigmann, et al.
- Arbeau, Thoinot. 1925. Orchesography. Trans. Cyril W. Beaumont. London: Cyril W. Beaumont.
- Arber, Edward, ed. 1876. A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London 1554-1640 AD. Vol. 3. 5 vols. London: Privately Printed.

- Armstrong, William A. 1958. The Elizabethan Private Theatres: Facts and Problems. London: The Society for Theatre Research. 6 of The Society for Theatre Research Pamphlet Series.
- Astington, John H. 1983. "Gallows Scenes On the Elizabethan Stage." Theatre Notebook 37.1: 3-9.
- . 1987. "Counterweights in Elizabethan Stage Machinery." Theatre Notebook 41.1: 18-24.
- . 1993. "The Wits Illustration, 1662." Theatre Notebook 47.3: 122-140.
- Baldwin, T. W. 1927. The Organization and Personnel of the Shakespearean Company. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- . 1947. Shakspeare's Five-Act Structure: Shakspeare's Early Plays On the Background of Renaissance Theories of Five-Act Structure from 1470. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- . 1965. On Act and Scene Division in the Shakspeare First Folio. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press.
- Barnes, Barnabe. 1607. The Divils Charter; a Tragaedie Containing the Life and Death of Pope Alexander the Sixt. London: G. E[ld] for J. Wright.
- . 1904. The Devil's Charter. Ed. R. B. McKerrow. Louvain: A. Uystpruyt. 6 of Materialien Zur Kunde Des Älteren Englischen Drama. Gen. ed. W. Bang.
- . 1980. The Devil's Charter. Ed. Jim C. Pogue. New York: Garland. Renaissance Drama: A Collection of Critical Editions. Gen. ed. Stephen Orgel.

- Barroll, Leeds. 1991. Politics, Plague, and Shakespeare's Theater: The Stuart Years. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Baskervill, C. R. 1911. "The Custom of Sitting On the Elizabethan Stage." Modern Philology 8: 581-589.
- Beaumont, Francis. 1613. The Knight of the Burning Pestle. London: [N. Okes] for W. Burre.
- . 1968. The Knight of the Burning Pestle. Ed. Andrew Gurr. Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd. Fountainwell Drama Texts. Gen. ed. T. A. Dunn, et al.
- Beaumont, Francis, and John Fletcher. 1982. Dramatic Works. Vol. 5: The Mad Lover; The Loyal Subject; The Humorous Lieutenant; Women Pleased; The Island Princess. Ed. Fredson Bowers. 10 vols. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- . 1985. Dramatic Works. Vol. 6: Wit Without Money; The Pilgrim; The Wild-Goose Chase; A Wife for a Month; Rule a Wife and Have a Wife. Ed. Fredson Bowers. 10 vols. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Beckerman, Bernard. 1962. Shakespeare At the Globe, 1599-1609. New York: Macmillan.
- . 1989. "Theatrical Plots and Elizabethan Stage Practice." Shakespeare and Dramatic Tradition. Ed. W. R. Elton and William B. Long. Newark: University of Delaware Press. 109-24.
- Berry, Herbert. 1987. Shakespeare's Playhouses. New York: AMS.

- Blatherwick, Simon, and Andrew Gurr. 1992. "Shakespeare's Factory: Archaeological Evaluations On the Site of the Globe Theatre At 1/15 Anchor Terrace, Southwark Bridge Road, Southwark." Antiquity 66: 315-333.
- Blayney, Peter W. M. 1982. The Texts of King Lear and Their Origins. Vol. 1: Nicholas Okes and the First Quarto. 2 vols. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. New Cambridge Shakespeare Studies and Supplementary Texts. Gen. ed. Philip Brockbank.
- Boccaccio, Giovanni. 1620. The Decameron Containing an Hundred Pleasant Nouels. Vol. 1. 2 vols. London: I. Jaggard.
- Bowsher, Julian M. C., and Simon Blatherwick. 1990. "The Structure of the Rose." New Issues in the Reconstruction of Shakespeare's Theatre: Proceedings of the Conference Held At the University of Georgia, February 16-18, 1990. Ed. Franklin J. Hildy. New York: Peter Lang. 55-78.
- Bradley, David. 1992. From Text to Performance in the Elizabethan Theatre. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Braines, W. W. 1924. The Site of the Globe Playhouse, Southwark. 2nd ed. London: Hodder and Stoughton.
- Brissenden, Alan. 1981. Shakespeare and the Dance. London: Macmillan.
- Brownstein, Oscar. 1979. "Why Didn't Burbage Lease the Beargarden? A Conjecture in Comparative Architecture." The First Public Playhouse: The Theatre in Shoreditch

- 1576-1598. Ed. Herbert Berry. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press. 81-96.
- Campion, Thomas. 1607. The Description of a Maske, in Honour of the Lord Hayes. London: J. Windet for J. Brown.
- Carrot, Jasper. 1984. A Little Zit On the Side. London: Arrow.
- Carson, Neil. 1988. A Companion to Henslowe's Diary. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Cerasano, S. P. 1994. "'Borrowed Robes,' Costume Prices, and the Drawing of Titus Andronicus." Shakespeare Studies 22: 45-57.
- Chamberlain, John. 1939. The Letters of John Chamberlain. Vol. 1. Ed. Norman Egbert McClure. 2 vols. Philadelphia: American Philosophy Society. 12 of Memoirs.
- Chambers, E. K. 1923a. The Elizabethan Stage. Vol. 1. 4 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- . 1923b. The Elizabethan Stage. Vol. 2. 4 vols. Oxford: Clarendon.
- . 1923c. The Elizabethan Stage. Vol. 3. 4 vols. Oxford: Clarendon.
- . 1923d. The Elizabethan Stage. Vol. 4. 4 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- . 1930a. William Shakespeare: A Study of Facts and Problems. Vol. 1. 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- . 1930b. William Shakespeare: A Study of Facts and Problems. Vol. 2. 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

- Chapman, George. 1612. The Widdowes Teares a Comedie.
 London: [W. Stansby] for J. Browne.
- . 1975. The Widow's Tears. London: Methuen. Revels Plays. Gen. ed. F. David Hoeniger.
- Clout, Martin. 1987a. "Appendix 2: Notes On the Reconstructed Globe." 'The Shape of the Globe' and 'The Interior of the Globe': Reports On Seminars Held On 29 March 1983 and 12 April 1986. Ed. Ronnie Mulryne and Margaret Shewring. Coventry: University of Warwick Graduate School of Renaissance Studies. 94-95. 8 of The Renaissance Drama Newsletter Supplements.
- . 1987b. The Globe That Shakespeare Knew: A Critique of the Replica Reconstruction of the First Globe Theatre By the International Shakespeare Globe Centre and a Proposal for As Authentic a Reconstruction As Is Possible from Contemporary Evidence. Battle, East Sussex, UK: Martin S. Clout.
- . 1992. "The Evaluation and Scheduling of the Globe Theatre Estate." London Archaeologist 6.15: 407-414.
- . 1993-4. "Hester Thrale and the Globe Theatre." The New Rambler 9: 34-50.
- Coghill, Nevill. 1958. "Six Points of Stage-Craft in The Winter's Tale." Shakespeare Survey 11: 31-41.
- Cole, Maija Jansson. 1981. "A New Account of the Burning of the Globe." Shakespeare Quarterly 32: 352.
- Corballis, R. P. 1979. "The 'Second Pen' in the Stage Version of Sejanus." Modern Philology 76.3: 273-277.

- Creizenach, Wilhelm. 1918. "Verloren Gegangene Englische Dramen Aus Dem Zeitalter Shakespeares." Shakespeare Jahrbuch 54: 42-49.
- Cressy, David. 1997. Birth, Marriage, and Death: Ritual, Religion, and the Life-Cycle in Tudor and Stuart England. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Cromwell, Otelia. 1928. Thomas Heywood: A Study in the Elizabethan Drama of Everyday Life. New Haven: Yale University Press. 78 of Yale Studies in English.
- Davies, Sir John, and Christopher Marlowe. 1595-6. Epigrammes and Elegies. Middleborough: n.p.
- Day, Barry. 1996. This Wooden 'O': Shakespeare's Globe Reborn. London: Oberon.
- Dekker, Thomas. 1600. The Pleasant Comedie of Old Fortunatus. London: S. S[tafford] for W. Apsley.
- . 1602. Satiro-Mastix. Or the Untrussing of the Humorous Poet. London: for E. White.
- . 1606. Newes from Hell; Brought By the Divells Carrier. London: R. B[lower, S. Stafford, and V. Simmes] for W. Ferebrand.
- . 1609a. The Guls Horne-Booke. London: [N. Okes] for R. S[ergier?].
- . 1609b. The Ravens Almanacke Foretelling of a Plague, Famine, and Civill Warre. London: E. A[llde] for T. Archer.
- . 1612. If It Be Not Good, the Divel Is in It. A New Play. London: [T. Creede] for J. T[trundle,] sold by E. Marchant.

- . 1613. A Strange Horse-Race, At the End of Which, Comes in the Catch-Pols Masque. [Etc.]. London: [N. Okes] for J. Hunt.
- Dekker, Thomas, and John Webster. 1607. The Famous History of Sir T. Wyatt. With the Coronation of Queen Mary. Written By T. Dickers, and J. Webster. London: E. A[lldel] for T. Archer.
- Dekker, Thomas, and George Wilkins. 1607. Jests to Make You Merie: With the Conjuring Up of a Cock Watt. [Also] the Miserie of a Prison, and a Prisoner. And a Paradox in Praise of Serjeants. London: N. O[kes] for N. Butter.
- Dessen, Alan C. 1984. Elizabethan Stage Conventions and Modern Interpreters. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- . 1989. "Much Virtue in As." Shakespeare and the Sense of Performance: Essays in the Tradition of Performance Criticism in Honor of Bernard Beckerman. Ed. Marvin Thompson and Ruth Thompson. Newark: University of Delaware Press. 132-38.
- . 1995. Recovering Shakespeare's Theatrical Vocabulary. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Drakakis, John. 1988. "Theatre, Ideology, and Institution: Shakespeare and the Roadsweepers." The Shakespeare Myth. Ed. Graham Holderness. Manchester: Manchester University Press. 24-41. Cultural Politics. Gen. ed. Jonathan Dollimore and Alan Sinfield.

- Eccles, Mark. 1933. "Barnabe Barnes." Thomas Lodge and Other Elizabethans. Ed. Charles J. Sisson. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 165-241.
- Egan, Gabriel. 1995. Delegate's Report On the Conference 'Within This Wooden O' Held At the International Shakespeare Globe Centre London 18-20 April 1995. Privately Circulated Paper.
- . 1996. "The Use of Booths in the Original Staging of Jonson's Bartholomew Fair." Cahiers Élisabéthains (forthcoming).
- . 1997. "London's New Globe Opens." Speech and Drama 46.1: 18-24.
- Feuillerat, Albert, ed. 1908. Documents Relating to the Office of the Revels in the Time of Queen Elizabeth. Louvain: A. Uystpruyt. 21 of Materialien Zur Kunde Des Älteren Englischen Dramas. Gen. ed. W. Bang.
- Fitzpatrick, Tim. 1995. "Shakespeare's Exploitation of a Two-Door Stage: Macbeth." Theatre Research International 20.3: 207-230.
- . 1996. "The Fortune Contract and Hollar's Original Drawing of Southwark: Some Indications of a Smaller First Globe." Shakespeare Bulletin 14.4: 5-10.
- Fleay, Frederick Gard. 1890. A Chronicle History of the London Stage 1559-1642. London: Reeves & Turner.
- . 1891a. A Biographical Chronicle of the English Drama 1559-1642. Vol. 1. 2 vols. London: Reeves and Turner.
- . 1891b. A Biographical Chronicle of the English Drama 1559-1642. Vol. 2. 2 vols. London: Reeves and Turner.

- Fletcher, John. 1640. The Tragoedy of Rollo Duke of Normandy. By J. Fletcher. Oxford: L Lichfield.
- Fletcher, John, and Francis Beaumont. 1647. Comedies and Tragedies. London: For Humphrey Robinson, and Humphrey Mosely.
- Foakes, R. A. 1985. Illustrations of the English Stage 1580-1642. London: Scolar Press.
- Foakes, R. A., and R. T. Rickert, eds. 1961. Henslowe's Diary, Edited With Supplementary Material, Introduction and Notes. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Fotheringham, Richard. 1985. "The Doubling of Roles On the Jacobean Stage." Theatre Research International 10.1: 18-32.
- French, J. Nathan. 1964. "The Staging of Magical Effects in Elizabethan and Jacobean Drama." Ph.D. Thesis. University of Birmingham, UK.
- Gair, Reavley. 1982. The Children of Paul's: The Story of a Theatre Company, 1553-1608. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- George, David. 1991. "Coriolanus At the Blackfriars?" Notes and Queries ns 38.4: 489-492.
- Gibaldi, Joseph, and Walter S. Achtert. 1988. MLA Handbook for Writers of Research Papers. 3rd ed. New York: MLA.
- Gibbons, Brian. 1995. The Question of Place. Paper Delivered At 14.30 On 19 April During Conference 'Within This Wooden O' Held At International Shakespeare Globe Centre London 18-20 April.

- Granville-Barker, Harley. 1930. Prefaces to Shakespeare.
 Vol. 2: Romeo and Juliet, The Merchant of Venice, Antony and Cleopatra, Cymbeline. London: Sidgwick & Jackson.
- de Grazia, Margreta. 1991. Shakespeare Verbatim: The Reproduction of Authenticity and the 1790 Apparatus.
 Oxford: Clarendon.
- Greene, Robert. 1594. The Honorable Historie of Frier Bacon, and Frier Bongay. London: [A. Islip] for E. White.
- . 1599. The Comicall Historie of Alphonsus, King of Aragon. [Init. R. G.]. London: T. Creede.
- Greg, W. W., ed. 1907. Henslowe Papers: Being Documents Supplementary to Henslowe's Diary. London: Bullen.
- , ed. 1908. Henslowe's 'Diary'. Vol. 2: Commentary. 2 vols. London: Bullen.
- . 1910. Part Three: Notes On the Society's Publications; Albion Knight, an Imperfect Morality, Printed By Colwell, C. 1566; Temperence and Humility, a Fragment of a Morality Printed C. 1530; James I At Oxford in 1605. Property Lists from the University Archives, Edited By F. S. Boas and W. W. Greg; Dramatic Records from the Patent Rolls, Company Licences, Edited By E. K. Chambers and W. W. Greg. Vol. 1. Ed. W. W. Greg. 5 vols. Oxford: Malone Society. Malone Society Collections. Gen. ed. W. W. Greg.
- . 1926. "The Riddle of Jonson's Chronology." The Library 6.4: 340-347.
- . 1948. "Old Style-New Style." Joseph Quincy Adams Memorial Studies. Ed. James G. McManaway, Giles E.

- Dawson, and Edwin E. Willoughby. Washington: Folger Shakespeare Library. 563-69.
- . 1970. A Bibliography of the English Printed Drama to the Restoration. Vol. 1: Stationers'-Records; Plays to 1616: Nos. 1-349. 4 vols. London: The Bibliographical Society.
- Grosart, Rev Alexander B., ed. 1873. The Dr. Farmer Chetham MS. Commonplace-Book. Vol. 1. 2 vols. Manchester: The Chetham Society.
- Guilpin, Edward. 1598. Skialetheia. Or, a Shadowe of Truth, in Certaine Epigrams and Satyres. London: J. R[oberts] for N. Ling.
- Gurr, Andrew. 1983. "The Conclusions." 'The Shape of the Globe': Report On the Seminar Held At Pentagram Ltd London By ISGC On 29 March 1983. Ed. Andrew Gurr, John Orrell, and John Ronayne. Coventry: University of Warwick Graduate School of Renaissance Studies. 14-21. 1 of The Renaissance Drama Newsletter Supplements.
- . 1987a. "The Discussion." 'The Shape of the Globe' and 'The Interior of the Globe': Reports On Seminars Held On 29 March 1983 and 12 April 1986. Ed. Ronnie Mulryne and Margaret Shewring. Coventry: University of Warwick Graduate School of Renaissance Studies. 81-89. 8 of The Renaissance Drama Newsletter Supplements.
- . 1987b. Playgoing in Shakespeare's London. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- . 1988. "Money or Audiences: The Impact of Shakespeare's Globe." Theatre Notebook 42.1: 3-14.

- . 1989. "The Tempest's Tempest At Blackfriars." Shakespeare Survey 41: 91-102.
- . 1992. The Shakespearean Stage 1574 - 1642. 3rd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- . 1993. "Evidence for the Design of the Globe: The Report of a One-Day Seminar Held On 10 October 1992 At Pentagram in London." The Design of the Globe. Ed. Andrew Gurr, Ronnie Mulryne, and Margaret Shewring. London: International Shakespeare Globe Centre. 1-19.
- . 1994a. "The Bare Island." Shakespeare Survey 47: 29-43.
- . 1994b. "Playing in Amphitheatres and Playing in Hall Theatres." The Elizabethan Theatre XIII: Papers Given At the 13th International Conference On Elizabethan Theatre Held At the University of Waterloo, Ontario, in July 1989. Toronto: Meany. 27-62.
- . 1996a. The Shakespearian Playing Companies. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- . 1996b. Traps and Discoveries At the Globe. The British Academy Annual Shakespeare Lecture Delivered At 20-21 Cornwall Terrace London On 25 April At 17:30.
- . 1997. "Staging At the Globe." Shakespeare's Globe Rebuilt. Ed. J. R. Mulryne, Margaret Shewring, and Andrew Gurr. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 159-68.
- Gurr, Andrew, Ronnie Mulryne, and Margaret Shewring. 1993. "Extracts from Correspondence." The Design of the Globe.

- Ed. Andrew Gurr, Ronnie Mulryne, and Margaret Shewring.
 London: International Shakespeare Globe Centre. 107-15.
- Gyde, Robert Humphrey. 1990. "Speaking Apart: The Formation and Exploration of Character Through the Aside and Soliloquy in Elizabethan and Jacobean Drama." Ph.D. Thesis. Stanford University.
- . 1997. Represented Awareness: Does Autolycus Overhear Camillo's Audience-Directed Aside in The Winter's Tale 4.4.663-8? E-Mail to the Author. 9 and 13 May 1997.
- Harbage, Alfred. 1940. Annals of English Drama 975-1700: An Analytical Record of All Plays, Extant or Lost, Chronologically Arranged and Indexed By Authors, Titles, Dramatic Companies, Etc. 1st ed. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- . 1964. Annals of English Drama 975-1700: An Analytical Record of All Plays, Extant or Lost, Chronologically Arranged and Indexed By Authors, Titles, Dramatic Companies, Etc. 2nd ed. Revised By S. Schoenbaum. London: Methuen.
- . 1989. Annals of English Drama 975-1700: An Analytical Record of All Plays, Extant or Lost, Chronologically Arranged and Indexed By Authors, Titles, Dramatic Companies, Etc. 3rd ed. Revised By S. Schoenbaum for 2nd Edition (London: Methuen, 1964) and By Sylvia Stoler Wagonheim for 3rd Edition. London: Routledge.

- Haughton, William. 1616. English-Men for My Money: Or, a Pleasant Comedy, Called, A Woman Will Have Her Will. [Anon]. London: W. White.
- Hawkes, Terence. 1992. Meaning By Shakespeare. London: Routledge.
- Hewitt, Barnard, ed. 1958. The Renaissance Stage: Documents of Serlio, Sabbattini and Furtttenbach. Trans. Allardyce Nicoll, John H. McDowell, and George R. Kernodle. Coral Gables, FLA: University of Miami Press. 1 of Books of the Theatre.
- Heywood, Thomas. 1611. The Golden Age. Or the Lives of Jupiter and Saturne, With the Deifying of the Heathen Gods. London: [N. Okes] for W. Barrenger.
- . 1615. The Foure Prentices of London. London: [N. Okes] for J. W[right].
- . 1980. The Four Prentices of London: A Critical, Old-Spelling Edition. Ed. Mary Ann Weber Gasior. New York: Garland. Renaissance Drama: A Collection of Critical Editions. Gen. ed. Stephen Orgel.
- Hildy, Franklin J. 1992a. "'If You Build It They Will Come': The Reconstruction of Shakespeare's Globe Gets Underway On the Bankside in London." Shakespeare Bulletin 10.3: 5-9.
- . 1992b. "A Minority Report On the Decisions of the Pentagon Conference." Shakespeare Bulletin 10.4: 9-12.
- Hinds, Allen B., ed. 1908. Calendar of the State Papers and Manuscripts Relating to English Affairs, Existing in the Archives and Collections of Venice, and in Other

- Libraries of Northern Italy. Vol. 14: Years 1615-17.
London: HMSO.
- Hinman, Charlton. 1963. The Printing and the Proof-Reading of the First Folio of Shakespeare. Vol. 2. 2 vols.
Oxford: Clarendon.
- Hodges, C. Walter. 1948. Shakespeare and the Players.
London: Ernest Benn.
- . 1950. "Unworthy Scaffolds: A Theory for the Reconstruction of Elizabethan Playhouses." Shakespeare Survey 3: 83-94.
- . 1951. "De Witt Again." Theatre Notebook 5.2: 32-34.
- . 1953. The Globe Restored: A Study of the Elizabethan Theatre. London: Ernest Benn.
- . 1968. The Globe Restored: A Study of the Elizabethan Theatre. 2nd ed. London: Oxford University Press.
- . 1973. Shakespeare's Second Globe: The Missing Monument. London: Oxford University Press.
- . 1981. "The Value and Feasibility of Reconstruction." The Third Globe: Symposium for the Reconstruction of the Third Globe Playhouse, Wayne State University, 1979. Ed. C. Walter Hodges, S. Schoenbaum, and Leonard Leone. Detroit: Wayne State University Press. 58-81.
- Honigmann, E. A. J., and Susan Brock. 1992. Playhouse Wills 1558-1642: An Edition of Wills By Shakespeare and His Contemporaries in the London Theatre. Manchester: Manchester University Press. Revels Plays Companion Library.

- Hosley, Richard. 1957a. "The Gallery Over the Stage in the Public Playhouse of Shakespeare's Time." Shakespeare Quarterly 8: 15-31.
- . 1957b. "Shakespeare's Use of a Gallery Over the Stage." Shakespeare Survey 10: 77-89.
- . 1959. "The Discovery-Space in Shakespeare's Globe." Shakespeare Survey 12: 35-46.
- . 1960. "Was There a Music-Room in Shakespeare's Globe?" Shakespeare Survey 13: 113-123.
- . 1963. "The Staging of Desdemona's Bed." Shakespeare Quarterly 14: 57-65.
- . 1964. "The Staging of the Monument Scenes in Antony and Cleopatra." Library Chronicle 30: 62-71.
- . 1975a. "The Playhouses." The Revels History of Drama in English. Ed. Clifford Leech and T. W. Craik. Vol. 3: 1576-1613. London: Methuen. 119-235.
- . 1975b. "The Second Globe." Theatre Notebook 29.3: 140-145.
- . 1978. "A Reconstruction of the Fortune Playhouse: Part 1." The Elizabethan Theatre VI: Papers Given At the Sixth International Conference On Elizabethan Theatre Held At the University of Waterloo, Ontario, in July 1975. Ed. G. R. Hibbard. London: Macmillan. 1-20.
- . 1981a. "A Reconstruction of the Fortune Playhouse: Part 2." The Elizabethan Theatre VII: Papers Given At the Seventh International Conference On Elizabethan Theatre Held At the University of Waterloo, Ontario, in July 1977. Ed. G. R. Hibbard. London: Macmillan. 1-20.

- . 1981b. "The Shape and Size of the Second Globe." The Third Globe: Symposium for the Reconstruction of the Third Globe Playhouse, Wayne State University, 1979. Ed. C. Walter Hodges, S. Schoenbaum, and Leonard Leone. Detroit: Wayne State University Press. 82-107.
- . 1987. "The Stage Superstructures of the First Globe and the Swan." 'The Shape of the Globe' and 'The Interior of the Globe': Reports On Seminars Held On 29 March 1983 and 12 April 1986. Ed. Ronnie Mulryne and Margaret Shewring. Coventry: University of Warwick Graduate School of Renaissance Studies. 42-78. 8 of The Renaissance Drama Newsletter Supplements.
- Hotson, Leslie. 1954. The First Night of Twelfth Night. London: Rupert Hart-Davis.
- . 1959. Shakespeare's Wooden O. London: Rupert Hart-Davis.
- Howard-Hill, T. H. 1966. "Knight, Crane, and the Copy for the Folio Winter's Tale." Notes and Queries ns 13.4: 139-140.
- . 1972. Ralph Crane and Some Shakespeare First Folio Comedies. Charlottesville, VA: University Press of Virginia.
- Hunter, Joseph. 1845. New Illustrations of the Life, Studies, and Writings of Shakespeare. Vol. 2. 2 vols. London: J. B. Nichols.
- Ichikawa, Mariko. 1995. Overlapping Exits and Entrances in Shakespeare's Plays. Paper Circulated At Conference

- 'Within This Wooden O' Held At ISGC Globe Education
Centre London 18-20 April 1995.
- . 1996. The Use of Stage Doors in Shakespeare's
Playhouses. Unpublished Manuscript.
- . 1997a. Does the Queen Exit By the Same Door She Entered
in Cymbeline 1.2.32-6? E-Mail to the Author. 3 June 1997.
- . 1997b. Entrances and Exits Through the Central Opening.
Unpublished manuscript.
- Ingram, R. W., ed. 1981. Coventry. Toronto: University of
Toronto Press. Records of Early English Drama.
- Ingram, William. 1979. "Henry Lanman's Curtain Playhouse As
an 'Easer' to the Theatre, 1585-1592." The First Public
Playhouse: The Theatre in Shoreditch 1576-1598. Ed.
Herbert Berry. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University
Press. 17-28.
- . 1992. "The 'Evolution' of the Elizabethan Playing
Company." The Development of Shakespeare's Theater. Ed.
John H. Astington. New York: AMS. 13-28. 24 of AMS
Studies in the Renaissance.
- Jackson, Macd P. 1979. Studies in Attribution: Middleton and
Shakespeare. Salzburg: Institut für Anglistik und
Amerikanistik, Universität Salzburg. 79 of Jacobean
Drama Studies. Gen. ed. James Hogg.
- Jackson, William A., ed. 1957. Records of the Court of the
Stationers' Company 1602 to 1640. London: The
Bibliographical Society.
- Jonson, Ben. 1600a. The Comicall Satyre of Every Man Out of
His Humor. London: [P. Short] for W. Holme.

- . 1600b. The Comicall Satyre of Every Man Out of His Humor. London: [A. Islip] for W. Holme.
- . 1601. The Fountaine of Self-Love. Or Cynthias Revells. London: [R. Read] for W. Burre.
- . 1602. Poetaster or the Arraignment. London: [R. Bradock] for M. L[ownes].
- . 1605. Sejanus His Fall. London: G. Elld for T. Thorpe.
- . 1607. Ben: Jonson His Volpone or the Foxe. London: [G. Eld] for T. Thorppe.
- . 1616. The Workes of Benjamin Jonson. London: W. Stansby.
- . 1631. [The Second Volume of the Works.] Bartholmew Fayre. (The Divell Is an Asse.--The Staple of Newes.). London: J. B[eale] for R. Allot.
- . 1640. Ben: Jonson's Execration Against Vulcan. With Divers Epigrams. London: J. O[kes] for J. Benson.
- . 1925. Works. Vol. 1: The Man and His Work. Ed. C. H. Herford and Percy Simpson. 11 vols. Oxford: Clarendon.
- . 1960. Bartholomew Fair. Ed. E. A. Horsman. London: Methuen. The Revels Plays.
- . 1977. Bartholmew Fair. Ed. G. R. Hibbard. London: Ernest Benn. The New Mermaids. Gen. ed. Brian Morris, Brian Gibbons, and Roma Gill.
- . 1983. Volpone, or, the Fox. Ed. R. B. Parker. Manchester: Manchester University Press. The Revels Plays. Gen. ed. E. A. J. Honigmann, J. R. Mulryne, and David Bevington.

- . 1990. Sejanus His Fall. Ed. Philip J. Ayres. Manchester: Manchester University Press. The Revels Plays. Gen. ed. E. A. J. Honigmann, et al.
- . 1995. Poetaster. Ed. Tom Cain. Manchester: Manchester University Press. The Revels Plays. Gen. ed. E. A. J. Honigmann, et al.
- Jowett, John. 1983. "New Created Creatures: Ralph Crane and the Stage Directions in The Tempest." Shakespeare Survey 36: 107-120.
- Keenan, Siobhan, and Peter Davidson. 1997. "The Iconography of the Globe." Shakespeare's Globe Rebuilt. Ed. J. R. Mulryne, Margaret Shewring, and Andrew Gurr. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 147-56.
- Kernodle, George R. 1944. From Art to Theatre: Form and Convention in the Renaissance. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- King, T. J. 1992. Casting Shakespeare's Plays: London Actors and Their Roles, 1590-1642. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Krueger, Robert. 1962. "Sir John Davies: Orchestra Complete, Epigrams, Unpublished Poems." Review of English Studies ns 13.50. Part 2 of 2: 113-124.
- Lawrence, W. J. 1912. The Elizabethan Playhouse and Other Studies. Stratford-upon-Avon: Shakespeare Head Press.
- . 1927. Pre-Restoration Stage Studies. Harvard: Harvard University Press.

- Lodge, Thomas, and Robert Greene. 1594. A Looking Glasse for London and England. London: T. Creede, sold by W. Barley.
- Lusardi, James P. 1993. "The Pictured Playhouse: Reading the Utrecht Engraving of Shakespeare's London." Shakespeare Quarterly 44: 202-227.
- Madden, D. H. 1897. The Diary of Master William Silence: A Study of Shakespeare and of Elizabethan Sport. London: Longmans, Green, and Co.
- Marcus, Leah S. 1996. Unediting the Renaissance: Shakespeare, Marlowe, Milton. London: Routledge.
- Marlowe, Christopher. 1616. The Tragicall History of D. Faustus. Written By Ch. Mar. London: J. Wright.
- . 1978. The Jew of Malta. Manchester: Manchester University Press. The Revels Plays. Gen. ed. F. David Hoener, E. A. J. Honigmann, and J. R. Mulryne.
- Marston, John. 1602. The History of Antonio and Mellida. The First Part. [Init. I. M.]. London: [R. Braddock] for M. Lownes and T. Fisher.
- . 1607. What You Will. London: G. Eld for T. Thorppe.
- Massinger, Philip. 1927. Believe As You List, 1631. London: Malone Society. Malone Society Reprints. Gen. ed. W. W. Greg.
- Maxwell, Baldwin. 1956. Studies in the Shakespeare Apocrypha. New York: Columbia University.
- . 1958. "Conjectures On London Prodigal." Studies in Honor of T. W. Baldwin. Ed. Don Cameron Allen. Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 171-84.

- McCurdy, Peter. 1993. "Shakespeare's Globe Theatre: The Construction of Two Experimental Bays in June 1992." The Timber Frame--From Preservation to Reconstruction: Papers Presented At the International Council On Monuments and Sites UK Timber Seminar Held At Haydock Park On 26 April 1993. Ed. F. W. B. Charles. London: Icomos UK. 1-20.
- McMillin, Scott. 1992. "The Rose and The Swan." The Development of Shakespeare's Theater. Ed. John H. Astington. New York: AMS. 159-83. 24 of AMS Studies in the Renaissance.
- Meres, Francis. 1598. Palladis Tamia. Wits Treasury Being the Second Part of Wits Common Wealth. [Ed. N. Ling]. London: P. Short for C. Burbie.
- Metz, G. Harold. 1981. "The Early Staging of Titus Andronicus." Shakespeare Studies 14: 99-109.
- Middleton, Thomas. 1604. The Blacke Booke. London: T. C[reede] for J. Chorlton.
- . 1657. Two New Playes, Viz. More Dissemblers Besides Women. Women Beware Women. London: For Humphrey Moseley.
- . 1950. The Witch. Ed. W. W. Greg and F. P. Wilson. Oxford: Malone Society. Malone Society Reprints. Gen. ed. F. P. Wilson.
- . 1975. Women Beware Women. London: Methuen. Revels Plays. Gen. ed. F. David Hoeniger.
- Montgomery, William. 1989. "The Original Staging of The First Part of the Contention (1594)." Shakespeare Survey 41: 13-22.

- Moryson, Fynes. 1903. Shakespeare's Europe: Unpublished Chapters of Fynes Moryson's Itinerary, Being a Survey of the Condition of Europe At the End of the 16th Century. Ed. Charles Hughes. London: Sherratt & Hughes.
- Mulryne, Ronnie, and Margaret Shewring. 1987. "Appendix 1. Decorating the 'Frons Scenae' and Designing the Roof: Second Thoughts On the Pentagonam Seminar." 'The Shape of the Globe' and 'The Interior of the Globe': Reports On Seminars Held On 29 March 1983 and 12 April 1986. Ed. Ronnie Mulryne and Margaret Shewring. Coventry: University of Warwick Graduate School of Renaissance Studies. 90-93. 8 of The Renaissance Drama Newsletter Supplements.
- Munrow, David. 1976. Instruments of the Middle Ages and Renaissance. London: Oxford University Press.
- Nabbes, Thomas. 1637. Hannibal and Scipio. An Historicall Tragedy. London: R. Oulton for C. Greene.
- Nagler, A. M. 1956. "Shakespeare's Arena Demolished." Shakespeare Newsletter 6.1: 7.
- . 1958a. Shakespeare's Stage. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- . 1958b. "A Terminology for Sixteenth-Century Stage Forms." Theatre Research 1.1: 30-33.
- Nelsen, Paul. 1992. "Reinventing Shakespeare's Globe? A Report of Design Choices for the ISGC Globe." Shakespeare Bulletin 10.4: 5-8.
- . 1996. Positing Pillars: Controversy, Caution, and Historical 'Authenticity' At the New Globe. Unpublished

Paper Delivered During the Forum "Piecing Out the Imperfections: Is English Renaissance Theatre Scholarship Relevant to 1990s Productions?" Held 11:00am-12:30pm Tuesday 9 April 1996 in the Regency Room of the Biltmore Hotel Los Angeles As Part of the Sixth World Shakespeare Congress.

- Nelson, Alan H. 1992. "Hall Screens and Elizabethan Playhouses: Counter-Evidence from Cambridge." The Development of Shakespeare's Theater. Ed. John H. Astington. New York: AMS. 57-76. 24 of AMS Studies in the Renaissance.
- Nicoll, Allardyce. 1959. "'Passing Over the Stage'." Shakespeare Survey 12: 47-55.
- Noble, Richmond. 1923. Shakespeare's Use of Song. London: Oxford University Press.
- Orgel, Stephen. 1965. The Jonsonian Masque. Cambridge, MASS.: Harvard University Press.
- Orgel, Stephen, and Roy Strong, eds. 1973a. Inigo Jones: The Theatre of the Stuart Court. Vol. 1. 2 vols. Sotheby Parke Bernet: London.
- . 1973b. Inigo Jones: The Theatre of the Stuart Court. Vol. 2. 2 vols. Sotheby Parke Bernet: London.
- Orrell, John. 1980. "Peter Street At the Fortune and the Globe." Shakespeare Survey 33: 139-151.
- . 1981. "Wenceslaus Hollar and the Size of the Globe Theatre." The Third Globe: Symposium for the Reconstruction of the Third Globe Playhouse, Wayne State University, 1979. Ed. C. Walter Hodges, S. Schoenbaum,

and Leonard Leone. Detroit: Wayne State University Press. 108-16.

- . 1983a. "The Problems." 'The Shape of the Globe': Report On the Seminar Held At Pentagram Ltd London By ISGC On 29 March 1983. Ed. Andrew Gurr, John Orrell, and John Ronayne. Coventry: University of Warwick Graduate School of Renaissance Studies. 4-11. 1 of The Renaissance Drama Newsletter Supplements.
- . 1983b. The Quest for Shakespeare's Globe. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- . 1987a. "Afterword." 'The Shape of the Globe' and 'The Interior of the Globe': Reports On Seminars Held On 29 March 1983 and 12 April 1986. Ed. Ronnie Mulryne and Margaret Shewring. Coventry: University of Warwick Graduate School of Renaissance Studies. 96-107. 8 of The Renaissance Drama Newsletter Supplements.
- . 1987b. "The Roof of the Globe." 'The Shape of the Globe' and 'The Interior of the Globe': Reports On Seminars Held On 29 March 1983 and 12 April 1986. Ed. Ronnie Mulryne and Margaret Shewring. Coventry: University of Warwick Graduate School of Renaissance Studies. 33-41. 8 of The Renaissance Drama Newsletter Supplements.
- . 1988. The Human Stage: English Theatre Design, 1567-1640. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- . 1990. "Beyond the Rose: Design Problems for the Globe Reconstruction." New Issues in the Reconstruction of Shakespeare's Theatre: Proceedings of the Conference Held

- At the University of Georgia, February 16-18, 1990. Ed. Franklin J. Hildy. New York: Peter Lang. 95-118.
- . 1993a. "The Accuracy of Hollar's Sketch of the Globe." Shakespeare Bulletin 11.2: 5-9.
- . 1993b. "Building the Fortune." Shakespeare Quarterly 44: 127-144.
- Orrell, John, and Andrew Gurr. 1989. "What the Rose Can Tell Us." Times Literary Supplement 4497 9-15 June: 636, 649.
- Pafford, J. H. P. 1961. "The Winter's Tale: Typographical Peculiarities in the Folio Text." Notes and Queries ns 8.5: 172-178.
- Peacock, John. 1995. The Stage Designs of Inigo Jones: The European Context. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Peter, John. 1995. "Dramatic Conflict." The Sunday Times 1 September.
- Pollard, A. W., and G. R. Redgrave. 1986a. A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, & Ireland and of English Books Printed Abroad 1475-1640. 2nd. Revised and enlarged. Begun by W. A. Jackson and F. S. Fegurson, completed by Katharine F. Pantzer ed. Vol. 1: A-H. 2 vols. London: The Bibliographical Society.
- . 1986b. A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, & Ireland and of English Books Printed Abroad 1475-1640. 2nd. Revised and enlarged. Begun by W. A. Jackson and F. S. Fegurson, completed by Katharine F. Pantzer ed. Vol. 2: I-Z. 2 vols. London: The Bibliographical Society.

- Price, George R. 1960. "The Authorship and the Bibliography of The Revenger's Tragedy." The Library 15.4: 262-277.
- Reynolds, George Fullmer. 1940. The Staging of Elizabethan Plays At the Red Bull Theater 1605-1625. New York: MLA. 9 of MLA General Series.
- Reynolds, George F. 1948. "Troilus and Cressida On the Elizabethan Stage." Joseph Quincy Adams Memorial Studies. Ed. James G. McManaway, Giles E. Dawson, and Edwin E. Willoughby. Washington: Folger Shakespeare Library. 229-38.
- . 1951. "Was There a 'Tarras' in Shakespeare's Globe?" Shakespeare Survey 4: 97-100.
- Ronayne, John. 1983. "Style." 'The Shape of the Globe': Report On the Seminar Held At Pentagram Ltd London By ISGC On 29 March 1983. Ed. Andrew Gurr, John Orrell, and John Ronayne. Coventry: University of Warwick Graduate School of Renaissance Studies. 22-24. 1 of The Renaissance Drama Newsletter Supplements.
- . 1997. "Totus Mundus Agit Histrionem [The Whole World Moves the Actor]: The Interior Decorative Scheme of the Bankside Globe." Shakespeare's Globe Rebuilt. Ed. J. R. Mulryne, Margaret Shewring, and Andrew Gurr. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 121-46.
- Ross, Lawrence J. 1961. "The Use of a Fit-Up Booth in Othello." Shakespeare Quarterly 12: 359-370.
- Rothwell, W. F. 1959. "Was There a Typical Elizabethan Stage?" Shakespeare Survey 12: 15-21.

- Rowan, D. F. 1975. "The Staging of The Spanish Tragedy." The Elizabethan Theatre V: Papers Given At the Fifth International Conference On Elizabethan Theatre Held At the University of Waterloo, Ontario, in July 1973. Ed. G. R. Hibbard. London: Macmillan. 112-23.
- Rowlands, Samuel. 1612. The Knave of Harts. Haile Fellow. Well Met. London: T. S[nodham] solde by G. Loftus.
- Rowse, A. L. 1974. Simon Forman: Sex and Society in Shakespeare's Age. London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson.
- Rutter, Carol Chillington, ed. 1984. Documents of the Rose Playhouse. Manchester: Manchester University Press. The Revels Plays Companion Library. Gen. ed. E. A. J. Honigmann, J. R. Mulryne, and R. L. Smallwood.
- S, W. 1602. The True Chronicle Histories of . . . Thomas Lord Cromwell. London: [R. Read] for W. Jones.
- Saenger, Michael Baird. 1995. "The Costumes of Caliban and Ariel Qua Sea-Nymph." Notes and Queries ns 42.3: 334-336.
- Saunders, J. W. 1954. "Vaulting the Rails." Shakespeare Survey 7: 69-81.
- Schanzer, Ernest. 1956. "Thomas Platter's Observations On the Elizabethan Stage." Notes and Queries ns 3.10: 465-467.
- Seltzer, Daniel. 1966. "The Staging of the Last Plays." Later Shakespeare. Ed. John Russell Brown and Bernard Harris. London: Edward Arnold. 127-65. 8 of Stratford-Upon-Avon Studies. Gen. ed. John Russell Brown and Bernard Harris.

- Seymour, E. H. 1805. Remarks, Critical Conjectural, and Explanatory, Upon the Plays of Shakespeare. Vol. 2. London: Lackington, Allen, and Co. [etc.].
- Shakespeare, William. 1594. The Most Lamentable Romaine Tragedie of Titus Andronicus. London: J. Danter sold by E. White & T. Millington.
- . 1597. The Tragedy of King Richard the Third. London: V. Sims [and P. Short] for A. Wise.
- . 1599. The Most Excellent and Lamentable Tragedie, of Romeo and Juliet. Newly Corrected, Augmented, and Amended. London: T. Creede for C. Burby.
- . 1600a. The Cronicle History of Henry the Fift. London: T. Creede for T. Millington and J. Busby.
- . 1600b. The Most Excellent Historie of the Merchant of Venice. London: J. R[oberts] for T. Heyes.
- . 1600c. Much Adoe About Nothing. London: V. S[immes] for A. Wise.
- . 1602. The Cronicle History of Henry the Fift. London: T. Creede for T. Pavier.
- . 1603. The Tragicall Historie of Hamlet Prince of Denmarke. London: [V. Simmes] for N. L[ing] and J. Trundell.
- . 1604. The Tragicall Historie of Hamlet, Prince of Denmarke. Newly Imprinted and Enlarged to Almost As Much Againe As It Was, According to the True and Perfect Coppie. London: [J. Roberts] for N. L[ing].
- . 1605. The Tragicall Historie of Hamlet, Prince of Denmarke. Newly Imprinted and Enlarged to Almost As Much

- Againe As It Was, According to the True and Perfect Coppie. London: [J. Roberts] for N. L[ing].
- . 1608 [1619]-a. The Cronicle History of Henry the Fift. London: [W. Jaggard] for T. Pavier.
- . 1608b. M. William Shak-Speare: His True Chronicle Historie of the Life and Death of King Lear and His Three Daughters. London: [N. Okes] for N. Butter.
- . 1608 [1619]-c. M. William Shak-Speare, His True Chronicle Historie of the Life and Death of King Lear and His Three Daughters. London: [W. Jaggard] for N. Butter.
- . 1608d. A Yorkshire Tragedy . . . Acted By His Majesties Players At the Globe. Written By W. Shakspeare. London: R. B[raddock] for T. Pavier.
- . 1609a. The Famous Historie of Troylus and Cresseid. London: G. Eld for R. Bonian and H. Walley.
- . 1609b. The Historie of Troylus and Cresseida. As It Was Acted. London: G. Eld for R. Bonian and H. Walley.
- . 1611. The Tragedy of Hamlet Prince of Denmarke. London: [G. Eld] for J. Smethwicke.
- . 1622. The Tragoedy of Othello, the Moore of Venice. London: N. O[kes] for T. Walkley.
- . 1623. Mr. William Shakespeares Comedies, Histories, & Tragedies. Published According to the True Originall Copies. London: Printed by Isaac Jaggard, and Ed. Blount.
- . [c. 1625]. The Tragedy of Hamlet Prince of Denmarke. London: W. S[tansby] for J. Smethwicke.

- . 1637. The Tragedy of Hamlet Prince of Denmarke.
London: R. Young for J. Smethwicke.
- . 1714. The Works. Vol. 7: King Lear; Othello; Antony and Cleopatra; Cymbeline. Ed. Nicholas Rowe. 9 vols.
London: Jacob Tonson.
- . 1733a. The Works. Vol. 3: Comedy of Errors; Winter's Tale; King John; King Richard II; 1st Part of King Henry IV; 2nd Part of King Henry IV. Ed. Lewis Theobald. 7 vols. London: A. Bettesworth and C. Hitch [etc.].
- . 1733b. The Works. Vol. 6: Coriolanus; Julius Caesar; Antony and Cleopatra; Cymbeline. Ed. Lewis Theobald. 7 vols. London: A. Bettesworth and C. Hitch [etc.].
- . 1744. The Works. Vol. 6: Troilus and Cressida, Cymbeline, Romeo and Juliet, Hamlet, Othello. Ed. Thomas Hanmer. 6 vols. Oxford: The Theatre.
- . 1765a. The Plays. Vol. 2: As You Like It; Love's Labour's Lost; The Winter's Tale; Twelfth Night: Or, What You Will; The Merry Wives of Windsor. Ed. Samuel Johnson. 8 vols. London: J. and R. Tonson [etc.].
- . 1765b. The Plays. Vol. 8: Romeo and Juliet; Hamlet, Prince of Denmark; Othello, the Moor of Venice; Appendix: Notes On Volumes 1-8. Ed. Samuel Johnson. 8 vols. London: J. and R. Tonson [etc.].
- . 1768a. Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies. Vol. 4: All's Well That Ends Well; Twelfth Night, or, What You Will; The Winter's Tale; Macbeth. Ed. Edward Capell. 10 vols. London: J. and R. Tonson.

- . 1768b. Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies. Vol. 9: Troilus and Cressida; Cymbeline; King Lear. Ed. Edward Capell. 10 vols. London: J. and R. Tonson.
- . 1821. The Plays and Poems. Vol. 14: Coriolanus; Winter's Tale. Ed. Edmond Malone and James Boswell. 21 vols. London: F. C. and Rivington [etc.].
- . 1858. Comedies, Histories, Tragedies, and Poems. 2nd ed. Vol. 6: Othello; Antony and Cleopatra; Cymbeline; Pericles; Venus and Adonis; Lucrece; Sonnets; A Lover's Complaint; The Passionate Pilgrim; The Phoenix and the Turtle; Indicial Glossary. Ed. J. Payne Collier. 6 vols. London: Whittaker & Co.
- . 1864a. The Plays of Shakespeare. Vol. 6: Macbeth, Troilus and Cressida, Timon of Athens, Coriolanus, Cymbeline, King of Britain, Titus Andronicus, Glossary. Ed. Thomas Keightley. 6 vols. London: Bell and Daldy.
- . 1864b. The Works. Globe ed. Cambridge: Macmillan.
- . 1866. The Works. Vol. 9: Antony and Cleopatra, Cymbeline, Pericles, Poems. Ed. William George Clark and William Aldis Wright. 9 vols. London: Macmillan.
- . 1889. Cymbeline. Ed. K. Deighton. London: Macmillan.
- . 1898. The Winter's Tale. Ed. Horace Howard Furness. Philadelphia: Lippincott. 11 of New Variorum.
- . 1903. Cymbeline. Ed. Edward Dowden. London: Methuen. Arden Shakespeare. Gen. ed. W. J. Craig.
- . 1913. Cymbeline. Ed. Horace Howard Furness. Philadelphia: Lippincott. 18 of New Variorum.

- . 1931. The Winter's Tale. Ed. Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch and John Dover Wilson. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. The New Shakespeare. Gen. ed. Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch and John Dover Wilson.
- . 1955. Cymbeline. Ed. J. M. Nosworthy. London: Methuen. The Arden Shakespeare. Gen. ed. Harold F. Brooks and Harold Jenkins.
- . 1959. Timon of Athens. Ed. H. J. Oliver. London: Methuen. The Arden Shakespeare. Gen. ed. Una Ellis-Fermor and Harold F. Brooks.
- . 1960. Cymbeline. Ed. J. C. Maxwell. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. The New Shakespeare. Gen. ed. John Dover Wilson.
- . 1963. The Winter's Tale. Ed. J. H. P. Pafford. London: Methuen. The Arden Shakespeare. Gen. ed. Harold F. Brooks and Harold Jenkins.
- . 1968. The Norton Facsimile of The First Folio of Shakespeare. Ed. Charlton Hinman. New York: W. W. Norton.
- . 1970. Timon of Athens. Ed. G. R. Hibbard. Harmondsworth: Penguin. New Penguin Shakespeare. Gen. ed. T. J. B. Spencer.
- . 1982. Henry V. Ed. Gary Taylor. Oxford: Clarendon. The Oxford Shakespeare. Gen. ed. Stanley Wells.
- . 1985. Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies: The Second Folio in Facsimile. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer.

- , ed. 1986. The Complete Works. Ed. Stanley Wells, Gary Taylor, John Jowett, and William Montgomery. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- . 1990. A Midsummer Nights Dreame. Ed. Michael Holden and Patrick Tucker. London: MH Publications. Shakespeare's Globe Acting Editions.
- . 1995. Titus Andronicus. Ed. Jonathan Bate. London: Routledge. Arden Third Series.
- . 1996. The Winter's Tale. Ed. Stephen Orgel. Oxford: Oxford University Press. The Oxford Shakespeare. Gen. ed. Stanley Wells.
- . [forthcoming: 1998]. Cymbeline. Ed. Roger Warren. Oxford: Oxford University Press. The Oxford Shakespeare. Gen. ed. Stanley Wells.
- Shapiro, I. A. 1948. "The Bankside Theatres: Early Engravings." Shakespeare Survey 1: 25-37.
- Shirley, Frances Ann. 1963. Shakespeare's Use of Off-Stage Sounds. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.
- Shirley, James. 1652. The Doubtful Heir. A Tragi-Comedie. London: For Humphrey Robinson, and Humphrey Mosely.
- Sidney, Sir Philip. 1590. The Countess of Pembrokes Arcadia. [Ed. M. Gwinne and F. Greville?]. London: J. Windet for W. Ponsonbie.
- . 1595. The Defence of Poesie. London: [T. Creede] for W. Ponsonby.
- . 1965. An Apology for Poetry: Or The Defence of Poesy. Ed. Geoffrey Shepperd. London: Nelson. Nelson's

Medieval and Renaissance Library. Gen. ed. Geoffrey Shepperd.

Small, Roscoe Addison. 1899. The Stage-Quarrel Between Ben Jonson and the So-Called Poetasters. Breslau: Verlag von M. & H. Marcus.

Smith, Hal H. 1962. "Some Principles of Elizabethan Stage Costume." Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes 25: 240-257.

Smith, Irwin. 1952. "Theatre into Globe." Shakespeare Quarterly 3.2: 113-120.

---. 1956. Shakespeare's Globe Playhouse: A Modern Reconstruction in Text and Scale Drawings. Introd. James G. McManaway. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

---. 1964. Shakespeare's Blackfriars Playhouse: Its History and Its Design. New York: New York University Press.

---. 1967. "Their Exits and Reentrances." Shakespeare Quarterly 18: 7-16.

Smith, Warren D. 1951. "Evidence of Scaffolding On Shakespeare's Stage." Review of English Studies ns 2: 22-29.

Sohmer, Steve. 1997a. "12 June 1599: Opening Day At Shakespeare's Globe." Early Modern Literary Studies 3.1. 1.1-46. Online (<http://purl/olcl/org/emls/03-1/sohmjuli.html>). Internet. 23 July 1997.

---. 1997b. "Re: First Globe." Shaksper 8.0811 (4 August 1997). Online. Internet. 4 August 1997: n. pag.

Sokol, B. J. 1995. Art and Illusion in The Winter's Tale. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

- . 1975. A Complete and Systematic Concordance to the Works of Shakespeare. Vol. 7: Concordances to Stage Directions and Speech-Prefixes. 9 vols. Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag.
- Sprague, Arthur Colby. 1966. The Doubling of Parts in Shakespeare's Plays. London: The Society for Theatre Research.
- Stallybrass, Peter. 1996. Naming and Unnaming in Shakespeare. Lecture Delivered At the Shakespeare Institute of the University of Birmingham UK On 2 May.
- Stow, John. 1605. Chronicles and Annals. Untill 1604. London: (Additions printed by G. Eld) for G. Bishop and T. Adams.
- . 1615. Chronicles and Annals. Continued Until 1614. By E. Howes. (An Appendix of Three Universities. The Thirde Was Collected By Syr G. Buck). London: (T. Dawson) imp. T. Adams.
- . 1631. Chronicles and Annals. Continued Up to 1631. By E. Howes. London: [J. Beale, B. Alsop and T. Fawcet, and] (A. Matthewes,) imp. R. Meighen.
- Sturgess, Keith. 1987. Jacobean Private Theatre. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul. Theatre Production Series. Gen. ed. John Russell Brown.
- Tannenbaum, Samuel A. 1928. "Textual and Other Notes On The Winter's Tale." Philological Quarterly 7.4: 356-367.
- Taylor, Gary. 1982. "Troilus and Cressida: Bibliography, Performance, and Interpretation." Shakespeare Studies 15: 99-136.

- . 1984. "Musophilus, Nosce Teipsum, and Julius Caesar." Notes and Queries ns 31: 191-195.
- Taylor, Gary. and John Jowett. 1993. Shakespeare Reshaped: 1606-1623. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Oxford Shakespeare Studies.
- Thorndike, Ashley H. 1900. "Influence of the Court-Masques On the Drama, 1608-15." Publication of the Modern Language Association of America 15: 114-120.
- Tourneur, Cyril. 1608. The Revengers Tragaedy. As It Hath Beene Acted. London: G. Eld.
- . 1966. The Revenger's Tragedy. Ed. R. A. Foakes. London: Methuen. The Revels Plays. Gen. ed. Clifford Leech.
- Trumbull, William. 1938. Report On the Manuscripts of the Marquess of Downshire Preserved At Easthampstead Park, Berks: Papers of Sir William Trumbull the Elder 1611-1612. Vol. 3. Ed. A. B. Hinds. 4 vols. London: H.M.S.O. 75 of Historical Manuscripts Commission.
- Wallace, C. W. 1909a. "Shakespeare in London: Fresh Documents On the Poet and His Theatres, the Globe and Blackfriars. Part One." The Times 2 October.
- . 1909b. "Shakespeare in London: Fresh Documents On the Poet and His Theatres, the Globe and Blackfriars. Part Two." The Times 4 October.
- . 1913. The First London Theatre: Materials for a History. Lincoln: University of Nebraska.

- . 1914a. "New Light On Shakespeare: History of the Globe Theatre, The Poet, and His Friends." The Times 1 May: 4.
- . 1914b. "New Light On Shakespeare: The Site of the Globe Theatre." The Times 30 April: 9-10.
- Warner, George F., ed. 1881. Catalogue of the Manuscripts and Muniments of the Alleyn's College of God's Gift At Dulwich. London: Longmans.
- Webster, John. 1623. The Tragedy of the Duchesse of Malfy. London: N. Okes for J. Waterson.
- Weimann, Robert. 1988. "Bifold Authority in Shakespeare's Theatre." Shakespeare Quarterly 39: 401-417.
- Weiner, Albert. 1961. "Elizabethan Interior and Aloft Scenes: A Speculative Essay." Theatre Survey 2: 15-34.
- Wells, Stanley. 1990. The First Annual Shakespeare Globe Lecture: Staging Shakespeare's Apparitions and Dream Visions. London: International Shakespeare Globe Centre.
- Wells, Stanley, et al. 1987. William Shakespeare: A Textual Companion. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Wickham, Glynne. 1963. Early English Stages 1300 to 1660. Vol. Two 1576 to 1660, Part I. 3 vols. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- . 1969. "The Privy Council Order of 1597 for the Destruction of All London's Theatres." The Elizabethan Theatre: Papers Given At the International Conference On Elizabethan Theatre Held At the University of Waterloo, Ontario, in July 1968. Ed. David Galloway. London: Macmillan. 21-44.

- . 1972. Early English Stages 1300 to 1660. Vol. Two 1576 to 1660, Part II. 3 vols. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- . 1979. "'Heavens', Machinery, and Pillars in the Theatre and Other Early Playhouses." The First Public Playhouse: The Theatre in Shoreditch 1576-1598. Ed. Herbert Berry. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press. 1-15.
- Wiles, David. 1987. Shakespeare's Clown: Actor and Text in the Elizabethan Playhouse. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Wilkins, George. 1607. The Miseries of Inforst Mariage. As It Is Now Playd. London: [W. Jaggard] for G. Vincent.
- . 1964. The Miseries of Enforced Marriage By George Wilkins, 1607. Ed. Glenn H. Blayney. Oxford: Malone Society. Malone Society Reprints. Gen. ed. Arthur Brown.
- Williams, Clare. 1937. Thomas Platter's Travels in England 1599. London: Jonathan Cape.
- Williams, George Walton. 1994. "Exit Pursued By a Quaint Device: The Bear in The Winter's Tale." The Upstart Crow: A Shakespearean Journal 14: 105-109.
- Wilson, Jean. 1995. The Archaeology of Shakespeare: The Material Legacy of Shakespeare's Theatre. Stroud, UK: Alan Sutton.
- Wing, Donald. 1972. Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, and British America and of English Books Printed in Other Countries 1641-

1700. 2nd ed. Vol. 1: A1-E2926. 3 vols. New York:
Modern Language Association of America.

---. 1982. Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in
England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, and British America
and of English Books Printed in Other Countries 1641-
1700. 2nd ed. Vol. 2: E2927-01000. Rev. And Ed.
Timothy J. Crist, Janice M. Hansel, Phebe A. Kirkham,
Jeri S. Smith, and Others. 3 vols. New York: Modern
Language Association of America.

---. 1988. Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in
England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, and British America
and of English Books Printed in Other Countries 1641-
1700. 2nd ed. Vol. 3: P1-Z28. Rev. And Ed. John J.
Morrison, Carolyn W. Nelson, Matthew Seccombe, Mark E.
English, and Harold E. Selesky. 3 vols. New York:
Modern Language Association of America.

Woudhuysen, H. R. 1984. "King Henry VIII and 'All Is True'."
Notes and Queries ns 31.229: 217-218.

Wright, Herbert G. 1953. The First English Translation of
the Decameron. Upsala: Lundequistska Bokhandeln. 13 of
Essays and Studies On English Language and Literature.
Gen. ed. S. B. Liljegren.