THE UNIVERSITY OF HULL


'Guides Not Commanders': Imitation and Contamination of the Classics in the Comedies of Ben Jonson


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by


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# Contents

# Acknowledgements

# Introduction

## I

This study focuses on the imitative and contaminative creative practices of the Renaissance period, and specifically on how the work of classical authors and playwrights influenced the dramaturgy of Ben Jonson. By 'dramaturgy' I refer to the theories and practical choices that are made when composing a piece of drama, an art form that I see as a primarily intended for performance.[1] In line with practice standard to Renaissance studies I generally use the term 'classical' in the non-technical manner to refer to the periods of history in which the Greek and Roman civilisations flourished, roughly from the mid-fifth century BC to the first century AD. I believe that as this usage of the lowercase 'classical' is well-established this is a reasonable (if not technically accurate) position to take, although I will elaborate on precise historical periods when necessary.[2] Unless otherwise acknowledged, all references to Jonson's texts are taken from *The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Ben Jonson,*[3] references to and translations of Aristophanes' comedies are from the Aris & Philips editions edited by Alan H. Sommerstein (Warminster: 1980-2007), and references to and translations of other classical works are taken from the most recent Loeb editions, with all texts abbreviated after their first reference according to abbreviations used by *The Oxford Classical Dictionary* and the *Perseus Digital Library.*[4] Finally, references to early modern performance and publication dates are taken from Harbage's *Annals of English Drama,* Wickham's *Early English Stages,* and the *Universal Short Title Catalogue* (although, in respect of Jonson's works, these dates are occasionally

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[1] The exact meaning of 'dramaturgy' is a highly contentious issue, but see Barba's discussion on the term in Eugenio Barba and Nicola Savarese, *Dictionary of Theatre Anthropology,* 2nd ed. (London: Routledge, 2011), pp.66-71. Barba sees the meaning of 'dramaturgy' lying in its etymology from the Greek *drama* and *ergon,* which he translates roughly as the 'work of the actions' in performance (p.66).

[2] See 'classicism,' in *The Oxford Classical Dictionary,* ed. by Simon Hornblower and Antony Spawforth, 4th ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), for an endorsement of the wide-ranging application of the term. More specifically, the works of Aristophanes belong to the Classical period (479-323BC); Menander to the Hellenistic period (323-386BC); Plautus and Terence to the Republican Roman period (509-31BC); and Horace, Juvenal, Persius and Lucian to the Imperial Roman period (31BC-493AD). I will also make occasional references to writers and commentators that stray into the Byzantine period (395-1453AD).

[3] Ben Jonson, *The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Ben Jonson,* ed. by David Bevington, Martin Butler, and Ian Donaldson, 7 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012) (hereafter referred to as *CWBJ*).

[4] *Perseus Digital Library,* <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu>.

modified to those given by the Cambridge *Works*);[5] and dates relating to people or events from the classical and Renaissance periods are taken (respectively) from *The Oxford Classical Dictionary* and *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography.*[6]

My research has been inspired by the theories of reception studies, which emphasise that 'texts' (which, to take the term in its broadest, most Barthesian sense, include not only literary works but other items of cultural production including performance, speech, and the visual arts) are incomplete, unstable, with meaning coalescing, changing and reforming around them as they move temporally and spatially through what Cartelli and Rowe term the 'cultural imaginaries' of various receiving cultures and geo-political environments.[7] In response to these theorists' axiom that '[a]ll meaning is constituted or actualised at the point of reception,'[8] I am very interested in the early modern reception of classical theatre and literature, in why Jonson saw his classical models as still relevant to his own society, and simultaneously how the alterations he made to them indicate differences between the classical and early modern cultures. It is the tension between these relevancies and differences that constitute the study's two areas of focus. The first, and most important, is on Jonson's comedies; I use close readings and analyses of his playtexts as my starting point, with emphasis on the dramaturgical implication of his texts in performance. I am

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[5] Alfred Harbage, *Annals of English Drama, 975-1700*, rev. by S. Schoenbaum, 3rd ed. (London; New York: Routledge, 1989); Glynne Wickham, *Early English Stages, 1330-1660*, 3 vols (New York: Columbia University Press, 1959-81); *Universal Short Title Catalogue* <usc.ac.uk> (hereafter referred to as *USTC*).

[6] *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); online ed., Oct 2006 <oxforddnb.com> (hereafter referred to as *ODNB*).

[7] Thomas Cartelli and Katherine Rowe, *New Wave Shakespeare on Screen* (Cambridge: Polity, 2007), p.25. The works on reception studies that I have found especially useful have been the essays contained within *Classics and the Uses of Reception,* ed. by Charles Martindale and Richard F. Thomas (Malden, MA; Oxford: Blackwell, 2006) (esp. William W. Batstone, 'Provocation: The Point of Reception Theory,' pp.14-20; Kenneth Haynes, 'Text, Theory, and Reception,' pp.44-54; Ralph Hexter, 'Literary History as Provocation to Reception Studies,' pp.23-31; Miriam Leonard, 'The Uses of Reception: Derrida and the Historical Imperative,' pp.116-126; and Tim Whitmarsh, 'True Histories: Lucian, Bakhtin, and the Pragmatics of Reception,' pp.104-115); and Charles Martindale and Michelle Martindale, *Shakespeare and the Uses of Antiquity: An Introductory Essay.* London and New York: Routledge, 1990). A tangentially-related text, but one that has had great influence on my thinking, is Jack Stillinger's *Multiple Authorship and the Myth of Solitary Genius* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), whose emphasis on textual 'collaboration' between a notional author and any number of unacknowledged others (editors, ghost writers, translators, censors, and so on) is especially pronounced in relation to theatre, where actors, directors, designers, and even audience members can contribute to the creation or modification of a playtext (see esp. pp. 163-181). To me, Stillinger's discussion was a useful companion to the other works of reception studies listed above, as it emphasises that 'reception' is enacted/performed not only by a text's readers or audience, but is something that is intimately bound up with the act of creative production itself.

[8] Quoted in Batstone, 'Provocation,' in *Classics and the Uses of Reception,* ed. by Martindale and Thomas, p.14.

interested in the transmission of dramaturgical elements that are not necessarily obvious in the extant playtexts—these, because they are centred on the performance moment, are by their nature ephemeral, and include elements like theatregrams, spatial practices, modes of performance and structural choices—and I explore the extent to which one can use textual evidence to trace them over the course of the five chapters. The second area of focus is the classical authors, in particular the playwrights Aristophanes, Plautus, and Terence, as well as the literary satirists Lucian, Horace, Juvenal, and Persius.[9] As with Jonson, I consider each of the classical playtexts as physical records of an ephemeral performance, although, as in the case of Aristophanes' re-written *Clouds,* and bearing in mind the murky routes of transmission that all of these plays took into the present day, I make the caveat that these texts are *as close* to an original performance as one can get. With the texts of the verse satirists, I consider what Jonson did to realise their literary tropes and themes onstage, and to what extent he was successful in this endeavour.

Jonson's engagement with the classics changed constantly throughout his career, and in order to demonstrate this I have arranged my chapters thematically rather than chronologically, using plays that cover a wide period of his dramatic output. Chapter 1 pays special attention to *The Alchemist* and *The Staple of News,* and argues that these plays, like many other Jonsonian comedies, are animated by a 'Great Idea,' a ludicrous scheme that serves as a plot motor and intellectual focal point, and which he inherited from Aristophanic comedy. I suggest that, like Aristophanes, Jonson is interested as much in what is not shown to his audience as that which is, and that it is the tension between the shown and withheld that lends the comedies discussed an especially frenetic pace and metatheatrical quality. Chapter 2 continues to focus on Aristophanes, but here the emphasis is upon the Greek comic's impact on the Jonsonian chorus—here I suggest, with special reference to *Epicene,* that Aristophanic influence is only one of several sources of influence that contributed to the early modern playwright's notions of what I term 'fluid chorality.' My third chapter serves as a pivot between Jonson's Greek and Roman sources in its examination of Jonson's experiments in stage satire. Beginning with the Grex of *Every Man Out of His Humour,* I contend that Jonson gradually came to realise that stage-

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[9] I make some passing references to Menander throughout this study, as although I realise that Renaissance commentators and dramatists' knowledge of the Greek New Comic, confined to plot descriptions and quotations preserved by classical commentators, was extremely limited, his influence on the dramaturgy of later playwrights, particularly Terence, means that it is important to include some acknowledgement of his 'background' influence.

satirists in the Juvenalian vein were too dangerous to stage, and that by the time he wrote *Volpone* he had resolved the problem by shifting his satire away from specific mouthpieces like Asper and towards the more open-ended satirical possibilities offered by the anti-exempla of Menippean satire. Chapter 4 moves on to consider the comedies of Plautus and Terence in relation to *Bartholomew Fair,* in particular how Jonson and the Roman playwrights made use of the site-specificity of their performance spaces (the Hope Theatre for Jonson, the *Forum Romanum* for Plautus and Terence) to subvert the seemingly apolitical content of their plays, constantly shifting the levels of fiction and reality onstage to imply that their comedies speak more to the lives and conditions of their audiences than they may at first suggest. Finally, chapter 5 considers Jonson's engagement with the character theatregram of the *servus callidus* ('cunning slave') across four of his comedies—the Quarto and Folio versions of *Every Man In His Humour, Volpone,* and *The Devil Is An Ass*—and argues that the early modern playwright's constant experimentation betrays a simultaneous fascination and impatience with the tradition. The methodological and critical viewpoints and the extent to which I engage with the concepts of *imitatio* and *contaminatio* vary considerably from chapter to chapter, but the study is united by the same basic questions: why has Jonson chosen to imitate and/or contaminate certain dramaturgical elements in his plays? What do his imitative/contaminative choices say about his and his period's attitudes towards the classics? And what effects can be discerned in Jonson contaminating his plays with dramaturgical and/or literary elements from more than one classical source?

I must acknowledge here that the scope of my thesis has its limitations, and that I will not pay particular attention to the issue of non-classical theatrical influences on Jonson's dramaturgy, including native English forms like those of Tudor interludes and miracle, mystery and morality plays, or the (near-)contemporary influence of rival playwrights like Kyd, Marlowe, Shakespeare, Dekker, or Marston.[10] I do not deny that the structural,

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[10] Some excellent studies into the native English influences on Jonson's drama have already been produced, and is an area about which much more can doubtless still be said. One of the earliest works in this area is Charles Read Baskervill's *English Elements in Jonson's Early Comedy* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1911); but see also G.H. Cox, 'Celia, Bonario, and Jonson's Indebtedness to the Medieval Cycles,' *Études Anglaises* 25:4 (1972), pp. 506-511; John D. Cox, *The Devil and The Sacred in English Drama, 1350-1642* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Alan C. Dessen's *Jonson's Moral Comedy* (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1971) and '*Volpone* and the Late Morality Tradition,' *Modern Language Quarterly* 25 (1964), pp. 583-599; Franz Fricker, *Ben Jonson's Plays in Performance and the Jacobean Theatre* (Bern: Francke, 1972); Jonathan Haynes, *The Social Relations of Jonson's Theatre* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992); Robert C. Jones, 'Jonson's *Staple of*

dramaturgical and stylistic links are there, but thorough analysis of these influences is largely outside the scope of a study that aims to foreground Jonson's classical inheritances. I hope to demonstrate that my focus on Jonson's classical sources is a matter of emphasis rather than an attempt at glossing over or flattening out these equally important sources of theatrical inspiration, and although I do not attempt to be as thorough in considering English theatrical elements, I do on occasion acknowledge elements of Jonson's dramaturgy that appear to be the product of classical and native theatrical *contaminatio*. These elements are alluded to especially in discussions of how Jonson's formal choruses owe something to the 'presenter' figures from Tudor interludes like *Fulgens and Lucres* (chapters 2 and 3), and a more extended consideration in chapter 5 of the intersection between classical and native in the character of Pug, the *servus*/devil who is central to the plot of *The Devil Is An Ass.*

By making detailed references to playtexts and literary texts from both the early modern and classical periods, and by complementing these with thorough secondary reading on each playwright, I aim to make my work genuinely interdisciplinary, combining elements from performance, English philological, and classical studies. I evidence my theories by adopting a comparativist approach, using sections of Jonson's texts and comparing them directly with classical alternatives, allowing me to analyse them from structural, performative, and linguistic angles. My focus is not on direct textual allusions in Jonson, as this is a topic that has already been mined by numerous editors and critics, and to which I allude in my two appendices (which document historiographical information on the number of classical performances in the Renaissance (appendix B) and quantitative data on acknowledged classical sources in the text of Jonson's plays (appendix A)). Instead, I aim to explore how Jonson's playtexts, as literary remnants of ephemeral performance events, can be used as evidence for extra-textual performative elements.

By paying close attention to the extant texts and using comparative methods to highlight instances that seem to echo each other dramaturgically I hope to provide some clear evidence to justify my argument; this is crucial, as some of the concepts I intend to deal

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*News* Gossips and Fulwell's *Like Will to Like*: 'The Old Way' in a 'New' Morality Play,' *The Yearbook of English Studies* 3 (1973), pp. 74-77; and G.W. Pineas, 'The Morality Vice in *Volpone*,' *Discourse* 5 (1962), pp.451-459.

with, such as the theatregram, are concerned with forms of performative influence that are harder to identify positively than direct textual allusions to the work of past writers. The form of my analysis has been influenced by two seminal texts by Taplin, *The Stagecraft of Aeschylus* and *Greek Tragedy in Action,* the latter of which insists on the Greek theatre's 'extraordinary combination of word and embodiment,' as well as making the obvious but important point that, as these texts were intended for performance, a reader of a dramatic work is always required to reconstruct the sights and sounds of the stage action they read about 'in the theatre of the mind.'[11] The idea that a dramatic text is unusual among other works of literature in that it forces the reader to imagine an original moment of performance is no longer as radical as perhaps it once was, and indeed there have been similar works of performance-orientated early modern criticism that have followed Taplin.[12] Nonetheless, I think it is important not to lose sight of the fact that this applies to Jonson-as-reader just as it applies to us: that a playtext need not necessarily be performed in a real theatre as long as the reader has a mental alternative (a well-equipped 'theatre of the mind') to make the inert marks on a page spring to life once more.

A 'theatrical' as opposed to a 'literary' emphasis on Ben Jonson's work runs counter to the stereotype of the man as bookish and pedantic, who for Edward Young (writing in 1759) 'pulled down all antiquity upon his head' to the detriment of theatrical effect in his tragedies;[13] whose writing to Tennyson 'appears to move in a wide sea of glue,' especially in his comedies;[14] and whose reputation has ultimately suffered, in Eliot's memorable formulation, from a 'most perfect conspiracy of approval': 'universally accepted; […] damned by the praise that quenches all desire to *read* the book; […] afflicted by the imputation of the virtues which excite the least pleasure; and to be *read* only by historians

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[11] Oliver Taplin, *Greek Tragedy in Action,* rev. ed. (London; New York: Routledge, 1985), pp.vii, 2; and *The Stagecraft of Aeschylus: The Dramatic Use of Exits and Entrances in Greek Tragedy* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977).

[12] See, for example, David Bradley, *From Text to Performance in the Elizabethan Theatre: Preparing the Play for the Stage* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992); Robert Weimann, *Author's Pen and Actor's Voice: Playing and Writing In Shakespeare's Theatre.* ed. by Helen Higbee and William West (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Nora Johnson, *The Actor as Playwright in Early Modern Drama* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003); Tim Fitzpatrick, *Playwright, Space and Place in Early Modern Performance: Shakespeare and Company* (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2011).

[13] Young's full quotation is as follows: '[h]e was very learned, as Samson was very strong, to his own hurt. Blind to the nature of tragedy, he pulled down all antiquity on his head, and buried himself under it'. Quoted in Ian Donaldson, *Ben Jonson: A Life* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), p.436.

[14] Quoted in Peter Womack, *Ben Jonson* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1986), p.103.

and antiquaries.'[15] Jonson hardly helped matters by proclaiming himself a 'poet'—a literary title usually associated with canonical writers, and rarely applied to a dramatist—and by insisting that his plays deserved inclusion alongside his masques and non-dramatic poetry in his *Works* of 1616; perhaps as a result of his own emphasis, and as Eliot's telling use of the verb 'read' in the quotation above suggests, it has been the man's literary qualities that have been most remembered by posterity.[16] In choosing to focus on Jonson as a man of the theatre rather than a man of letters I am following in the footsteps of Cave, Woolland, and Schafer's excellent *Ben Jonson and Theatre,* a text that uses performance-based analysis from critics, theorists, teachers, actors, directors, and designers in order to re-evaluate modern conceptions of Jonson's playtexts as overly-literary, conservative and 'difficult', and which provides a convincing, practice-based picture of a playwright whose theatrical energy is best realised when his plays are 'put on their feet.'[17] In this vein, I will argue that Jonson's performative-oriented appropriation of the classics fits with the creative techniques of *imitatio* and *contaminatio*, two practices common to the Renaissance that placed emphasis on the modelling of literary or dramatic works on the examples of past writers and of the creative blending of these models in order to produce a new aesthetic object. I argue that the moral imperatives that drive Jonson's dramatic output are also a product of both of these creative practices, infusing his works with a range of Greek and Roman dramaturgical and philosophical viewpoints that combine to create a uniquely Jonsonian dramaturgy that is, in varying combinations, moralising, aggressive, sympathetic, and cynical.

The rest of this Introduction will provide some important contextual and methodological detail that will be significant to my argument. Section II begins with an overview of the pedagogic and readerly practices that helped shape the creative output of Jonson and his

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[15]T. S. Eliot, 'Ben Jonson' [1919], in *The Sacred Wood: Essays on Poetry & Criticism*, rpt. (London: Methuen, 1972), pp.104-122 (p.104), emphasis added. Although it begins with a rehearsal of the common criticisms of Jonson's artistry, Eliot's essay is largely sympathetic, and was influential in reinvigorating interest in Jonson at the beginning of the twentieth century.

[16] For more on the Folio's role in establishing and promulgating Jonson's literary reputation, see James A. Riddell, 'Ben Jonson's Folio of 1616,' in *The Cambridge Companion to Ben Jonson*, ed. by Richard Harp and Stanley Stewart (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp.152-162. For more on the changing critical attitudes to Jonson over the centuries, see James Loxley, 'Critical Reception,' in *Ben Jonson in Context*, ed. by Julie Sanders (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010) pp.73-83; and Mick Jardine, 'Jonson as Shakespeare's 'Other',' in *Ben Jonson and Theatre* (see reference below), pp.104-115.

[17] *Ben Jonson and Theatre: Performance, Practice and Theory,* ed. by Richard Cave, Elizabeth Schafer, and Brian Woolland (London; New York: Routledge, 1999).

contemporaries, as well as giving more specific definitions of what I mean by *imitatio*. This part of the discussion is very much focused on the 'literary' Jonson, as I rehearse the well-known idea that his writing habits were formed from the rhetorical and commonplacing techniques that were fundamental to his grammar school education, conditioning him to replicate both the words and the matter of the classical authorities in his own compositions. Section III, however, is aimed more towards the 'theatrical' Jonson, as it introduces the concept of the 'theatregram' as a useful model for understanding how non-literary influences (such as those found in performances) can be transmitted just as readily as their literary equivalents, and I demonstrate that by Jonson's time there was a well-established connection between the performance of classical plays in educative and courtly contexts. I will also provide in this section more detail on *contaminatio,* a term that originally derived from classical criticism but which can equally be usefully applied to the theatregram model, and which consequently serves as a conceptual bridge between Jonson's literary/performative and classical/contemporary sources of influence. The aim of these two sections is to suggest that the literary, pedagogic, and performative influences that were brought to bear on Jonson's artistry all pushed him to a certain creative mode: one that promoted the loyal (but not slavish) imitation and blending of past models, and which encouraged the imitator to draw on a range of influence that extends far beyond the bookshelves at which textual scholars frequently begin and end their searches. Finally, I conclude by outlining my position on Jonson's knowledge of Greek, and with a brief note on the two appendices included at the end of this study.

## II

> I know nothing can conduce more to letters than to examine the writings of the ancients, and not to rest upon their sole authority, or take all upon trust from them, provided the plagues of judging and pronouncing against them be away: such as are envy, bitterness, precipitation, impudence, and scurrile scoffing. For to all the observations of the ancients, we have our own experience, which, if we will use and apply, we have better means to pronounce. It is true they opened the gates, and made the way, that went before us; but as guides, not commanders: *non domini nostri, sed duces fuere.* Truth lies open to all; it is no man's several. *Patet omnibus veritas; nondum est occupata. Multum ex illa, etiam futuris relictum est.*
> (*Discoveries,* ll.92-100)

So writes Jonson in his *Discoveries,* a gathering of *sententiae* and reflective mini-essays—some of them the author's, most of them borrowed—that along with several hitherto-unpublished works was given over to publication by the poet's custodian, Sir Kenelm Digby, in the posthumous Second Folio of 1641. The *Discoveries* is an odd yet fascinating text. Structurally, it is very confusing, with seemingly erratic movements between, amongst other topics, condemnation of flatterers, snippets of Latin and Greek quotations, observations on good sovereigns, advice on the schooling of young men, and meditations on the skills and qualities required of good poets. Its contents, which mainly distil the critical pronouncements of ancient and modern writers–including Heinsius, Lipsius, Erasmus, Scaliger, Bacon, Vives, Aristotle, Quintilian, Horace, Plutarch, Cicero, Sallust, Martial, Juvenal, and Persius—also drew accusations around the turn of the twentieth century that Jonson's work was unoriginal, even dishonest, with Castelain claiming that 'the merit and interest of [the text] are for the most part attributable to other men.'[18] Indeed, the *Discoveries* extract above is indicative, as the Latin quotations are not originally Jonson's but derive instead from the renowned Renaissance scholar Juan Luis Vives, who was himself quoting Seneca's *Epistle* XXXIII, and the passage as a whole carries traces of Quintilian and Cicero in addition to these two writers.[19]

Castelain's attitude towards these borrowings misses the point, however, and scholars and commentators have generally appreciated that the *Discoveries,* rather than being a work of flagrant plagiarism—a concept that was largely irrelevant to the early modern period, as it relied on ideas of possessive authorship that, ironically, were first only really consistently articulated by Jonson[20]—actually holds some close affinities with the commonplace book,

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[18] See Lorna Hutson, 'Introduction [*Discoveries*],' in *CWBJ,* VII, pp.483-494, who cites Schelling (1892) and Castelain (1906) as strong critics of the *Discoveries.* See also Lorna Hutson, '*Discoveries:* Textual Essay,' in *The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Ben Jonson Online* (hereafter referred to as *CWBJ Online*) < http://universitypublishingonline.org/cambridge/benjonson/k/essays/Discoveries_textual_essay/> [accessed 20 October 2016].

[19] Vives, from his preface to *De Disciplinis,* in *Opera* I.324-5, and Seneca, *Epistle* XXXIII. See Jonson, *Discoveries,* 99n., 99-100n, and Katherine Eisamann Maus, *Ben Jonson and the Roman Frame of Mind* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), p.18, who cites Vives, Seneca, Quintilian and Cicero in this passage.

[20] Robert S. Miola, *Shakespeare's Reading* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p.2; see also Walter J. Ong, *Orality and Literacy: The Technologising of the Word* (London; New York: Methuen, 1988), who makes the interesting suggestion that concerns about plagiarism really began with printed texts, as '[p]rint encourages a sense of closure, a sense that what is found in a text has been finalised, and has reached a sense of completion' (p.132). For a counter view, see Brian Vickers, 'Ben Jonson's Classicism Revisited,' *Ben Jonson Journal* 21:2 (2014), pp.153-202 (p.184), who claims that plagiarism (a term first encountered in Martial, I.lii) was well known in ancient Rome and Elizabethan England.

an educative and creative tool that served as the 'principal support system of humanist pedagogy' in the Renaissance period.[21] The commonplace book grew from the classical noetic practice of collecting useful ideas and sayings under topical headings or 'places' (*topoi* in Greek, *loci* in Latin),[22] a system that allowed for the easy storage and retrieval of materials that could (in theory) be used in the composition of dialectical or rhetorical argument on any subject.[23] By the sixteenth century the commonplacer had a range of commonplacing traditions at his disposal,[24] and indeed the 'topical heterogeneity' of the *Discoveries* text that organises 'palimpsestic layers of authors upon authors' in an associative, stream-of-consciousness style is merely one of the many presentational options from which Jonson could have chosen.[25] The greatest interest that stems from the *Discoveries* though is not its parallels to the commonplace book, but that its seemingly disparate elements are 'unified by a lapidary consistency of style,' its various themes and sources yoked to Jonson's single authorial interpretation.[26]

The structure and contents of the *Discoveries* are products of two of the greatest influences on Jonson's creativity. The first, obviously, is the classical writers, the 'guides not commanders' who exerted an overt and covert influence on his work: some through allusions that proudly and loudly trumpet their origins (sometimes perhaps too much so); some so well hidden beneath the surface of Jonson's prose and verse that it is difficult to see the join; some (as in the extract above) nested within quotations from more modern authors or anthologies that turns the exercise of source-hunting in Jonson's texts into a

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[21] Ann Moss, *Printed Commonplace-Books and the Structuring of Renaissance Thought* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), p.v.

[22] Aristotle and Cicero used these terms in many of their works, but see Moss, p.3, who cites Aristotle's *Topics* and Cicero's *Brutus* and *De Oratore* in particular.

[23] Aristotle's *Topics* and *Rhetoric* make the earliest extant reference to logicians and rhetoricians using *topoi* as a means of structuring their arguments; out of these two texts, the former would go on to have the longer-standing pedagogic influence, as it formed a cornerstone of courses on dialectic in European universities from the medieval period onwards, while the latter only began to grow in the rhetorically-driven curricula of the Renaissance educational system. Alongside the *Topica* and *De Inventione* of Cicero and the anonymous *Rhetorica ad Herennium*—three texts prominent in courses on rhetoric throughout the medieval and into the early modern periods, and which continued the process of reifying ideas by situating topics in *sedes* ('seats,' 'dwelling places')—it was the rhetorical rather than the dialectical uses to which commonplacing could be put that had the greatest impact on the educational programmes of the Renaissance. See Moss, pp.3-4.

[24] See Moss, esp. pp.101-133, which outlines how Erasmus, Melanchthon, and Vives all approached commonplacing in different ways, and how their approaches influenced future attitudes towards the commonplace method.

[25] Hutson, 'Introduction,' in *CWBJ,* VII, p.483.

[26] Hutson, 'Introduction,' in *CWBJ,* VII, pp.483-484.

complex and frustrating (some would say fruitless) endeavour.[27] The second resides in the text's commonplace form, which Jonson would have first encountered as an educative tool during his formative years at Westminster School. Jonson had long ago put away childish things when he came to write the *Discoveries*: the text was composed sometime after 1623, towards the end of his life,[28] and rather than being an *aide memoire* to the sort of readings and original compositions he encountered at school it is more a meditation on his poetic career, on the pursuit of truth in literature, and on the blurred boundaries between writer and reader, imitator and creator.[29] It is important to recognise with Dutton that the *Discoveries* was not intended to be a 'coherent poetics, but an assemblage of pragmatic advice, discrimination and demonstration, keyed to the practicalities of addressing peculiar notion[s] of the times.'[30] Nevertheless, it is significant that Jonson chose to articulate his views through the commonplace format, a decision that reveals not only the routes his thought processes took,[31] but also that his very mode of thinking had been greatly influenced by a pedagogic system that had the commonplace book at the centre of its practices.

As Jonson was such a great beneficiary of Renaissance pedagogy, and as I will be arguing that it was the techniques taught to him during his formative years that helped shape his later dramatic output, it would be useful to take a closer look at the educational system to which the commonplace book was so central and, in turn, the specific institution in which Jonson would have first learned to use it. Early modern pedagogy had its roots in the educational programmes of fifteenth century Italian humanists like Guarino da Verona (1374-1460), which prioritised intensive close-reading and exegesis of a range of ancient

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[27] See, for example, Robert C. Evans, 'Jonson, Lipsius, and the Latin Classics,' in *New Perspectives on Ben Jonson*, ed. by James E. Hirsh (Madison, NJ: Farleigh Dickinson University Press; London: Associated University Presses, 1997), pp.55-76, who argues that Jonson may well have encountered some of the classical authors through the 'mediated influence' (p.55) of Renaissance texts and anthologies like Justus Lipsius' *Politicorum, sive Civilis Libri Sex* (published 1594).

[28] Dutton, *Ben Jonson: Authority: Criticism* (London: Macmillan, 1996), p.12.

[29] See Jennifer Brady, 'Progenitors and Other Sons in Ben Jonson's Discoveries,' in *New Perspectives*, ed. by Hirsh, pp.16-34, who, in addition to the point raised above, makes an interesting argument that the textual looseness of the *Discoveries* stands in ironic contrast to his presentation of himself as a 'monopolist' whose overseeing of the 1616 Folio represented an obsession with authorial control (pp.16-17). See also Dutton, *Authority: Criticism,* pp.1-39.

[30] Dutton, *Authority: Criticism,* p.13.

[31] To take a few examples, it is interesting that Jonson's placement of topics as seemingly varied as '*fama*' (fame, rumour), '*negotia*' (business), '*amor patriae*' (love of [one's] country), '*ingenia*' (natural dispositions), '*applausus*' (praise), '*opinio*' (opinion) and '*impostura*' (imposture) (*Discoveries,* ll.17-39) in close proximity with one another helps to knit the observations contained therein into a meditation on the requirement for public figures to be judicious, discerning, and impervious to flattery.

authors—some of them hitherto neglected or only recently rediscovered—that was formative in establishing not only the basis of literary critical methods still used today but also helped to awaken a sense of the historicity of classical texts that was largely absent from medieval hermeneutics.[32] The early humanists emphasised that classical texts were storehouses of still-applicable knowledge, and that rhetorical training was an essential educative element in producing students who were not only learned but who could apply the fruits of their studies practically, using their well-honed analytical skills and abilities to recognise and argue from a variety of viewpoints in some of the period's more technically demanding and responsible diplomatic, secretarial, legal, or educative roles.[33] In the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries the humanist educational programme found two of its greatest champions in Rodolphus Agricola (?1444-1485) and Desiderius Erasmus (1466-1536), who each recognised the value of education as 'intrinsically morally regenerative and conducive to the formation of a true Christian spirit,' and whose own pedagogical contributions helped make humanist teaching more systematic and pragmatic.[34] Agricola's *De Formando Studio* ('On Forming Study,' composed 1484, first published 1508) is important in itself as a practical guide for private study—including recommendations for where a student might find the best writers on philosophy—and in its espousal of the commonplace method.[35] However, its greatest claim to fame is that it influenced two later texts by Erasmus, *De Duplici Copia Verborum atque Rerum* ('Concerning the Double Abundance of Words and Matter,' first published 1512) and *De Ratione Studii* ('Concerning the Method of Study,' first published 1511), which laid the foundations for lower educational establishments across northern Europe, including the English grammar schools. Erasmus' works were 'something of a watershed' in humanist education,[36] firstly because they continued the Agricolan emphasis on outlining clear, gradated programmes of study in Latin speaking and composition that would be of practical use for younger learners with a range of abilities; and secondly, they gave the humanist programme

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[32] For a discussion of humanist education emphasising the 'historicity of the signifier,' see Thomas M. Greene, *The Light in Troy: Imitation and Discovery in Renaissance Poetry* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1982)*, p.8 and *passim.*

[33] Julian Koslow, 'Humanist Schooling and Ben Jonson's *Poetaster,' English Literary History* 73:1 (2006), pp.119-159 (p.138); Anthony Grafton and Lisa Jardine, *From Humanism to the Humanities: Education and the Liberal Arts in Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Europe* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1986), p.xiii.

[34] Grafton and Jardine, p.125.

[35] Moss, p.74.

[36] Moss, p.102.

greater exposure on account of being written by one of the early modern period's most famous intellectuals (Erasmus had already made his name with his *Adagia* in 1508, and as his literary star continued to rise so too did the reprints of *De Copia* and *De Ratione*).[37]

Erasmus' texts consequently became the period's most well-used conduits for humanist pedagogy, and this was certainly so in England, where Erasmian precepts formed the bedrock of the grammar school system, with John Colet—the Dean of St Paul's School, and a friend of Erasmus—using *De Ratione* as the foundation of his school's curriculum, and *De Copia* (alongside Lily's Latin *Grammar*) as a core textbook.[38] St Paul's, re-established in 1509, was the first of the sixteenth century's re-founded grammar schools,[39] and therefore exerted considerable influence on the curricula of later institutions, including Eton, Winchester, and Westminster, Jonson's *alma mater*.[40] Following the Erasmian example, these grammar schools carefully organised their students' learning so that the first years of their education in the lower forms was mainly dedicated to Latin grammar and to elementary exercises in spoken and written Latin, while later years focused on the reading and rhetorical exegesis of more complex texts and the introduction of Greek and (occasionally) Hebrew grammar.[41] This language acquisition and learning of grammatical and rhetorical figures required significant amounts of rote learning, and at Westminster large sections of the day, even whole days themselves, were devoted to students memorising and reciting passages before one of the School's masters and their own peers.[42] These elements of the curriculum were no doubt tedious, but they certainly encouraged excellent memories, and Jonson's later observation that 'I myself could in my youth have repeated all that ever I had made,

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[37] For more on Erasmus as one of the Renaissance period's greatest celebrities, see Roland Bainton, *Erasmus of Christendom* (Tring, Hertfordshire: Lion, 1969); and J. Huizinga, *Erasmus of Rotterdam* (London: Phaidon, 1952).
[38] T.W. Baldwin, *William Shakespeare's Small Latine & Lesse Greeke*, 2 vols. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1944), II. pp.77, 99.
[39] Grammar schools, typically attached to monasteries or cathedrals, with their purpose being to provide foundational education to boys who would later work for the Church, had existed since the medieval period. Many of the humanist-influenced grammar schools of the sixteenth century retained these ecclesiastic links (Westminster School was, and still is, situated alongside Westminster Abbey itself), but the promotion of a rhetoric-heavy curriculum, the wider use of pagan classical texts, and the intention of preparing boys for life *outside* the Church meant that there had been some pronounced changes of educational emphasis between the medieval and early modern versions of these institutions. See Ian Green, *Humanism and Protestantism in Early Modern English Education* (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2009), pp.55-56.
[40] Baldwin, *Small Latine,* I, pp.118-133.
[41] Green, p.34. The teaching of Greek and Hebrew appears to have been given slightly more emphasis at Westminster.
[42] See Donaldson, *Ben Jonson,* pp.73-76, who refers to documents left by Archbishop Laud, Prebendary at the Abbey in the 1620s. For a general history of Westminster school, including detail about the

and so continued till I was past forty' (*Discoveries,* ll.348-350) is indicative that this was a skill that stayed with him throughout his life.[43] Alongside this, students also obtained stylistic, rhetorical, and grammatical examples by reading a range of pagan and Christian classical texts, as well as a number by more modern authors.[44] Baldwin's opinion was that Shakespeare and his contemporaries lived in the 'heroic age of grammar school rhetoric in England,' during which a student might take advantage of humanist education 'in its most heroic proportions,' giving them a knowledge of ancient texts that would rival that of most modern undergraduates.[45] Baldwin's work has done much to emphasise the breadth and depth of classical study at the grammar schools, but some of the practicalities of this position have been partly disputed by Bolgar, whose examination of extant timetables from Eton, Ruthin, and Westminster indicates that reading appears to have been of quality rather than quantity. Bolgar's argument is that when one takes into account reading speeds, as well as the many hours that were taken up by the learning of passages and by dictation or commentaries on passages provided by the School's masters, it would have been impossible for students to have covered more than 750 pages of Latin text, and out of this number no more than 550-650 pages by classical authors—still an impressive amount, but perhaps not reaching the 'heroic' levels envisaged by Baldwin.[46]

Despite Bolgar's reservations, tables 0.1 and 0.2 below illustrate that grammar students received a good grounding in many prose and poetic works by some of the early modern period's most cherished classical writers. Of particular interest is the data for Westminster c.1576 (highlighted in grey), which must correspond closely to the reading that Jonson himself would have undertaken after he entered the School at the age of seven or eight

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institution during Jonson's time, see John Sargeaunt, *Annals of Westminster School* (London: Methuen, 1898); and John D. Carleton, *Westminster School: A History* (London: Hart-Davis, 1965).

[43]The older Jonson's failing memory still appears to have been formidable, however, as he also claims that he can still 'repeat whole books that I have read, and poems of some selected friends which I have liked to charge my memory with' (*Discoveries,* ll.350-354).

[44] At Westminster, this reading even included some English authors; see Donaldson, *Ben Jonson,* p.77.

[45] Baldwin, *Small Latine,* II, pp.378-379. See also Colin Burrow, 'Shakespeare and Humanist Culture,' in *Shakespeare and the Classics,* ed. by Charles Martindale and A.B. Taylor (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp.9-27 (p.9).

[46] R.R. Bolgar, 'Classical Reading in Renaissance Schools,' *Durham Research Review* 2:6 (1955), pp.18-26 (p.23). For more on the Latin elements and pedagogic methods of the grammar school system, see J.P. Tuck, 'The Use of Latin in Latin Teaching in England in the Sixteenth Century,' *Durham Research Review* 1 (1950), pp.22-30.

(c.1589-1590), and which shows that it was here that he first encountered some of the classical authors (Horace and Cicero in particular, Martial, Lucian, and Terence to a lesser extent) who would continue to exert a profound influence on him throughout his career.[47]

Table 0.1. Detailed breakdown of texts read by students at Eton, Westminster, and Ruthin schools. Numbers refer to amount of pages read, with approximately 25 lines per page; un-bracketed numbers indicate maximum pages that could be read, while bracketed numbers indicate the minimum. Taken from Bolgar, 'Classical Reading,' p.22.

**Latin Prose (including translations from Greek)**

|  | Eton (1560) | Westminster (1568) | Ruthin (c.1574) | Westminster (c.1576) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Classical** | | | | |
| Sallust | - | 30 (15) | 30 | 25 |
| Caesar | 40 | 65 | - | 30 |
| Cicero *Letters* | 65 (30) | 65 (30) | 30 | 50 |
| *Speeches* | - | - | 15 | - |
| *De Officiis* | 40 | - | - | 10 |
| *De Amicitia* | 40 (0) | 25 (0) | - | 15 |
| Livy | - | 65 (0) | 20 | 30 |
| Valerius Maximus | 30 | 30 (0) | - | 15 |
| Lucius Florus | 30 (0) | 30 (0) | - | 15 |
| Justin | 50 | 25 | 15 | 15 |
| Lucian *Dialogues* (from Greek) | 15 | 15 (0) | - | - |
| **Partly Classical** | | | | |
| Aesop (from Greek, etc.) | 25 | 25 | 40 | 40 (25) |
| *Apophthegma* | 15 (0) | 10 | 15 (0) | 10 |
| **Renaissance Reading Books** | | | | |
| Châteillon | - | - | - | 15 (0) |
| Cordier | - | - | 15 (0) | 10 (0) |
| Erasmus | - | 15 (0) | 15 | 15 (0) |
| Gallus | - | - | - | 10 (0) |
| Vivès | 30 | 30 | 30 (15) | 25 (10) |
| **Rhetorical Textbooks** | | | | |
| Susenbrotus | - | - | 65 | 15 |

**Latin Verse**

|  | Eton (1560) | Westminster (1568) | Ruthin (c.1574) | Westminster (c.1576) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Classical** | | | | |
| Terence | 80 | 50 | 30 | 40 (25) |
| Catullus | 10 (0) | 5 (0) | - | 5 (0) |
| Virgil | 130 | 130 | 50 | 65 |
| Horace | 25 | 25 | 25 | 25 |
| Ovid *Metamorphoses* | 50 | 50 | - | 50 (0) |
| *Tristia* | 30 | 30 | 30 | 10 |
| Seneca *Tragedies* | - | - | 65 | - |

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[47] What is perhaps of special interest though is that many of the writers that this study argues are equally important to him (including Plautus, Juvenal, Persius, Aristophanes, Seneca, Tacitus, Quintilian) are conspicuously absent; notably, the 1576 Westminster timetable does not include any space for 'Others' (see table 0.2) in which some of these authors might have been represented.

| | Eton (1560) | Westminster (1568) | Ruthin (c.1574) | Westminster (c.1576) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Lucan | 65 (0) | 65 (0) | 65 | 65 (0) |
| Martial | 10 (0) | 5 (0) | 15 (0) | 5 (0) |
| Silius Italicus | - | 65 (0) | - | 65 (0) |
| **Partly Classical** | | | | |
| Cato (includes some prose) | 10 | 10 | 10 | 25 (10) |
| **Renaissance** | | | | |
| Thomas More *Epigrams* | 10 (0) | - | - | - |

**Greek Prose and Verse**

| | Eton (1560) | Westminster (1568) | Ruthin (c.1574) | Westminster (c.1576) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Greek Prose (Classical)** | | | | |
| Isocrates | - | - | 10 | 10 |
| Xenophon | - | - | 15 | - |
| Demosthenes | - | - | - | 25 |
| Plutarch | - | - | - | 30 (0) |
| Lucian *Dialogues* | - | - | - | 5 |
| **Greek Prose (from Hebrew)** | | | | |
| Psalms | - | - | - | 25 |
| **Greek Verse (Classical)** | | | | |
| Homer | - | - | 15 | 70 |

Table 0.2. Total amounts of Latin and Greek texts read by students at Eton, Westminster, and Ruthin schools. Numbers refer to amount of pages read, with approximately 25 lines per page; un-bracketed numbers indicate maximum pages that could be read, while bracketed numbers indicate the minimum. Taken from Bolgar, 'Classical Reading,' p.22.

| | Eton (1560) | Westminster (1568) | Ruthin (c.1574) | Westminster (c.1576) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Latin Prose** | | | | |
| Classical | 280 (240) | 320 (210) | 110 | 205 |
| Partly Classical | 40 (25) | 35 | 55 (40) | 50 (35) |
| Renaissance Reading Books | 30 | 45 (30) | 45 | 50 (35) |
| Rhetorical Textbooks | - | - | 65 | 15 |
| 'Others'[48] | 40 (0) | 105 (0) | - | - |
| **Total Latin Prose** | **350 (335)** | **385** | **275 (260)** | **320 (290)** |
| **Latin Verse** | | | | |
| Classical | 390 (315) | 355 | 280 (265) | 260 (195) |
| Partly Classical | 10 | 10 | 10 | 25 (10) |
| Renaissance | 10 | - | - | - |
| 'Others' | 65 (0) | - | - | - |
| **Total Latin Verse** | **400 (390)** | **365** | **290 (275)** | **285 (205)** |
| **Greek** | | | | |
| Classical Prose | - | - | 25 | 70 (40) |
| Biblical | - | - | - | 25 |
| Classical Verse | - | - | 15 | 70 |
| **Total Greek** | **-** | **-** | **40** | **165 (135)** |

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[48] The unspecified 'Others' in the Latin prose and verse tables 'has been taken as representing some other Latin prose or verse author according to the character of the lesson.' Bolgar, p.22.

Grammar schools also provided essential creative as well as technical training; as well as reading the canonical authors and Renaissance commentators, they gave equal weighting to original Latin composition, with students required to complete various exercises that applied the techniques they had encountered in their reading to new contexts. Compositional exercises included 'double translation,' a technique which involved translating a Latin passage into English and then back into Latin without reference to the original text; the *quaestio*, an open-ended debate based on the classical rhetorical exercise of the *controversia*,[49] in which students formed arguments on either side of a topic;[50] and practice in a variety of verse forms (including the epigram, sonnet, and ode) that helped turn the classical Latin of the schoolboys' reading into a living language that required constant adaptation and application.[51] At Westminster, such activities were prepared and recited in the presence of other students and the School's masters, so the boys would have become accustomed from an early age to composing pieces on a variety of challenging topics in a public context that rewarded mentally dextrous reapplications of their reading.

Indeed, the conditions of Westminster School seem to have been especially suitable to fostering the performative, ingenious mastery of language that was central to the Erasmian rhetorical programme. Entry into and graduation from Westminster was marked by an intense three-day oral examination known as the Election, during which younger boys would compete for entry into the School and older boys vying for university scholarships at either Christ Church (Oxford) or Trinity (Cambridge) gave orations and debated (both in Latin) before their peers, their masters, and (if they were fortunate) their future university tutors.[52] Aside from these intensely demanding periods in the school calendar, Westminster was also open throughout the year to 'plump walkers,' visitors from outside the School who were permitted to enter, theoretically at any time, and

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[49] Eugene M. Waith, *Patterns and Perspectives in English Renaissance Drama* (Cranbury, NJ; London: Associated University Presses, 1988), esp. pp.23-40. For more on the *quaestio* as an inspiration to and shaping force for Renaissance drama, see Joel B. Altman, *The Tudor Play of Mind: Rhetorical Inquiry and the Development of Elizabethan Drama* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1978), esp. pp.2-6., 32-33.

[50] Some of Erasmus' recommendations for debates of this type were potentially very controversial, as they included discussions on whether democracy was preferable to monarchy, or whether Julius Caesar was or was not a tyrant; as Burrow points out, '[p]upils who had learned to conduct such debates might not be expected to be simple slaves to monarchs' (Burrow, 'Humanist Culture,' in *Shakespeare and the Classics,* ed. by Martindale and Taylor, pp.10-11).

[51] Burrow, 'Humanist Culture,' in *Shakespeare and the Classics,* ed. by Martindale and Taylor, p.16.

[52] Donaldson, *Ben Jonson,* p.72.

'watch the boys at their lessons, question them on points of learning, or challenge them to make verses on a given theme or debate a particular topic.'[53] In Jonson's day, Westminster School was something of a curiosity, a 'metropolitan hothouse' that in the interests of promoting intellect over rank offered scholarships to boys from lowly families,[54] but which also managed to attract the sons of some of the England's most eminent families by its twin virtues of being staffed by talented educators and by its close proximity to Westminster Palace, the administrative and executive heart of the country.[55] The School was therefore an attractive novelty for passers-by, and considering the intellectual pedigree of his teachers and the lineage of some of his schoolfellows the chances that Jonson's lessons may have been disturbed from time to time by some of the country's most powerful, gifted or famous individuals seems to have been quite strong indeed, and would have given him the first taste of those rarefied social circles whose company he would strive to join in his adult years.[56]

When the contents and context of the grammar school curriculum as taught at Westminster are considered together, it is clear that Jonson's formal education was marked by intense competition and intellectual pressure, with a heavy emphasis on the thorough reading of a range of classical authors, and was an environment in which the valuing and encouraging of rhetorical virtuosity would have given him an appreciation of those skills that would be of immense use to him in his future career. Indeed, Burrow points out that the grammar schools' emphasis on competition, on creative responses to models, to thinking and arguing on either side of an issue, and the encouragement of the 'inspired misremembering of the classics' that was an inevitable result of compositional exercise, was especially ideal training for poets and playwrights, and it is significant that a great number of these schools' *alumni* would continue in literary careers in their adult lives.[57] And, to return to the topic that began this section, it is in this pedagogic context

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[53] Carleton, p.6. Donaldson (*Ben Jonson,* p.451) notes from the *OED* that 'plump' is used in a now obsolete sense to mean '[b]lunt (in manners); not 'sharp' in intellect; dull; clownish; blockish; rude.'

[54] Burrow, 'Humanist Culture,' in *Shakespeare and the Classics,* ed. by Martindale and Taylor, p.16. For more on Westminster School's meritocratic qualities, see Donaldson, *Ben Jonson,* pp.70-72.

[55] Donaldson, *Ben Jonson,* p.69.

[56] According to Carleton, even Queen Elizabeth herself would occasionally visit to see the boys at work (p.6).

[57] Burrow, 'Humanist Culture,' in *Shakespeare and the Classics,* ed. by Martindale and Taylor, pp.14,17. It is notable that most of the period's most successful dramatists, writers, and intellectuals were products of the grammar school system, and in the case of Jonson and Shakespeare, the grammar school is likely to have been the extent of their formal education. Contemporaries to Jonson at Westminster included

that the practice of commonplacing was so useful. One of the essential tenets of the Erasmian method was the prioritisation of *verba* ('words') over *res* ('matter'), with the argument being that one was unable to manipulate ideas before one could manipulate the words that articulated them.[58] For Erasmus, commonplacing from a variety of sources was an essential practice for control over *verba,* as the systematic collection and storage of already-expressed sentiments that could be selected to fit any subject made the classical texts less 'unassailable objects of cultural authority […but] rather objects of contention, and sometimes of deliberate appropriation.'[59] This 'pragmatic use of earlier literature' was intimately tied to the rhetorical rather than dialectical emphases of the Erasmian/Agricolan programme,[60] with students expected to use their commonplace books as a storehouse for apophthegms, proverbs, *sententiae,* rhetorical and grammatical figures, all of which might be selected for maximum effect in a given composition.[61] As opposed to the logic-driven argumentation of the dialecticians, such an approach thereby 'initiated [students] into patterns of expression rather than a method of rational thinking,'[62] and encouraged them, and the literate men that they would eventually become, to 'read analogically […] across texts,' with classical texts and Renaissance commentaries forming an elaborate matrix of *copia* that served as raw materials from which new compositions could be fashioned.[63]

The full title of Jonson's commonplace work—*Timber, or Discoveries*—is suggestive of this attitude, with the text figured as a careful gathering of raw materials from the forest of

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the antiquary Robert Cotton, William Alabaster (a poet, don at Cambridge, and author of tragedies in Latin), and the traveller and poet Hugh Holland.

[58] Baldwin translates Erasmus on the matter: '[a]ll knowledge falls into one of two divisions: the knowledge of 'truths' and the knowledge of 'words': and if the former is first in importance the latter is acquired first in order of time' (*Small Latine,* I, p.79). The question as to whether *verba* or *res* took priority over the other was a controversy stemming from the Classical period, and was still very much a live issue in the Renaissance, where it became part of the scholarly argument over whether one should take a single exceptional Latin author (usually Cicero) as one's model, or whether one should seek to find examples of the best writing from across the range of ancient authors—Erasmus was with the latter camp, and roundly mocked the other side's position in his *Ciceronianus* (published 1528). Several notable Englishmen also made pronouncements on either side of the debate: Ascham warns in *The Schoolmaster* that prioritising *res* over *verba* made 'a divorce betwixt the tongue and the heart'; Francis Bacon, equally as vociferously, warns against readers whose interest in stylistics leads them 'to hunt more after words than matter.' Quoted in John Mulryan, 'Jonson's Classicism,' in *Cambridge Companion to Ben Jonson,* ed. by Harp and Stewart, pp.163-174 (p.167); see also Ira Clark, 'Ben Jonson's Imitation,' *Criticism* 20:2 (1978), pp.107-127 (n.16).

taking creative inspiration by observing, absorbing, and responding to pieces of performance or plays by other playwrights that were performed in the repertoires of the London theatres. To take one local example, one only has to consider how the visual trope of a 'balcony scene' between two characters could be echoed, adapted, distorted, and parodied in scenes as tonally wide-ranging as those between Barabas and Abigail in Marlowe's *Jew of Malta* (II.i)*,* the title characters of Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet* (II.ii)*,* Ovid and Julia in Jonson's *Poetaster* (IV.viii)*,* and Volpone and Celia in *Volpone* (II.ii)*,* to see that dramatists were not averse to imitating earlier works in a manner that is realised more in the visual echoes or scenic configurations than in textual allusions. As Henke puts it, early modern 'actor- dramatists such as Shakespeare can imbibe 'influence' from a wide range of conduits, including viewing other performances and talking with theatrical colleagues,'[81] and this viewpoint seems even more appropriate for Jonson, a man who (as far as we know) at least equalled, and perhaps surpassed, his more famous rival in the extent of his personal connections (including many the country's most prominent playwrights, players, aristocrats, and intellectuals), the number of theatre companies he had worked for (the Lord Chamberlain's/King's Men, the Admiral's Men, and several boys' companies), and the amount of geographical distance he had travelled (both within the British Isles and the Continent). Indeed, it seems perverse that discussion of performative *imitatio* in an embodied art form like the theatre—whose very medium invites the sort of performative, non-textual imitation just described—has been largely occluded in the criticism of previous centuries by the positivistic, text-based emphases of literary scholarship. Thankfully the rise of performance criticism (of which the work of Cave et al and the Theatre Without Borders group is a part) has done much to address this methodological imbalance, and the

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Robert Henke, *Pastoral Transformations: Italian Tragicomedy and Shakespeare's Late Plays* (Newark, DE: University of Delaware Press, 1997), esp. pp.33-35. For other works that are sympathetic to or utilise ideas cognate to the concept of the theatregram, see Robert S. Miola's twin studies, *Shakespeare and Classical Comedy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), and *Shakespeare and Classical Tragedy* (cited above); Emrys Jones, *Scenic Form in Shakespeare* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971), whose reference to the 'dramatic form' and dramaturgical 'syntax' of Shakespeare's plays anticipates many of the ideas represented by the theatregram; and Riccardo Scrivano, 'Towards a 'Philosophy' of Renaissance Theartre,' in *Comparative Critical Approaches to Renaissance Comedy,* ed. by Donald Beecher and Massimo Ciavolella (Ottowa: Dovehouse, 1986) pp.1-13, who speaks of Shakespeare and his contemporaries drawing on a 'well-established and highly stratified repertoire of theatre elements' in the creation of new works of performance (p.2).

[81] Robert Henke, 'Introduction,' in *Transnational Exchange,* ed. by Henke and Nicholson, pp. 1-15 (p.12).

concept of the theatregram has its place in this new work as a representation of how these dramaturgical units moved along different routes of influence.

Firstly, however, Clubb's model needs some clarification, as her original discussion of the concept involves a series of interlinked technical terms that, I think, are not fully articulated, and are consequently dealt with in similarly vague terms by later scholars working within her framework. Henke, for instance, identifies theatregrams as representing 'plot modules, topoi, characters, character systems, dialogic agon[es], speech-acts, places, and framing devices;'[82] I agree that all of these elements do represent aspects of the theatregram, but the examples mentioned, although united under a general term, in fact represent very dissimilar elements concerning character, relationships, actions, stage business, and dramatic structures. To be fair, those scholars who have used the theatregram after Clubb (including Henke) have tended to deploy it as a conceptual spring-board rather than as a fully-developed interpretive model, but as part of this thesis will explore whether the term can be deployed more rigorously it would be worthwhile to revisit and unpack Clubb's definitions a little further.

Clubb's theatregram model covers a number of discrete semiotic units that inhabit a performative nexus that allows each unit to influence and be influenced by the others (see Fig. 0.1 for a schema of these interrelationships). The first and perhaps most fundamental of each of the discrete types is the *theatregram of person*; Clubb is not explicit about the exact meaning of this phrase, but it clearly refers to identifiable, 'stock' characters (many of which find their first iterations in Greek and Roman New Comedy), including figures like the *servus callidus* ('cunning slave')*,* the *adulescens amans* ('loving young man') and the *miles gloriosus* ('braggart soldier').[83] An especially prominent example of a character theatregram in the early modern period is the clown persona Pickelhering, a character type which was particularly popular in Germany but believed to have been developed and introduced into that country, and through many other countries in northern Europe, by an English troupe, who had in turn been inspired by a social stereotype of the fool particularly dominant in Holland.[84] Although there are literary references to the character across much

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[82] Henke, 'Introduction,' in *Transnational Exchange,* ed. by Henke and Nicholson, p.2.
[83] Clubb, *Italian Drama,* p.8.
[84] John Alexander, 'The Dutch Connection: On the Social Origins of the Pickelhering,' *Neophilogus* 87 (2003), pp. 600-602. Drábek also highlights a very similar character type, the Markolt, emerging from the Czech regions at approximately the same time. See Pavel Drábek 'English Comedy and Central

of northern Europe, many of these texts occur after Pickelhering became established, so he provides a strong example of the non-textual, performative route that was open to the transmission of dramaturgical elements, and to the period's form of collaborative performative production that relied on the constant shuttling back and forth of dramaturgical elements between actors, troupes, and companies and across linguistic and national boundaries.[85] In any case, it seems more probable that the simultaneous development of this clown persona and his associated performance habits across a wide geographical area is more due to the non-literary 'source' of the English professional acting troupe providing a performance precedent to their audiences than from the literary playtexts or other written materials that they may have been left behind.

Fig. 0.1. Clubb's Theatregram Schema.
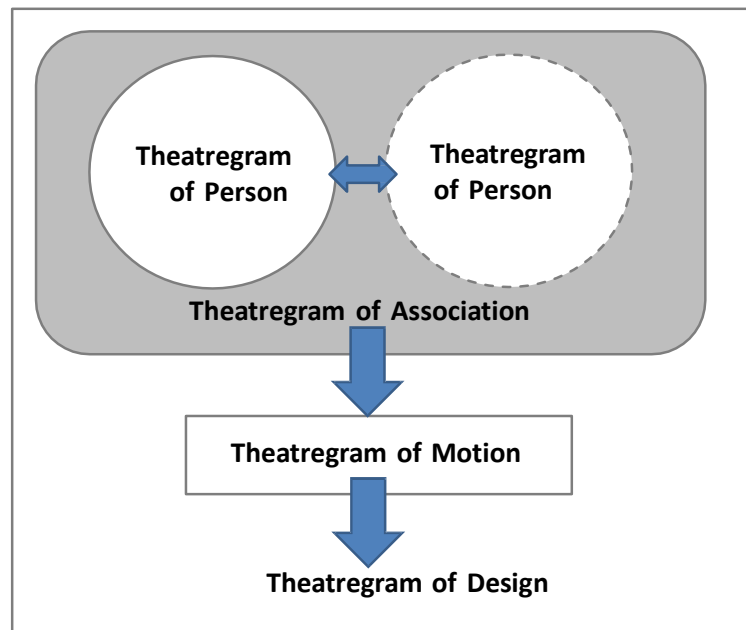


Prefabricated characters like Pickelherring are often joined with others others with whom they have a recurrent dramatic relationship in a *theatregram of association*;[86] the relationship between Volpone and Mosca is a good example of the master-servant association, and is a theatregram that can be traced from the plays of Plautus through to

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European Marionette Drama: A Study in Theatre Etymology,' in *Transnational Mobilities*, ed. by Henke and Nicholson, pp.177-196 (p.184).
[85] Alexander, p.598.
[86] Clubb, *Italian Drama,* p.8.

the interactions between Pantalone and Zanni in the *commedia dell'arte*.[87] These conventionalised characters, either individually or in association with others, also generate conventionalised stage business or *theatregrams of motion*, defined by Clubb as 'actions and reactions with apposite speeches, kinds of encounters, use of props and parts of the set for hiding, meeting, attack, defence, seduction, deceit, and so forth.'[88] Theatregrams of motion constitute the onstage action; stock *servus callidus* actions are displayed in Mosca in the opening scenes of *Volpone* (I.iii-v) where he carefully isolates and speaks privately to each of Volpone's visitors, and the stage business that accompanies the beating he receives at the hands of Corvino in II.iii. The interaction between these prefabricated characters and their onstage behaviour finally contribute to create *theatregrams of design* ('patterns of meaning expressed by the disposition of material reciprocally organising the whole comedy with the spectators' perception of its form').[89] These design elements are more abstract than the others, but seem to relate to two specific aspects of dramaturgy. The first is best described as the motivation behind characters and their actions in a particular scene, and perhaps holds some similarity with the Stanislavskian notion of 'objectives;'[90] thus, the objective-design for Volpone and Mosca in the opening four scenes might be seen as one of 'gulling,' and this is achieved through numerous actions (many of which, by virtue of their conventional nature, can be termed theatregrams of motion), including Volpone's feigned sickness, Mosca's careful separation of gulls and his private speeches with them in Act I. More formally, I also think there is a second design element that is more concerned with the specific structure of scenes. The clearest example of this type is the *agon* of Old Comedy, which when employed by Aristophanes involved a fairly regular pattern of alternating speeches by two characters, supplemented by asides and interventions from secondary characters or choric figures, and which resulted in one of the speakers (invariably the first) being declared the winner.[91]

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[87] Erich Segal, *Roman Laughter: The Comedy of Plautus* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press), pp.112-113; Richard Andrews, *Scripts and Scenarios: The Performance of Comedy in Renaissance Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp.121-122.
[88] Clubb, *Italian Drama,* p.9.
[89] Clubb, *Italian Drama,* p.10.
[90] Clubb, *Italian Drama,* pp.9-10.
[91] For a discussion of the *agon,* see Aristophanes, *Frogs,* ed. and trans. by Alan H. Sommerstein (Oxford: Aris & Phillips, 1996), l.861n.

The theatregram—'a semiotic unit that is materialised in theatrical performance, detachable, transportable, and recombinable across geographical boundaries'[92]—is an attractive concept, as it helps to open up new vistas of enquiry about local, regional, and trans-national exchange of dramatic influence, and serves as a plausible model for those scholars who (rightly, in my view) seek a means to explore reception and influence in a manner that moves beyond the bookshelves of the period's writers. Furthermore, it should come as no surprise that scholars working on the *commedia dell'arte* have been in the vanguard of these discussions, as theirs is a dramatic form whose reliance on non-textual, performative traditions means they can better appreciate how limiting text-based evidence can be.[93] Indeed, Andrews' work on 'elastic units' in *commedia* scenarios, where a performative sequence (such as door-knocking scenes, cases of mistaken identity, or lovers spouting melodramatic verse) could be contracted or expanded in response to actors' willingness and audience enjoyment, seems to me to be an excellent complementary model for the sort of performance environment in which design or motion theatregrams (which represent the sort of tried-and-tested elements that *commedia* scenarios relied upon) would be of most use.[94]

Seneca's apian metaphor is once more of some use when one considers the transmission of influence implied by the theatregram, although this time one must imagine the era's playwrights drawing nectar not only from the leaves of books on their shelves but also from their first or second-hand experiences of the theatrical and para-theatrical events taking place in the environments in which they lived and worked. In fact, the Senecan metaphor of cross-pollination is doubly useful, as it allows me to dovetail my discussion of the theatregram with the process of *contaminatio*, the second important term in this thesis, and which has some bearing on the recyclable, recombinable model of theatre suggested by the theatregram. *Contaminatio* (from *contamino, -are, -avi, -atus*: 'to bring

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[92] Henke, 'Introduction,' in *Transnational Exchange,* ed. by Henke and Nicholson, p.13.

[93] For discussions about *commedia dell'arte* that either directly reference the theatregram or which place emphasis on the sort of performative modes of exchange that the theatregram represents, see Robert Henke, *Performance and Literature in the* Commedia Dell'Arte (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002); Robert Henke, 'Border Crossing in the *Commedia dell'Arte,*' (pp.19-34), and Mace Perlman, 'Reading Shakespeare, Reading the Masks of the Italian *Commedia*: Fixed Forms and the Breath of Life' (pp.225-237), in *Transnational Exchange,* ed. by Henke and Nicholson; for a related discussion about the fixed and improvisatory elements of Italian pastoral drama, see Louise George Clubb, 'Pastoral Jazz from the Writ to the Liberty,' in *Italian Culture in the Drama of Shakespeare,* ed. by Marrapodi, pp.15-26.

[94] See Richard Andrews, *Scripts and Scenarios,* p.159, and 'Moliere, *Commedia Dell'Arte*, and the Question of Influence in Early Modern European Theatre,' *The Modern Language Review,* 100:2 (2005), pp. 444-463 (esp. pp.449-451).

into contact, mingle, blend, unite')[95] is a creative process by which a playwright incorporates more than one source in the creation of a new playtext, and has been consistently associated by commentators from antiquity onwards primarily with the Roman playwright Terence, and occasionally with Plautus.[96] Terence himself alludes to *contaminatio* several times in the prologues to his plays, most notably in *Andria,* when he acknowledges that his play conflates Menander's *Perinthian* and *Andrian,* and that his critics claim that 'plays should not be mixed together' (*'contaminari non decere fabulas': An.,* l.15). Terence defends himself by appeal to precedent set down by past dramatists, saying that when his detractors accuse him of *contaminatio* 'they [also] accuse Naevius, Plautus, Ennius' (*'qui quum hunc accusant Naevium, Plautum, Ennium accusant': An.,* ll.18-19),[97] and although the practice joined a number of other charges (in another prologue, Terence is accused more simply as a '*furem,'* 'thief': *Eun.,* l.23) it seems likely that he was not doing anything that was not considered normal working practice by more fair-minded commentators. And indeed, Jonson's own career is proof enough that *contaminatio* was still an ongoing practice: the plot of his *The Case Is Altered* is a contamination of Plautus' *Captivi* and *Aulularia,* and although no other of his plays is so greatly beholden to two single works his confession to Drummond that '[h]e had an intention to have made a play like Plautus' *Amphitruo,* but left it off for that he could never find two so like others that he could persuade the spectators they were one' is proof that it was a creative method that he had at attempted to return to on at least one other occasion (*Informations,* ll.327-329). *Contaminatio* is therefore an appropriate concept to use in reference to Jonson's work, as its literary and critical associations links it not only to one of his most important classical sources but also to the combination of character, motive, and design elements that the theatregram model also represents.

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[95] 'contaminatio,' Charlton T. Lewis, and Charles Short, *A Latin Dictionary Founded on Andrews' Edition of Freund's Latin Dictionary*, rev. ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1879); hereafter referred to as *LS*.
[96] Peter George McCarthy Brown, 'contaminatio,' in *Classical Dictionary,* ed. by Hornblower. See also Helen Rees Clifford, 'Dramatic Technique and the Originality of Terence,' *The Classical Journal* 26:8 (1931) pp.605-618 (pp.605-606), and Eduard Fraenkel, *Plautine Elements in Plautus* [1922], trans. by Tomas Drevikovsky and Frances Muecke (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp.172-218, who sees *contaminatio* as more central to Plautus' work than had been hitherto thought—Fraenkel was writing in the early twentieth century, but it is notable that it is only really after his work was published that contamination in Plautus' plays began to be treated as seriously as that in Terence's.
[97] Terence, *Comedies*, trans. by John Barsby, 2 vols, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, MA; London: Harvard University Press, 2001).

One can see that *contaminatio* has a wider application than the blending of texts; and in what follows I will use it to refer to the performative as well as linguistic elements that Jonson allowed his comedies to bring into contact. However, as this section has now turned to focus on the non-textual routes of influence open to Jonson, I must concede that there is a fundamental problem in applying it to Jonson's reception of the classics in performance. Previous published discussions have emphasised the *synchronic* transmission of theatregrams, with the movement of these dramaturgical building blocks between people and across borders helping to explain how similar performance elements could appear in different geo-political areas when cultural and linguistic barriers make it difficult to explain them through the 'linear-causal' model of transmission that prioritises writing as the primary conduit for ideas.[98] As I have already suggested, the 'linear-causal' model of literary transmission, the idea that influence can only be proved decisively by tracing the verbal or thematic similarities Text B holds with Text A, only has a limited use for performance-based art. The Prague-School Structuralist Otakar Zich famously referred to the words of playtexts as 'dead marks' on a page, as superficial physical traces that can never encapsulate the transitory, embodied performance experience to which it alludes.[99] What makes the theatregram a useful analytical tool for early modern studies is that it helps us move beyond the source hunting that can often stem from an overly-literary examination of playtexts and instead focuses on those theatrical elements that did not rely on the 'dead marks' of a specific literary source but had instead become dramaturgical building blocks in play after play by virtue of their effectiveness in performance. What I am sceptical about though is whether one can apply the *synchronic* model of the theatregram to the *diachronic* movement of a dramaturgical element through time, especially since these elements have not only traversed huge temporal distances (as far as that between fifth-century Athens and sixteenth-century England) but also because they do not seem to have been transmitted through *a continuous performance tradition*. When the first Greek-inspired plays appeared in Republican Rome they were imports from a Greek culture that was alien in many ways, but was a culture with which the Roman people shared some

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[98] Henke, 'Introduction,' in *Transnational Exchange,* ed. by Henke and Nicholson, p.13.

[99] Zich's writings have been available in Czech from the first half of the twentieth century, but my thanks to Pavel Drábek and David Drozd for permission to read two works by Otakar Zich that are shortly to be published in English translations: 'Principles of Theoretical Dramaturgy,' trans. by Pavel Drábek, in *Theatre Theory Reader: Prague School Writings* (Prague: Karolinum, 2016, forthcoming 2017), pp.34-58 (see esp. pp.44, 46-47, which discuss the roles of actor and text that complement the quotation given above), and *The Aesthetics of Dramatic Art: The Theoretical Dramaturgy* [1931] (Prague: Karolinum, forthcoming).

commonalities, not least of which being that they inhabited the same historical period; in fact Livius Andronicus, who is traditionally regarded as first introducing Greek-style comedy and tragedy to the Romans, had the benefit of having come directly from the culture and performative traditions he was now emulating at Rome.[100] The grafting of some of Greece's performative traditions onto those native to the Italian peninsula produced a flowering that was helped by these two cultures sharing some close temporal and socio-cultural affinities; the distance of the early modern period obviously discounted this later era from this former link, and with formal performances in the Greco-Roman tradition largely ending with the occupation of Italy by the Lombards from 568AD onwards,[101] the links of the latter was also severed. One should be careful in not seeing absence of evidence as evidence of absence, of course–and some interesting work is being done by scholars who have traced how the currents of the Greco-Roman traditions were diverted into the tributaries of some of the more improvisatory, non-text-based performance modes (including the *commedia dell'arte* and its forerunners) within Italy and beyond[102]—but it is undeniable that by Jonson's time there was no sense of a continuous performance tradition with the ancient theatres of Greece and Rome.

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[100] Richard C. Beacham, *The Roman Theatre and Its Audience* (London: Routledge, 1991), pp.17-18. The origins of drama at Rome are murky, and exploration of the subject has not been helped by the lack of evidence and the confusion among the sources that remain. Horace claims that Fescennine verses served as an early form of performance at Rome, and that the Romans turned to Greek models after the Punic War (*Epist.* Iii.139-163); whereas Livy claims that Roman theatre was initiated by the influences of Etrurian performers, Etruscan dancers, and that the plays with plots introduced by Livius Andronicus fragmented performance traditions into the sort of 'Greco-Roman' theatre with which Plautus and Terence would be familiar, and crude songs and jests sung by the Roman youths (*History of Rome,* VIII.ii)—a view that is supported by Valerius Maximus (II.iv.4). As scholars since have argued though, Horace, Livy, and Valerius Maximus were themselves writing long after the introduction of drama at Rome, so the conflicting nature of their accounts probably reflects that confusion had already set in during their periods. For more discussion of the origins of Roman theatre, see George E. Duckworth, *The Nature of Roman Comedy: A Study in Popular Entertainment* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1952),pp.3-17, Beacham, pp.1-26; C.W. Marshall, *The Stagecraft and Performance of Roman Comedy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp.1-15; Thomas Habinek, 'Satire as Aristocratic Play' (pp.177-191), and Fritz Graf, 'Satire in a Ritual Context' (pp.192-206), in *The Cambridge Companion to Roman Satire,* ed. by Kirk Freudenburg (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).
[101] Beacham, p.198.
[102] Post-Roman Empire theatre has received comparatively little attention up to now, although Donnalee Dox's *The Idea of the Theatre in Latin Christian Thought: Augustine to the Fourteenth Century* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2004) is an excellent recent study that addresses this scholarly lacuna. Some useful work has also been conducted on the dominant forms of performance in the Imperial period (including pantomime, mime, tragic singing, and recitals), which although not strictly comparable with the 'Greco-Roman' theatrical tradition represented by Menander, Plautus, and Terence at least shows the direction in which late-Empire performers was headed. Put crudely, an increasing separation is apparent been words and movement (with forms such as the pantomime including separate dancers and recitors/singers), and by the time Donatus came to his commentary on

At this point, the idea of a 'classical' theatregram seems a complete contradiction in terms, as the theatregram relies on transmission through performative routes that do not seem to be there. It is here, however, that my emphasis on the *reception* of ancient theatre in the early modern period becomes so vital, for in fact Jonson's understanding of classical theatre was one that was now divorced from the communal performance contexts of antiquity and had become a form that had become deeply impressed by early modern notions of social elitism and humanist pedagogy that regarded these plays along Aristotelian and Horatian lines as both aesthetic 'objects' to be admired and rhetorical events that had some didactic or political purpose.[103] The first evidence of performance of a classical text outside of antiquity was of Seneca's *Phaedra* at the *Palais de Cardinal Saint George*, France, nearly a thousand years after the end of formal theatre in Italy (see appendix B, entry 1). The mode of this first early modern 'performance' is open to question, but it is likely that it was a reading or recitation as opposed to a theatrical production, and would have been delivered to a select, small audience (the Cardinal and his entourage?); in fact, the next three records (all at Florence—in 1476, 1478, and 1479— and probably all Terentian texts)[104] are all also recitations or readings, and one has to wait until either 1480 or 1484 for the first staging of a classical text in the Renaissance period,[105] and later still (c.1485) for the first public performance at Rome of plays by Seneca and Plautus.[106] These productions of the 1480s were mounted by students of Pomponius Laetus, a professor at the University of Rome, an educator who believed

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Terence in the fourth century AD it appears that the Republican plays were valued for their rhetorical rather than their performative merits. See Pat Easterling and Richard Miles, 'Dramatic Identities: Tragedy in Late Antiquity,' in *Constructing Identities in Late Antiquity,* ed. by Richard Miles (London; New York: Routledge, 1999), pp.95-111; *New Directions in Ancient Pantomime,* ed. by Edith Hall and Rosie Wyles (Oxford: Oxford Universit y Press, 2008);  Alena Sarkissian '*Skenikoi, Mimoi* and Other Defectors: Theatre in Testimonies of Early Christian Legal Decrees of Eastern Rome," *Eirene* 43 (2007), pp.194-202; Ruth Webb, *Demons and Dancers: Performance in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008); and Alessandra Zanobi, 'Ancient Pantomime and Its Reception,' in *APGRD* < http://www.apgrd.ox.ac.uk/learning/short-guides/ancient-pantomime-and-its-reception> [accessed  20 February 2017]. One cannot discount the possibility of small, *ad hoc* private orations or performances of classical texts continuing in schoolrooms or monasteries during the medieval period, but if such 'productions' did occur there is little or no evidence to support their existence. The fifth-century adaptation of Plautus' *Aulularia* in a text known as the *Querolus* does indicate that there were at least occasional literary imitations of the Greco-Roman plays, but there is no indication as to whether this text was ever intended for performance or was merely produced as a classroom or literary exercise (see Miola, *Shakespeare and Classical Comedy,* p.2).

[103] Smith, *Ancient Scripts,* p.51.

[104] Appendix B, entries 2-4.

[105] Both these records refer to performances of Plautus: *Asinaria* in 1480 and *Aulularia* in 1484; see appendix B, entries 5 and 6.

[106] Appendix B, entries 8 (Plautus' *Asinaria*), and 9 (Seneca's *Hippolytus*).

strongly in the humanist emphasis on theatre as useful for instilling morals and for rhetorical training.[107] The Laetus productions encapsulate how classical performances were intertwined as oratorical exercises and elitist cultural events—it seems that the first public production of Seneca's *Hippolytus* (i.e., *Phaedra*) was a test run before a series of private performances before the Cardinal Riario, and even then the expensiveness and novelty of the 'public' dress rehearsal would likely have been before a select audience— and the surviving records indicate that over the following years they continued to be lavish affairs to mark seasonal celebrations, aristocratic and royal visits, or marriages.[108]

Aside from the frequent use (especially in public performances) of extravagant sets, props, and costume, these plays were often accompanied by musical and dramatic *intermezzi*, and framing prologues and epilogues were sometimes specially produced to explain difficult ideas within a text or to point a moral, aesthetic and didactic choices that help situate the ancient texts firmly within an early modern field of ideological and cultural reference.[109] The reasoning behind this was partly because the early modern period inherited the contradictory ideas from the Romans that the ancient theatres were like courtrooms filled with the whole population (a view promoted by Cicero and Plutarch), and that they were populated only by discerning gentlemen (Horace, Quintilian).[110] In practice, it was the Horatian-Quintilian position that worthy plays should only be performed to select audiences, not the rabble, that held the greatest sway, as this idea chimed best both with the considerable financial outlay needed to mount such productions and with the increasing interest in turning the products of humanist scholarship into yet another fashionable commodity of European aristocratic life.[111] When one combines this with Cicero's advice that performing playtexts was good oratorical training, an idea taken up and modified by Quintilian, who added the idea that it helped in the development of the *vir bonus* by teaching moral values,[112] the precedent was established for early modern performances of classical texts to be of both moral and didactic worth—both on account of the moral lessons gained by the watching audience,

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[107] Frederick S. Boas, *University Drama in the Tudor Age* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1914), p.15; Smith, *Ancient Scripts,* pp.3-5, 10, 99, 101, 235.
[108] For a few early examples, see appendix B, entries 11, 12, 15, 16, 18, 20, 21, 22, 28, 29, 30, 54, 55, 56, 57, and 58.
[109] Smith, *Ancient Scripts,* p.10.
[110] Smith, *Ancient Scripts,* pp.100-101.
[111] Smith, *Ancient Scripts,* pp.101-102.
[112] Smith, *Ancient Scripts,* pp.104-105.

and the oratorical experience given to its performers.[113] Most importantly, though, they were intended for the 'better sort,' people possessed of the education and/or social standing to appreciate their nuances and their status as high cultural events.

A similar situation obtained in England, where records indicate that classical performances were held in either aristocratic or educative settings, and were performed by amateurs, either the gentlemen or servants of a commissioning noble or by grammar school or university students. A production commissioned by Cardinal Wolsey of Plautus' *Menaechmi* at Hampton Court Palace during the Christmas festivities of 1526 (appendix B, entry 95) is one of the earliest of these English productions, and is representative of the incorporation of these classical works into courtly entertainments and the attendant 'early modernising' of their contents by combining them with elements from the medieval romantic traditions, with Plautus' play framed by the appearance of interloping shepherds (one of whom turned out to be a disguised Henry VIII) and followed by a number of speeches from Venus and Cupid.[114] The Wolsey *Menaechmi* is an example of the spectacular, courtly form of classical production—a commission by someone who wished to promote himself as an erudite man of culture, alive to the latest European fashions[115]—but a grammar school or university setting for classical performance seems to have been more regular.[116] These academic productions were frequently mounted as part of their host institution's Christmas festivities and were clearly high-points in the calendar, with

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[113] For more on the moral influence of classical rhetorical theory on Renaissance oratory and theatrical spectatorship, see Jamey E. Graham, 'Consciousness, Self-Spectatorship, and Will to Power: Shakespeare's Stoic Consciousness,' *English Literary Renaissance* 44:2 (2014), pp.241-274.

[114] Smith, *Ancient Scripts,* p.139.

[115] See appendix B, entries 98 and 99 for records of two more productions with which Wolsey may have been involved.

[116] Between 1510 and 1627, records indicate that there were approximately 90 separate productions of classical or classically-influenced plays in England, with the grammar schools and universities counting for a large amount of these. In total, there 67 recorded productions either at Oxford, Cambridge, or the Inns of Court: five (perhaps six) productions at St John's College, Cambridge (1536, 1562, 1579, 1583, 1604, with perhaps a second in 1583); six at Christ Church, Oxford (1566, 1588, c.1590-91, 1592, 1605, c.1609-19); two at Gray's Inn (both 1566); four at Jesus College, Cambridge (two c.1562-63, c.1563-64, 1579); three at King's College, Cambridge (c.1552-53, two in 1564); four at Merton College, Oxford (1567, two in 1568, 1584); nine at Queens' College, Cambridge (c.1522-23, c.1542-43, two c.1547-48, 1549, c.1554-55, 1554, 1563, c.1591-92); five at St John's College, Cambridge (1536, 1562, 1579, 1583, c.1603-04); twenty-three at Trinity College, Cambridge (between 1546 and 1628); two at Trinity College, Oxford (1559, 1582); and five at other Cambridge venues (c.1510-11, c.1516-17, c.1522-23, c.1540-60, 1588). In this period there were also approximately twenty productions at grammar schools: two at St Paul's School (1528, c.1575-82); one at Ipswich School (1525); one at Windsor Boys' School (1571); seven at Westminster School (c.1543-47, two in 1545, 1564, 1566, 1567, 1569, 1571); and at least seven at other venues. The full number of entries is too great to include here, but see between entries 71 and 270 in appendix B.

evidence that prominent scholars, aristocrats, even royalty made up their audiences.[117] At Westminster School the tradition of a Christmas 'Latin play' seems to have begun in the 1540s under Alexander Nowell (headmaster 1543-1555), and indeed the event was enshrined in the School statute of 1561 (*De Comoediis et Ludis in Natali Domini Exhibendis*), which officially included it as part of the Westminster curriculum, and required that the performances be given by the Queen's Scholars, boys from poor families who had won their place at the School based on academic merit.[118] As with the courtly productions already mentioned, these classical plays were thoroughly assimilated to their early modern context; at Westminster, there are records that Nowell wrote moralising prologues to the three productions that took place under his tenure,[119] and Carleton suggests that in the years that followed a tradition was established whereby prologues were joined by shorter epilogue pieces (both in Latin), with the latter being a satirical revue delivered by one or more of the boys that summarised the year's events within and without the School's walls.[120] Many of these framing materials have not survived, but their

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[117] Carleton, p.3.

[118] Carleton, p.148. Jonson was a Townboy, a boy whose education was funded personally, in his case by an unknown benefactor, so despite his lowly background he was not a Queen's Scholar, and therefore ineligible to perform himself. The identity of the mysterious benefactor is often believed to be William Camden, following Drummond's report that Jonson had been 'put to school by a friend (his master, Camden)' (*Informations,* ll.181-182), although Donaldson notes the ambiguity of this passage: the comment could be literal, referring to Camden financing Jonson himself; or could be a reference to the intellectual debt that the younger man owed to his teacher (Donaldson, *Ben Jonson,* pp.69-72). Interestingly, private correspondence with Tom Edlin, a history teacher at Westminster School (date of correspondence 9 March 2017), has revealed that there is a persistent School rumour that an exception was made for Jonson and that he *did* take part in the Latin play. Both I and my correspondent are inclined to believe that, in the absence of any supporting evidence, this rumour is a little too good to be true (in fact there is a very similar rumour connected to the actor Barton Booth, another Old Westminster, which raises the issue that one of these accounts may have influenced the other, or that both are 'false memories' designed to connect the pair's later professional excellence explicitly with the influence of their *alma mater*). However, considering Jonson's undoubted good future relationship with Camden, and Camden's (reputed) sponsorship of the young man through School and the master's definite enthusiasm for humanist methods of teaching, it is at least *possible* that the young man could have been involved in performance.

[119] Carleton, p.3. Nowell's framing materials are in line with the scholarly fashion for 'Christianised' versions of texts by Plautus, Terence, and Seneca, or works based on theirs but with a heavy Christian focus (including Nicholas Grimald's *Christ Redivivus*, c.1540-1541, and Schonaeus' *Terentius Christianus,* 1592), which were published in the sixteenth and seventeenth century, although they became increasingly unpopular. See T.W. Baldwin, *Shakespeare's Five Act Structure* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1947), pp.265, 348; Green, p.47.

[120] See Carleton, p.150, who implies that the moralising-satirical prologue and epilogues was a Westminster tradition that had survived into the Latin plays performed at the time of writing (1965). However, Tom Edlin has pointed out in private correspondence (9 March 2017) that the prologues and epilogues tradition has not been maintained for more recent Westminster productions—including a *Rudens* in 2004 and a *Phormio* in 2010—although the latter play did include a 'semi-Prologue' which featured the appearance of 'Elizabeth I' who had come to watch the play. Edlin does note, however,

presence indicates a persistent commitment by the School's teaching staff to give the classical materials a relevance and applicability—for audiences as well as participants—that extended beyond the plays' stated purpose of improving the boys' elocutionary and rhetorical abilities and towards emphasising a didactic message for all.

Unfortunately, there is no extant record of a Latin play taking place during Jonson's time at Westminster, but as the records that have survived have done so more by chance than anything else this does not indicate that they did not occur. Given that the Latin play was, at least in theory, a statutory requirement, I think it likely that Jonson *did* witness at least one Latin play during his time at Westminster, and if so this would have been his first experience of the immersion of the classical works into Renaissance culture, and of the efforts made by his contemporaries to give these ancient texts a continuing social and moral relevance. At the very least, Westminster School was an institution with a proud tradition in staging classical productions, both at the School and at court, and with such an eminent figure in English drama as Nicholas Udall as a past headmaster (who assumed the role in the 1550s, and whose *Ralph Roister Doister* is one of the earliest comedies to contaminate classical and native English models),[121] and which by the 1590s was led by educational progressives like William Camden,[122] one can say with some confidence that the conditions were there for Jonson to develop his awareness of the early modern performance of classical plays at second- if not first-hand. With Westminster's emphasis on the imitative practices laid down by the Erasmian method, its application in rhetorical exercises and events that were integral not only to the School's daily operations but also to its most important calendar activities, and the possibility of seeing classical plays actually in performance, there was perhaps no better place for a budding classically- inspired poet and playwright to spend his formative years.

Let me finally in this section return to the synchronic/diachronic issue with the theatregram, and to the question as to whether one can really suggest a classical performance influence on Jonson's plays. The performances at Westminster, as they were

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that the moralising-satirical streak of these framing materials has resurfaced after a fashion in the speeches given during the School's Election Dinner in July (which is itself a continuation of the Election process highlighted in section II above), which begins with a Proemium (traditionally written by the Head Master) which 'does the survey of the year and then moves on to topical classical epigrams and accompanying English poems or songs' (Edlin, private correspondence).

[121] Matthew Steggle, 'Udall , Nicholas (1504–1556)', in *ODNB* [date accessed 1 Jan 2017].

[122] Camden was Second Master at the School from 1575 and served as Head Master from 1593 to 1597. See Wyman H. Herendeen, 'Camden, William (1551–1623)', in *ODNB* [date accessed 1 Jan 2017].

at the other educational establishments and great aristocratic and civic occasions around Europe, were thoroughly assimilated to the Renaissance conception of the 'play-as-rhetorical-event,' with performers and audience alike largely focused on the educative and moral benefits that these productions brought.[123] Although these plays were often lavishly produced they were not intended to be 'historically accurate,' and it seems unlikely that they were staged with any particularly attention to recreating classical performance conditions. I therefore suggest a compromise position when discussing Jonson's reception of the classics: that we emphasise the fact that when one discusses his uses of performative and literary tropes one is really analysing an early modern dramatist's *reception* of these tropes, to the cultural imaginary in which they resided, and that rather than unfairly comparing his uses against modern standards of historical knowledge of which he would have little awareness, and perhaps even less interest, one should see them as a product of what he had read, what he had seen, and what he, as an experienced dramatist, could imagine in his own 'theatre of the mind' would work effectively in his own productions.

# IV

The point of this Introduction has been to lay the contextual groundwork for my argument in the thesis proper, which I summarise here. I contend that the imitative creative practices of the Renaissance, which were preserved in the pedagogical techniques of the day and in the literary output of the period's writers, can be seen not only by analysing Jonson's plays as *written texts* but also as *performance texts.* Despite the work of Barthes and his disciples, we are still used to referring to a 'text' as a literary artefact, but Barba makes the very valuable point that the word's origins (from the Latin, '*texo, texui, textum'*) actually means 'to weave,'[124] and it is on the warp and weft of interconnected and complementary threads of literary and performance-based influences that this study will focus. Jonson's formal education, his habits of reading and thinking, and the collaborative, transposable, iterative and reconstitutive nature of theatrical production itself (as suggested here by the notion of the theatregram) all inclined him towards habits of creative interweaving, and indeed the imitation and contamination of classical

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[123] Smith, *Ancient Scripts,* p.65.
[124] Barba and Savarese, p.66.

performative and literary models can be discerned in both the page and stage versions of his plays. I acknowledge that there are issues with the theatregram model to which I will make reference (especially in chapters 2 and 5), but I see an exploration of this model's limitations as a useful adjunct to this study. I also recognise that there are sometimes difficulties in making direct comparisons between early modern and classical dramaturgical techniques, as there were many aspects of the ancient theatre that were either completely unknown to, or misunderstood by, Jonson's age; this is especially true with regard to Greek theatre, which was always read 'literally and figuratively' from the theoretical positions laid down by Roman writers like Cicero, Quintilian, and Horace.[125] However, I maintain that many of the elements I focus on in the following chapters—on the structural functions of the Aristophanic Great Idea; the movement of a choral group around the stage, and their effect on performance; on Plautine site-specificity and theatrical privilege—are dramaturgical elements encoded within the language of the surviving playtexts themselves and essential to their overall design, and that, aside from a dramatist's (mind's)eye for what would work onstage, Jonson would have needed no knowledge exterior to these classical works in order to revitalise them in his own plays. I would also stress once more that my main interest is the *reception* of these classical works in the Renaissance period, and that Jonson's departures from his sources (deliberate or otherwise) are of the greatest interest, as they teach us much not only about the preoccupations and prejudices that the playwright brought to bear on these ancient texts, but also those of his contemporaries who served as fellow theatre-makers, audiences, and readers.

Jonson's personal motto was '*tanquam explorator,*' a phrase that he borrowed, appropriately enough, from Seneca, who in turn took it from the Greek philosopher Epicurus.[126] The motto is well-chosen, as the receptive chain contained within its small compass is a pithy summary of the sort of classical ghosting that occurs through the rest of Jonson's work, a ghosting that is in turn balanced by the connotations of '*explorator,*' a noun that encapsulates the man's restless, boundary-crossing creativity that could not be confined to his ancient models. I hope that this study will complement the motto by revealing the classicising and innovative aspects of Jonson's dramaturgy, and by suggesting that each is reliant on the other: Jonson might have followed the classical writers but he

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[125] Smith, *Ancient Scripts,* p.14.

[126] Jonson, *Discoveries,* 0.1n; Seneca, *Ep.* II.v.

walked alongside their footsteps, not in them, and he was always ready to set out in new directions when the traces of his ancient guides came to rest.

# A Note on Jonson's Greek

As a significant portion of this thesis is dedicated to Jonson's engagement with Aristophanes, I here outline my own view on the vexed question of the playwright's direct knowledge of the Old Comic and of Ancient Greek. (The language issue is less of a concern for the other two Greek writers who are also important to this thesis—Aristotle and Lucian— as Latin translations of their writings had a much more prominent position in the intellectual and print cultures of the sixteenth century: much of Aristotle's work had been known in Latin since the medieval period (as was the *Poetics* when it was first published in 1536),[127] and Lucian's work was translated more commonly into this language than produced in the original Greek.)[128] Jonson certainly would not have been as familiar with the Greek writers or language as he was with Roman authors or Latin; Greek did not have the same ubiquity as Latin in early modern England, and although it was frequently taught to the brightest and older students in the grammar schools, as well as having a significant presence in the universities, his (almost definite) lack of attendance at the latter and some doubts about when he left the former mean that there can be no certainty about whether he ever received any formal training.[129] The evidence supplied by verbal echoes in

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[127] Herrick notes that this 1536 edition was a bi-lingual Greek-Latin text that helped re-introduce a general awareness of the text to educated men, but 'they did not become familiar with Aristotle's dramatic criticism until after the great commentaries on the *Poetics* by Robortellas and Madius appeared in 1548 and 1550' (Marvin T. Herrick, *Comic Theory in the Sixteenth Century,* (Urbana, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1950), p.1). See also Marvin T. Herrick, *The Fusion of Horatian and Aristotelian Literary Criticism, 1531-1555* (Urbana, MI: University of Illinois Press, 1946).

[128] The *USTC* records 345 separate publications of Lucian between 1470 and 1598: the majority of these editions were in Latin (216), followed by Greek (120), French (21), German (17), Italian (10), Czech (4), Spanish (3), English (2), and Hungarian (1). McPherson records that Jonson had at least two copies of Lucian in his library at some point: a Greek and Latin language of his works (Paris, 1615), and an edition of selected texts in the original Greek (Paris, 1530). Jonson also had a number of anthologies of Greek and Latin texts which contained Lucian's writings, and his confession to Drummond that '[s]undry times he hath devoured his books, and sold them all for necessity' (*Informations,* l.253) suggests that he could have owned more. David McPherson, "Ben Jonson's Library and Marginalia: An Annotated Catalogue," *Studies in Philology,* 71 (1974), pp. 1-106 (p. 63).

[129] John Aubrey's *Brief Lives* includes an account from a 'Mr Isaac Walton,' who claims that 'my lord of Winton knew [Jonson] very well, and says he was in the 6°, that is the uppermost fforme in Westminster scole' (quoted in Bradley and Adams, p.357). If accurate, this would mean that Jonson attended Westminster School long enough to receive formal training in Greek, but as Aubrey's accounts of his

Jonson's work is also, on its own, inconclusive in attesting to his skill with the language—there are some allusions to Greek writers (especially Aristophanes) and even a smattering of Greek quotation across his texts, but these are often generic observations or commonplaces that he could have picked up from a number of sources (including commonplace collections), and do not in themselves demonstrate either a particularly advanced ability in the language or familiarity with its principle authors.[130] There are, however, a few pieces of evidence that are suggestive that Aristophanes at least was known to some of Jonson's audience, and that Jonson himself made some effort to align himself with his Old Comic predecessor. A reference from the 1600s to the 'too-too satirical up and down' Jonson who had become 'like his great grandfather Aristophanes' is certainly evidence that some of contemporaries saw a link (a *familial* link, no less) between the two,[131] and the playwright's invocation of Aristophanes' memory in the Induction to *Every Man  Out of His Humour* (*EMO,* Ind.229-249) and the Apologetical Dialogue of *Poetaster* (*Poet.,* AD.173-179) indicates that he was eager to arrogate for

subjects are frequently gossipy and based on questionable sources one cannot pronounce on this with any certainty. Aubrey also records another tempting, but suspiciously vague, anecdote: while Jonson was working as a bricklayer 'a knight, a bencher, walking thro' and hearing him repeat some Greeke verses out of Homer, discoursing with him, and finding him to have a witt extraordinary, gave him some exhibition to maintaine him at Trinity college in Cambridge' (quoted in *The Jonson Allusion-Book: A Collection of Allusions to Ben Jonson from 1597 to 1700,* ed. by Jesse Franklin Bradley and Joseph Quincy Adams (London: Oxford University Press; New Haven: Yale University Press, 1922), p.354). The image of Jonson as a Homer-quoting bricklayer's apprentice is an appealing one, but, as with the Jonson/Booth rumour cited in fn. 118 above, seems a little too good to be true; Donaldson does not seem to think the quotation worth mentioning in his biography on the playwright, nor the reported connection to Trinity College. He does, however, make an argument based on Thomas Fuller's *History of the Worthies of England* (1662) that Jonson may have spent some time as a sizar at St John's College, Cambridge, an observation that is all the more interesting because it had a long tradition of being staffed by notably Greek scholars and had mounted a series of Greek and Latin plays (*Ben Jonson,* pp.85-87; see appendix B, entries 104, 163, 215, 218, 219, and 244). For a persuasive argument as to how Aubrey and Fuller's accounts can be reconciled, see Mark Bland, 'Ben Jonson and the Legacies of the Past,' *Huntington Library Quarterly,* 67:3 (2004), pp.371-400 (p.385).

[130] Aside from the two Greek references from *Every Man Out* and *Poetaster* that have already been mentioned, a small section from *Wealth* is quoted (wildly out of context, presumably for deliberate comic effect) in *The Devil Is An Ass,* V.viii.111-115; and there are numerous references to Aristophanes, Old Comedy, and Greek authors (most of which are derived from other sources, such as Heinsius, some of which are misquoted or misattributed) in *Discoveries,* ll.256-257, 256-257, 277-279, 392, 662, 867-868, 1339, 1438, 1776-1777, 1876-1891; a reference to Aristophanes' appearance in Plato's *The Symposium* (from 190a) also appears in *The New Inn,* III.ii.84-85; and a marginal note to *The King's Entertainment* (Marginalium.53) notes Jonson's and Aristophanes' differing physical depiction of the god Plutus. Finally, there is perhaps a glancing allusion to Aristophanes and Old Comedy in *Sejanus*, when the historian Cordus defends himself against accusations of wielding a 'licentious pen' by claiming firstly that Roman writers like Livy and Catullus had been permitted to speak freely, and that Greek writers also enjoyed the 'licence' to 'scape unpunished' (III.i.404, 442-443). Although Aristophanes is not named directly here, the traditional association between the Old Comic poet and licentiousness must have been forefront in the minds of any reader or audience member well-read enough to catch the allusion.

[131] Thomas Tomkis [?], from the play *Lingua* (performed 1602[?], Stationers' Register, 1607); see also I.C. [?James Clayton]', 'Ode to Ben Jonson, Upon His 'Ode to Himself,'' c. 1629. Quoted in *Jonson Allusion-Book,* ed. by Bradley and Adams, pp.33, 145.

himself the satirical licence that was granted to the Old Comic. These personal statements are suggestive of the playwright and his audience's familiarity with Aristophanes, although they could equally be read as echoing a contemporary habit of using the Old Comic's name to 'legitimi[se] personal satire,'[132] and which relegates Jonson's invocation of the playwright here to the protection of his own interests. When considered in isolation, perhaps the contemporary connection between the early modern and Old Comic playwrights is no more than a sign that Jonson had been successful in establishing the association—as with Jonson's Greek references in his own works, neither provide strong evidence on their own that Jonson was especially familiar either with the Old Comic or the Greek language.

But if the evidence from Jonson's own education and from his texts proves inconclusive, the possibilities stemming from the intellectual circles in which he moved are much more encouraging. Pollard has demonstrated that the writings of the Greek authors were fashionable among the educated in sixteenth century Europe,[133] and although she is keen to highlight the 'near-invisibility' of the Greek dramatists in early modern English scholarship,[134] by the end of the sixteenth century there was a well-established trend for printing these plays on the continent, and Jonson is known to have owned copies of the Greek dramatists' works, as well as the major Greek poets and prose writers.[135] Although

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[132] Matthew Steggle, 'Aristophanes in Early Modern England,' in *Aristophanes in Performance: 421BC-AD 2007,* ed. by Edith Hall and Amanda Wrigley (London: Legenda, 2007), pp.52-65 (p.53).

[133] Tanya Pollard, 'Greek Playbooks and Dramatic Forms in Early Modern England,' *Forms of Early Modern Writing,* ed. by Allison Deutermann and Andras Kisery (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013) pp. 99-123 (p.101).

[134] Pollard, 'Greek Playbooks,' p.101.

[135] Another search of the *USTC* from 1498 (the date of the *editio princep* of Aristophanes) to 1600 (the year at which the database's records end) reveals that there were 68 separate editions of the Greek playwright's works. The 1498 *editio princep* (Venice), which contained all of Aristophanes' plays except for *Thesmophoriazusae* and *Lysistrata,* exerted a great influence over later editions, was printed along with ancient, medieval and contemporary scholia, and provided Greek and Latin text on facing pages— the last feature being particularly prominent in subsequent publications. Editions that imitated the Aldine edition in printing nine plays followed (Florence, 1515, 1525, 1540; Paris, 1528, 1535; Basel, 1547); but it was not long though before all eleven plays were published, beginning with an edition containing just *Lysistrata* and *Thesmophoriazusae* (Florence, 1515), and joined by a growing number of publications that printed all eleven comedies (Basel, 1532, 1539, 1542, 1552; Venice, 1538, 1542, 1548, 1597; Paris, 1540, 1546, 1550, 1557, 1558, 1560; Florence, 1540; Frankfurt, 1544; Lyon, 1600; Leiden, 1600). Smaller groups of plays were also published, many containing some or all of the 'Byzantine Triad' (*Wealth, Clouds* and *Frogs*), so called because of their popularity as teaching texts. The continuing popularity of this Triad is attested by their prominence in single-play editions, which include *Wealth* (9 editions), *Clouds* (3), *Frogs* (2), *Birds* (1), *Peace* (1), and *Thesmophoriazusae* (1). As the *USTC* does not currently record publications after 1600 it does not include the eleven play edition (Geneva, 1607), complete with facing Greek-Latin text and commentaries, that Jonson is known to have owned. See *USTC* <usc.ac.uk> [accessed 4 Jan 2016], and McPherson, "Ben Jonson's Library," pp.25-26.

awareness of Aristophanes' works was often indirect, presented, as Miola notes regarding the Old Comic and his fellow Greek authors, 'by translation, paraphrase and proxy' through critical works and anthologes like Erasmus' massively popular *Adagia* (first published 1500),[136] and always filtered through the Latin perspective of writers like Horace, Quintilian, Donatus, and Cicero,[137] there is much to support Hall's contention that the playwright exerted a 'continuing subterranean presence' through the period.[138] Indeed, there were even a number of productions of Aristophanes in the original Greek or in Latin translations across Europe—in England there were several performances of *Wealth,* and an especially notorious *Peace,* all performed at the universities,[139] all of which suggests that the circulation of the Old Comic's works on page and stage were certainly 'in the air' of the intellectual communities around the time that Jonson was writing.

If Jonson's facility with Greek is much more difficult to prove convincingly than it is with Latin, there is at least general scholarly consensus that he had at least *some* skill in the language, and that the playwright had *some* form of temperamental connection with Aristophanes.[140] Irrespective of whether he did or did not receive formal instruction in the

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[136] Robert S. Miola, 'Aristophanes in England' in *Ancient Comedy and Reception: Essays in Honour of Jeffrey Henderson,* ed. by S. Douglas Olson (Berlin; New York: De Gruyter, 2013), pp.479-502 (p.481). See also  Steggle, 'Aristophanes in Early Modern England,' in *Aristophanes in Performance,* ed. by Hall and Wrigley, who states that in the early modern period 'Aristophanes is an author commonly known about, but only on rare occasions actually read' (p.56).

[137] Herrick, *Comic Theory,* p.2, who refers to the influence of the Latin theorists on comic theory in general.

[138] Edith Hall, 'Introduction: Aristophanic Laughter across the Centuries,' in *Aristophanes in Performance*, ed. by Hall and Wrigley, pp.1-29 (p.4).

[139] See appendix B, entries 73, 81, 85, 86, 102, 104, 118, 121, 122, 127, 212, 228, 257, and 260. English productions of Aristophanes included productions of *Wealth* in 1536 and 1588, and a *Peace* in 1546 (entries 104, 228, and 118). All three of these were performed in the original Greek, but there was also an English-language adaptation of *Wealth* (*Plutophtalmia*) by Thomas Randolph in the early seventeenth century (entry 260). The production of *Peace* was notorious for a piece of stage machinery, designed by the future alchemist Sir John Dee, where he 'won his reputation as a sorceror for the monstrous winged scarab on which...a character ascended to heaven' (Boas, p.17).

[140] The critical links between Jonson, Aristophanes, and the playwright's facility with the Greek language began early. Henry Fielding, in a preface to a translation of *Plutus, The God of Riches* (1742), quotes a section from the play (ll. 32-38) and claims a relation to *Volpone* and *The Alchemist* in that Jonson too 'hath founded two of his best plays on the Passion of Avarice.' Quoted in *Ben Jonson: The Critical Heritage, 1599-1798,* ed. by D.H. Craig (London; New York: Routledge, 1990), pp. 400-401. A few years later a more substantial comparison between Jonson and Aristophanes would be made in John Upton, *Remarks on Three Plays of Ben Jonson* (London, 1749). See also Ben Jonson, *Works,* ed. by C.H. Herford, Percy Simpson, and Evelyn Simpson, 11 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1925) IX, p.680 (hereafter referred to as H&S); John Mulryan, 'Tradition and The Individual Talent: Shakespeare's and Jonson's Appropriation of the Classics,' *Ben Jonson Journal* 10 (2003), pp.117-137 (p.118); Miola, 'Aristophanes in England' in *Ancient Comedy and Reception,* ed. by Olson; Robert S. Miola, 'Less Greeke? Homer in Jonson and Shakespeare' *Ben Jonson Journal* 23:1 (2016), pp.101-126; John M. Potter, 'Old Comedy in *Bartholomew Fair,' Criticism* 10:4 (1968), pp. 290-299; Coburn Gum, *The Aristophanic Comedies of Ben*

language during his time at Westminster, the culture of bilingual editions, which printed the original Greek with Latin translation on the facing page, meant that if even he was comparatively inexperienced in Greek he had a facing translation written in a language with which he was supremely confident. Furthermore, even if he did not receive formal training at Westminster there is no reason why Jonson could not have acquired these language skills by other means: his circle of acquaintances boasted a wide range of intellectuals, many of whom were proficient in Greek—including his former schoolmaster, William Camden, and the eminent antiquary Robert Cotton[141]—and, as Donaldson points out, 'private instruction was readily available in London at this time, and Jonson in any case was quite capable of studying by himself.'[142] I would also like to highlight Ostovich's point that Jonson's more specific debt to Aristophanes relied less on textual echoes (which, given the paucity of Greek learning in the period, few in his audience would recognise anyway) and more on writing in an 'Aristophanic mode,' using 'farce to express serious themes' and involving his audience 'in new ways of seeing by keeping them continually aware of the fact of performance.'[143] This idea will be explored more thoroughly in chapters 1 and 2, but here I would like to emphasise that the relative lack of linguistic traces of Aristophanes in Jonson's texts is balanced by a much more fundamental reliance on the Old Comic in shaping the tone and values of the early modern playwright's work.

On that note, appendix A demonstrates that scholars have spotted a surprising number of Greek allusions that, while frequently not overt, form an integral function to passages in Jonson's plays and which gives a strong indication that the playwright was referring to the original language or, at the very least, that his reading of the text in translation had allowed him to pick up on the nuances of the original. The Oxford editors, as well as the Cambridge editors who follow them, are especially sensitive to Jonson's grasp of Greek,

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*Jonson: A Comparative Study of Jonson and Aristophanes* (The Hague; Paris: Moulton, 1969); Aliki Lafkidou Dick, *Paedeia Through Laughter: Jonson's Aristophanic Appeal to Human Intelligence* (The Hague; Paris: Mouton, 1974); Thomas K. Hubbard, *The Mask of Comedy: Aristophanes and the Intertextual Parabasis* (Ithaca; London: Cornell University Press, 1991), pp.231-240. For a counter view that Jonson was not as well versed in Greek (or in indeed Latin) as he and many others have subsequently claimed, see Vickers, *passim*.

[141] Donaldson, *Ben Jonson*, pp.68-79.

[142] Donaldson, *Ben Jonson,* p.85. The quotation refers specifically to Jonson's knowledge of Hebrew, an even more outré language in this period, so I feel that the point could apply just as well to Greek.

[143] Helen Ostovich, 'Introduction [*Every Man Out of His Humour*],' in Ben Jonson, *Every Man Out of His Humour,* ed. by Helen Ostovich, Revels (Manchester; New York: Manchester University Press, 2001), pp.1-95 (p.12).

particularly in his skilful use of allegorical names to depict his foolish courtiers in *Cynthia's Revels* (Philautia ('Self-Love') represents Storge ('Instinctive/Parental Affection'), Amorphus ('Shapeless') represents Eucosmos ('Orderly'), and so on).[144] Aside from fleeting verbal echoes, there are also several good examples of Jonson's more profound engagement with Greek texts in several of his plays—see, for example the Court of Love scenes in *The New Inn* (III.ii and IV.iv), which interweaves complex concepts from Aristotle (*De Anima, De Sensu*) and Plato (*The Symposium, Phaedrus*) into Lovel's views on love and indicates that Jonson had a good understanding of the original works by both writers.[145] Another especially prominent instance comes in the crowning episode of *Poetaster* V.iii, in which Demetrius and Crispinus are administered an emetic by Horace that forces them to vomit up absurd poeticisms like 'lubrical,' 'glibbery,' snotteries,' and 'furibund' (V.iii.417, 420, 432, 443). Cain, the play's Revels editor, detects direct parallels to Lucian's *Lexiphanes* XXI-XXIII, which is largely realised in the general contents of the scene (the word-vomiting, and Horace's following literary prescription designed to get his poetaster patients back on their feet), but holds some direct linguistic parallels with the original Greek (see appendix A, p.409).[146] The reader can make up his or her own mind on this matter by consulting the appendix directly, but in my opinion this episode, as well as the others mentioned above, provide fairly compelling evidence that Jonson was capable of reading and understanding the original Greek and applying it to his own work. Perhaps in order to spot these moments we need to be more receptive, as Ostovich is, to spotting modalities just as much as linguistic traces—and, as the following chapters hope to demonstrate, it is in this deeper, more ambient engagement with classical sources that Jonson reveals his most interesting debts.

One cannot therefore pronounce on the matter with any certainty, but on the balance of probabilities, and considering Jonson's obvious intellectual ability, near mania for reading,

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[144] See *Cynthia* (Q) V.ii, iv; appendix A, *Cynthia,* Q and F; also Herford and Simpson's commentary on the play in H&S IX, pp.485-533. Among the many instances where they observe Jonson making deft use of the Greek, the Oxford editors also note that *Cynthia* (F) V.ii.21 has the first recorded English usage of 'antagonist,' with Amorphus' definition of it as 'player-against-you' being a literal translation from the Greek (see H&S ed., V.ii.24n.).

[145] Bland (p.395) also argues that *The New Inn* is based on Euripides' *Alcestis*. For further examples of significant Greek influence in other plays, cf. *Cynthia* (Q) I.i, which takes much of its descriptive language from Lucian; and *Epicene* IV.vii and V.iii, which draws its discussion of the 'silent woman' paradox from Libanius.

[146] I personally see the word-reifying vomiting episode also serving as a grotesque parody of a similar sequence of scenes in Aristophanes' *Frogs* (ll.814-1481), in which Aeschylus and Euripides place their verses in a set of scales to see which has (quite literally) the weightiest verse.

and a library that included, at various stages of his career, original language, Latin translation, and bi-lingual editions of every major Greek author, some accompanied by 'extensive marginalia,'[147] it is probably fair to take Drummond's bland reiteration of the playwright's claim that '[h]e was better versed, and knew more in Greek and Latin, than all the poets in England' (*Informations,* ll.499-500) at face value—indeed Drummond, a cultured man himself, was likely to have been an honest judge of Jonson's abilities, as his earlier observation that his visitor 'neither doth understand French nor Italian' (*Informations,* l.53) indicates that he was not blind to his deficiencies in other languages. In the chapters that follow I have therefore taken the assumption that, with a bilingual Greek-Latin edition of a text to hand, Jonson could probably make his way through the Greek authors without much difficulty, and at the very least he had the contacts and resources at his disposal to assist him in accessing and understanding these authors' texts in their original language and 'uncommonplaced' forms.

# A Note on the Appendices

My two appendices contain information collected from useful secondary resources related to Jonson's plays and the culture of classical performances during his period. I claim neither of these data sets as my own original research, but I have included them because they help to contextualise my work within already-established opinions on Jonson's sources, as well as being useful reference documents in their own right.

Appendix A is a collation of classical sources and allusions in Jonson's comedies as noted in the *apparati critici* of four different editions of the playwright's texts (Cambridge, Oxford, Revels, and Mermaid), with all act/scene/line divisions standardised to those in the Cambridge *Works*. The data has its issues: I could have included a wider range of editions of Jonson (Yale, Oxford World Classics, even earlier editions like Whalley's or Gifford's), but had to forego this to prevent the appendix becoming too unwieldy; in the interests of space I have also had to be as economical as possible with providing quotations, so a user will need to consult the texts directly in order to make proper sense of them; thirdly, and perhaps more seriously, some of the references that have been

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[147] McPherson, 'Ben Jonson's Library,' p.8; for Jonson's Greek marginalia, see Bland, p.386.

detected (and which I have frequently categorised under 'General Allusions') are tenuous at best, and are perhaps more reflective of textual editors' interest in source-spotting than of any genuinely significant classical echo. Despite these drawbacks, the appendix is useful because it is, to my knowledge, the only attempt at collating editors' opinions on Jonson's classical sources, and for this reason it may prove to be a useful starting point for researchers working on a similar subject; I also hope that my standardising of references to the Cambridge *Works*—which is fast eclipsing Herford and Simpson's magisterial Oxford edition as the definitive text—will make this even easier to use as a research tool. I have made some attempt to categorise these classical allusions a little further (direct/near allusions are identified in relation to text, scenic design, and character type, for example), and although these categorisations are highly subjective (and indeed, there could well be a project in itself in making them more systematic), I hope that they may be of use for scholars wishing for a little more differentiation on Jonson's allusions. As to my being over-generous with what I regard as an 'allusion' I can only offer the defence that it helps to give a clearer picture of the rich density of Jonson's comedies, and of the extensive influence the classical world and its writings brought to bear on them—it is my own attempt at *copiousness* with which I hope Jonson (not to mention Erasmus) would sympathise.

Appendix B is simpler, as it is a table of extant records of the performance of Greek and Latin comedies and tragedies between 1450 and 1640, drawn from data collected by the *Archive of Performances of Greek and Roman Drama.*[148] Again, the primary use of this appendix is that it gathers together entries that can only be accessed individually on the *APGRD* website, and it provides some interesting details on the distribution of classical performances around England and on the Continent. Of particular interest to this study are the records related to Westminster School, which include the first documented performance of a Senecan play in England (*Hippolytus* (*Phaedra*) c.1543-1547),[149] several apparent productions at court (*Miles Gloriosus* c.1564-1565, *Heauton Timorumenos* 1564 and c.1565-1566), and a continued commitment to staging productions of Plautus and Terence at the School throughout the period. Also notable are the fourteen recorded

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[148] *Archive of Performances of Greek and Roman Drama* http://www.apgrd.ox.ac.uk/ (hereafter referred to as *APGRD*).
[149] Appendix B, entry 114. However, Smith is sure that it is only 'spotty documentation' that gives the School the distinction of hosting the first English Senecan production (*Ancient Scripts,* p.3).

performances of Aristophanes across the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries— which were staged across Europe (including Italy, Germany, Switzerland, and France, with four at Cambridge), and performed in Latin, French, English, and even the original Greek—all of which attests to a modest but persistent interest in the Old Comic playwright.[150]

I hope that these Appendices demonstrate my research has a strong underpinning in the traditional forms of evidence laid down by historiographical and text-based studies, and that they may be of some use to scholars interested in further investigation into the significant classical presence that can be detected throughout Jonson's work.

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[150] In terms of the Greek playwrights, performances of Aristophanes were surpassed by Euripides (who, including disputed productions, has 27 extant records) and Sophocles (20); by contrast, Aeschylus only has 9 records, and of these one is an Italian translation, two are adaptations and four have been classified by the *APGRD* as 'distant relatives'.

# Chapter 1

## Worlds Out of Words: Jonsonian Cloudcuckoolands[1]

I

Womack, discussing the notion of 'offstage' in the Renaissance period, points out that modern readers and audiences, attuned to the naturalistic dramaturgy of Ibsen, Chekhov, and their descendants, may fall into the trap of assigning *'fictional adjacency'* to the entrances and exits of the stage: the idea that the onstage back door of a scene depicting, say, a living room might lead to another room, or a garden, or a street, and which is connected to the imaginative structure of the building that serves as location for that given scene.[2] Womack cautions that this belief reflects more modern dramaturgical practices, and that in fact the early modern stage—stemming in part from medieval theatre, which frequently depicted onstage activity as 'complete,' with no hint of characters possessing any real offstage life[3]—was grounded on a different spatial philosophy, one that Turner argues increasingly moved away from the earlier 'emblematic' medieval mode of iconicity towards a more 'referential, empirical, or 'realist' mode,' but which frequently did not object to blending these two modes together.[4] From its earliest inception at the Red Lion in the mid-sixteenth century, London's professional theatre and the (relatively) fixed stages on which it operated aimed to reclaim some of the 'magic' attendant on the old sacred drama by separating actor from spectator: the audience occupying their own space, standing or sitting within the auditorium, the actors hidden behind the tiring house wall, whose door(s) represented 'the portal of an unseen realm'

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[1] This chapter has been greatly informed by two papers given at a seminar on 'Ben Jonson in Space' at the annual conference of the Shakespeare Association of America, New Orleans, 24-26 March 2016: Alexander Lash's 'Jonson's Control of the Stage Doors: from the Blackfriars to the Globe;' and Chloe Preedy's ''We Are All Blown Up!: Jonson's Exploding Playhouses.' Both of these excellent papers helped refine my thinking for this chapter, so I would like to extend my thanks to each of these contributors in particular, as well as the seminar group generally, whose ideas have affected my own both consciously and unconsciously.

[2] Peter Womack, 'Offstage,' in *Oxford Twenty-First Century Approaches to Literature: Early Modern Theatricality,* ed. by Henry S. Turner (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp.71-92 (p.73).

[3] Womack, 'Offstage,' p.75.

[4] See Henry S. Turner, *The English Renaissance Stage: Geometry, Poetics, and the Practical Spatial Arts, 1580-1630* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), p.164, whose argument is a slight modification of Wickham's earlier theory about the shift between 'emblematic' and 'realist' mimetic practices from the medieval to the early modern periods. Cf. Wickham, *Early English Stages,* II, pp.4-5.

from which the players emerged and retired, carrying their dramatic fiction with them.[5] In between actor and audience lay the stage, a playing space 'like a promontory in the sea,'[6] whereupon the actors, surrounded by spectators, had to body forth their material through word and gesture, imbuing the form of things unknown with a local habitation and a name. Importantly, Womack sees this space as 'radically incomplete': characters are always entering it and then leaving, the stage serving as a place between two points, an 'intersection' that compels playwrights and their actors to enact a sort of 'threshold dramaturgy' that is always anticipating events beyond the tiring house wall but which leaves these same events tantalisingly out of reach.[7]

The focus of this chapter will be precisely this 'dramaturgy of the threshold,' the process of 'showing and withholding' that juxtaposes the representational space of the stage with the 'unrepresented space of invisibility and implication' of the offstage area.[8] Undoubtedly all playhouse-based theatre has to engage with the distinction between on- and off-stage to some degree, but I believe that Jonson made an unusually consistent habit of drawing his audience's attention to this divide, to the 'magic' taking place behind the tiring house wall[9]—and, with characteristic ambivalence, he seems to suggest that we should not be completely taken in by its trickery. I will argue that Jonson used the area of 'invisibility and implication' of the offstage space as the engine for his comedies, allowing it to house something that his characters wanted and which drew them and the play's action towards it with an irresistible, centripetal force. I will suggest that this dramaturgical strategy imitates that deployed by the Old Comic playwright Aristophanes, who uses the analogous device of the 'Great Idea,' a madcap scheme held by the plays' central protagonist(s), to animate his comedies, and which, if we were to apply the terminology outlined in the Introduction, might be referred to as a theatregram of design. With the Reflectory of *Clouds* and Cloudcuckooville of *Birds* Aristophanes even reifies these Ideas by making a physical (but equally offstage) point of focus for his characters,[10] and I will argue that,

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[5] Womack, 'Offstage,' p.76.

[6] Womack, 'Offstage,' p.77.

[7] Womack, 'Offstage,' pp.91, 77-79.

[8] Turner, p.24.

[9] See Frances A. Yates, *Theatre of the World* (London: Routledge, 1969), who emphasises the idea that the Vitruvian influence on the architecture of early modern theatrical spaces contributed to their status as places of 'magic' and as microcosms of the world.

[10] I have chosen to use both of Sommerstein's translations for the Greek Νεφελοκοκκυγίας and φροντιστήριος; the former is in place of the near ubiquitous use of 'Cloudcuckooland' for *Birds*, which Sommerstein does not feel adequately represents the fact that 'Peisetaerus' foundation is a fortified city

through his knowledge of his ancient Greek predecessor, this is precisely what Jonson does in his use of Subtle's laboratory in *The Alchemist* and the News Office in *The Staple of News.* I will begin by outlining how central these imagined *foci* were to Jonson and Aristophanes' dramaturgical strategies, before moving on to examine how they exercised a demonstrable impact on the centripetal energies of their plays. Finally, I will consider the significance of the doors that were built in the tiring house or *skene* wall, how they serve as a portal or threshold between the real space of the stage and the imagined areas offstage, and to what extent they serve as entranceways or barriers to the magnetic centres that supposedly lie behind them. The aim is to demonstrate that Jonson purposefully imitated the dramaturgical practice of his Old Comic predecessor, seeing the structural device of the Great Idea and the suggestive potential offered by the tiring house wall as elements that he could deploy to show his audience the immense imaginative possibilities (and the considerable practical limitations) of his chosen art form.

# II

In the Induction to *The Magnetic Lady* (1632) the Boy describes the title character, Lady Loadstone, as the 'centre attractive' who 'draw[s]' towards her the 'diversity of guests' that make up the rest of the play's *dramatis personae* (Ind.84)*.* Jonson makes it clear in the rest of the Boy's speech that this is a typical structural technique of his: the play's subtitle, *Humours Reconciled*, links the comedy to his earlier humours comedies—*Every Man In* and *Every Man Out* are in fact referenced directly, along with the later *The New Inn* (Ind.76-78)—and whose central concern the playwright claims is a 'comic thread' continuing in all his plays (Ind.78). Indeed, his reference to his 'finding himself now near the close or shutting up of his circle' (Ind.80) invests *The Magnetic Lady* with great significance, suggesting that it marks the culmination of a theatrical career that Jonson has carefully stage-managed (or, in the light of the first and second folios, should that be page-managed?) with a deliberate teleological trajectory.[11]

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(*polis*) and not a territorial or 'national' state' (Alan H. Sommerstein, 'Introductory Note [*Birds*], in Aristophanes, *Birds,* ed. and trans. by Alan H. Sommerstein (Oxford: Aris & Philips, 1987), pp.1-6 (p.1)). The latter has been chosen for the sake of simplicity, despite the excellent alternative translations of 'Blabatory' (used by McLeish) and 'Thinkery' (used by MacDowell) for *Clouds*, both of which deserve honourable mentions*.*

[11] Ian Donaldson, *Jonson's Magic Houses: Essays in Interpretation* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), p.30.

These magnetic centres, found throughout Jonson's work, and which often serve as *foci* for plot momentum and as a point of fixation for the audience, are frequently represented by a specific *locus* or object. Aside from the human Loadstone in *The Magnetic Lady,* there are other notable instances: there is 'the fountain of Self-Love' that attracts Cynthia's foolish courtiers before her masque in *Cynthia's Revels;* the house occupied by Volpone and Mosca that 'draws new clients, daily' to their elaborate con trick (*Volp.,* I.i.76); the hermetically-sealed home of Morose, its windows 'close shut and caulked,' that proves susceptible to a 'flood' of outsiders keen to involve themselves in his upcoming marriage (*Epicene,* I.i.146-147; III.vi.2); the house in the Blackfriars wherein the 'venture tripartite' conduct their own gulling business in *The Alchemist;* the News Office in *The Staple of News,* which serves as a focus of fascination for many of that play's characters; and even the titular *locus* of *The New Inn,* the site of contestation and reparation for its numerous guests.[12]

I would like to draw attention to several important and interconnected dramaturgical features that these magnetic centres hold, and to what they imply. Firstly, it is noteworthy that many of these *loci* are homes—more specifically, a room or rooms within a home—and (*pace* his use of greatly expanded environments in *Every Man In His Humour, Eastward Ho!, Bartholomew Fair* and *A Tale of A Tub*) there is something to be said about Jonson frequently going to lengths to make the physical dimensions of the scenic space of his plays and the theatrical space of the playhouses that contained them as contiguous as possible.[13] This is important for the philosophical and metatheatrical implications of Jonson's 'centre attractives,' as there is an implicit connection between the irresistible pull of these *loci* both for the characters *and* the watching audience. The second point is that these *loci* exert a centripetal force on the characters that enter them and provide a plot momentum, based on the character's frequent desire to get *off*stage, exacerbated by Jonson's extreme compression of the unities of time and place. The offstage spaces of Jonson's and Aristophanes' theatres were principally indicated by the tiring house or *skene*

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[12] See Wallace A. Bacon, 'The Magnetic Field: The Structure of Jonson's Comedies,' *Huntingdon Library Quarterly* 19 (1956), pp.121-153 (pp.138-148), who discusses Jonson's use of physical 'magnetic centres' in *Volpone, The Alchemist, Bartholomew Fair,* and (with some qualification) *Epicene.*

[13] This effect has been most frequently noted in reference to *The Alchemist.* See R.L. Smallwood ''Here, in The Friars: Immediacy and Theatricality in *The Alchemist*,' *The Review of English Studies* 32:126 (1981), pp.142-160; William A. Armstrong, 'Ben Jonson and Jacobean Stagecraft,' in *Jacobean Theatre,* ed. by John Russell Brown and Bernard Harris (London; New York: Arnold, 1960), pp.45-61; Womack, *Ben Jonson,* pp.108-159; Gurr, 'Who Is Lovewit?', pp. 5-19.

wall, whose portals served as entranceways that led to spaces that we would conceive of as 'within' and 'without,' and the stage action they present is frequently predicated upon their characters trying to breach these spaces or prevent others breaching upon them. This is especially interesting when considered alongside Womack's notion of 'threshold dramaturgy,' as by frequently making his characters obsessively interested in getting off the stage to whatever supposedly lies behind the tiring house wall, Jonson exposes the stage space's status as a liminal zone, a passageway, a site where characters gather for a brief period but always move on, and utilises it as an integral part of his dramatic structure.

The third and final point is that Jonson's magnetic centres are as interesting for what they do *not* show as for what they do. For instance, we hear a lot about Subtle's laboratory and Cymbal's News Office—the equipment they are filled with and the wonders they are capable of creating—and we certainly see the flurries of activity they produce through their constant streams of visitors and the efforts of their trickster-proprietors to keep them operational, but the action that takes place within them remains largely out of sight, confined to the imagined space behind the tiring house wall, and even their eventual explosions and evaporations are kept firmly away from the stage.

All of these points are the result of two of Jonson's overarching artistic interests, again both interlinked. The first is the tension between the ideal and the real,[14] which can be traced throughout Jonson's artistic output: in his comic works, which frequently focus on misguided or humorous characters who fall foul of those with more ordered or cynical mindsets; in his poetry, through his frequent promotion of the idealised, 'gather'd self;'[15] and most obviously in the juxtaposition between grotesque anti-masque and masque proper, in which the dancers (Jonson's aristocratic patrons) would stand as human representatives of Virtue, True, Peace, or any other ideal that suited the politico-aesthetic requirements of the commission. The second is the importance of *logos* ('word'), a communicative tool that had been recognised since at least the time of Gorgias (c.485-c.380BC) as possessing tremendous power, capable of fulfilling any manner of educative,

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[14] Helen Ostovich, 'Introduction [*The Magnetic Lady, or The Humours Reconciled*],' in *CWBJ*, V, pp.393-411 ( pp.401-402).

[15] The specific reference to the 'gathered self' comes from *Epigrams* XCVIII; see also Thomas M. Greene, 'Ben Jonson and the Centred Self,' *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900* 10.2 (1970), pp.325-348, which remains one of the seminal discussion on the tension between 'gathered' and 'loose' selves in Jonson's work.

persuasive, emotive or obfuscatory ends. As Gorgias himself put it, '[s]peech is a great prince. With tiny body and [?strength] unseen, he performs marvellous works,'[16] and the ambivalent potency of the word, with an increasing emphasis in Latin texts on the need for it to be harnessed by the *vir bonus* ('good man') to fulfil a socially useful function, can be traced in the rhetorical treatises of Aristotle, Plato, Cicero, and Quintilian.[17] In fact, as the Introduction indicated, it is through these writers that one may discern the clearest line of transmission for ancient conceptions of *logos* into the Renaissance, as these rhetorical works (particularly those of Cicero and Quintilian) formed the cornerstone of oratorical training that was itself the foundation of the sixteenth-century educational system.[18] Jonson, as a product of this system, would therefore have been acutely aware of the classical understanding of *logos,* and certainly his careful overseeing of his published works indicates a belief in the long-lasting resonances of its *printed* form. But Jonson, as a man of the theatre—a theatre, as I have previously emphasised, that was emerging in part from a courtly and educative context in which performance was valued as much as a rhetorical event as anything else[19]—was also aware of its strength in a spoken medium, and indeed a consideration of his plays onstage demonstrate a clear awareness of how the potential and limitations of the spoken word forms a central constitutive element of his stage action.

## III

As already stated, every Aristophanic comedy is animated by a 'Great Idea' held by its protagonist(s), and this section will consider how these manifested themselves in each play, as well as the socio-political circumstances that both permitted them and made them necessary. It will become clear that the audiences Aristophanes and Jonson wrote for and the social and aesthetic contexts of their eras were radically different, but both are clearly united in their employment of these Great Ideas as dramaturgical units that allowed them

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[16] Gorgias, *Helena,* 9, in *Ancient Literary Criticism: The Principal Texts in New Translations,* ed. by D.A. Russell and M. Winterbottom (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), p.7.

[17] Cf., Aristotle, *Rh.;* Plato, *Phdr., Gorgias,* (esp. 452e 1-4); Cicero, *De Orat..;* Quintilian, *Instit. Or.* See also Smith, *Ancient Scripts,* pp.12-58.

[18] Paul Oskar Kristeller, *Renaissance Thought and Its Sources,* ed. by Michael Mooney (New York: Columbia University Press, 1979).

[19] For the impact of rhetoric on literary dramatic theory and practice, see Herrick, *Comic Theory, passim*; Smith, *Ancient Scripts,* pp.12-58.

to interrogate not only some of their societies' most important fixations but also the phenomenological act of the theatrical event itself.

The Great Idea, a plot device that appears to have been used in Old Comedy in general, was a ludicrous scheme that, despite its apparent silliness, addressed a perceived social ill—whether that be war (*Acharnians, Peace, Lysistrata*), the dangers of political demagoguery (*Knights*), the new sophistry (*Clouds*), the corruption of poetry (*Frogs, Thesmophoriazusae*), or issues surrounding gender politics (*Lysistrata, Ecclesiazusae, Thesmophoriazusae*)[20]—that similar to Jonson's magnetic centres set up the atmosphere of topsy-turvydom necessary to Aristophanic comedy and provided plot momentum from a play's start to its finish.

Table 1.1. First performances and historical context for Aristophanes' extant plays.

| Play | Performance Year (BC) and Festival[21] | Great Idea | Beneficiaries | Notes |
|------|------------------------|------------|---------------|-------|
| *Acharnians* | 425, L (first prize) | A private peace treaty | Dikai*polis* and family (*oikos*) | |
| *Knights* | 424, L (first prize) | New political leader | Sausage-Seller (*polis*?) | |
| *Clouds* | 423, CD (third prize) | Improving personal life through sophistic training | Pheidippides (*oikos?*) | The extant version of *Clouds* is a second, unperformed version of the original play, which has been lost. Destructive ending, no celebratory *exodos.* |
| *Wasps* | 422, L (second prize) | Curing of Philocleon's 'jurophilia' | Bdelycleon and Philocleon (*oikos*) | |
| *Peace* | 421, CD (second prize) | Restoration of the goddess Peace to Earth | All of Greece (*poleis*) | |
| *Birds* | 414, CD (second prize) | Creation of a new city | Peisetaerus (*polis*?) | Peisetaerus' power at the end of the play hints at a dystopia |

[20] Alan H. Sommerstein,,'General Introduction,' in Aristophanes, *Acharnians*, ed. and trans. by Alan H. Sommerstein (Oxford: Arris & Phillips, 1980), pp.1-26 (p.11); William Arrowsmith, 'Aristophanes' *Birds* and The Fantasy Politics of Eros,' *Arion* 1:1 (1973), pp. 119-167. See also Kenneth McLeish, *The Theatre of Aristophanes* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1980), who refers to the 'Great Idea' as the 'strange and mighty deed' (p.71).

[21] All performance years are taken from those outlined by McLeish, p.11. 'L' and 'CD' refer respectively to the festivals of the Lenaia and the City Dionysia.

| Play | Performance Year (BC) and Festival[21] | Great Idea | Beneficiaries | Notes |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Lysistrata* | 411, L (prize unknown) | Peace through sex strike | Athens and Sparta (*poleis*) | |
| *Thesmophoriazusae* | 411, CD (prize unknown) | Restoration of Euripides' reputation | Euripides? (*oikos*?) | A compromise reached between Euripides and the festival women |
| *Frogs* | 405, L (first prize) | Restoration of poetry | Aeschylus, Dionysus (*poleis*) | |
| *Ecclesiazusae* | c.392, unknown (prize unknown) | New order governed by women | *polis*? | Sexual licentiousness hints at a dystopian atmosphere by the play's end |
| *Wealth* | 388, unknown (prize unknown) | Restoration of Wealth's sight and powers | Chremylus, Wealth, Athens, all of Greece (?) (*oikos, polis*) | |

As table 1.1 shows, these Great Ideas are ambitious and challenging—perhaps too challenging for the plays' original audiences and judges, if Aristophanes' creditable but not outstanding number of festival wins is anything to go by—but they reflect the ethos of a playwright who did not shy away from the moral or didactic duties of the public poet. Such duties are consonant with Athens' unique politico-cultural *milieu* that saw the comedies and tragedies presented at its festivals contributing to a 'theatre of ideas' that allowed its citizens to 'us[e] the whole machinery of the theatre as a way of *thinking*, critically and constructively, about their world.'[22] Henderson has written persuasively on how one should view these festival plays not just as a commentary on Athenian democracy but as an integral part of that society's political mechanism, and that Old Comedy played its part in articulating and exposing to ridicule some of its society's most profound issues.[23] Aristophanes' approach to his topics may be fantastical and ludicrous, but in every instance his Great Ideas voice issues that attempted to address some of the greatest concerns, not only of the Athenian *polis* but also of Greek *poleis* in general.

What makes the challenging ideas expressed by these extant plays even more impressive is that they were written during an especially febrile moment of Athenian history. Aristophanes' plays were mostly composed during the Pelopennesian War (431-404BC), a

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[22] William Arrowsmith, 'A Greek Theatre of Ideas,' *Arion: A Journal of Humanities and the Classics* 2:3 (1963), pp.32-56 (p.32). Emphasis in original.

[23] Jeffrey Henderson, 'The *Dēmos* and Comic Competition,' in *Nothing to Do with Dionysos? Athenian Drama in Its Social Context,* ed. by John J. Winkler and Froma I. Zeitlin (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1990), pp. 278-296.

period of immense socio-political upheaval for Athens, during which the *polis* experienced the highs and lows of naval defeats and victories; invasions by Spartan forces into Attica; the apparent ending of hostilities in the Nicias Treaty (421BC);[24] the calamitous loss of men and naval resources during the disastrous Sicilian Expedition, from which the city never properly recovered (413BC);[25] an oligarchic coup and the restoration of democracy (411-410BC);[26] and the city's eventual surrender in 404BC after a debilitating siege.[27] Hostilities would resume with Sparta and her Persian allies in 395BC—a few years before Aristophanes' 'Middle Comedy' plays[28]—but it was clear that Athens was by that point a

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[24] This treaty was intended to last for fifty years, but in reality only signalled the end of the first phase of the Pelopennessian War. The Athenian and Spartan leagues were both in need of peace by 421BC, as they had each suffered a number of bruising defeats; perhaps most significant was the Battle of Amphipolis in 422BC, a battle that inflicted heavy losses on the Athenians but which also resulted in the deaths of the Spartan general and the Athenian Cleon—the demagogue who attracted so much of Aristophanes' ire in his earlier plays. Both sides, worn down by casualties and increasingly nervous about the effect this war of attrition was having on their separate domestic and foreign concerns, were eager to bring an end to hostilities by 421BC. The treaty was brokered by the Athenian Nicias (who, along with the general Demosthenes, Aristophanes' portrayed favourably in *Knights*) and the Spartan King Pleistoanax, and resulted in both sides returning to the other what they had captured during the war (although Athens retained the port of Nisaea); the re-opening of temples throughout Greece to worshippers; the restoration of autonomy to the oracle at Delphi; an agreement that Athens would collect tribute from its client states; the return of all prisoners of war; and a promise that each party would come to the other's aid if attacked. See Thucydides, *The History of the Pelopennesian War*, trans. by Rex Warner, introd. and ed. by M. I. Finley, rpt. (London: Penguin, 1977), V.xiii-xxiv.

[25] This came between 415-413BC, during the second phase of the War, and was instigated when many of the agreements made in the Nicias Treaty were not honoured. The expedition, ostensibly intended to relieve Sicily from Syracusan aggression, was in reality an attempt to prevent Syracuse—a potentially powerful ally to Athens' enemies—from gaining too much control over that area of the Mediterranean. Athenian efforts, although initially producing some favourable results, were hampered by political indecision and mismanagement from the offset, and the expedition ultimately ended in calamity with the loss of most of the Athenian navy and the deaths of thousands of soldiers, among them Demosthenes and Nicias. See Thucydides, III.lxxxvi; IV.i-ix, lxv; V.iv; VI.vi, viii-xxvi, xlii-xlviii.

[26] The coup in 411BC came about as a result of the chaos caused by the Sicilian Expedition, and led to Athens being controlled by an oligarchic group known as the Four Hundred. Democracy was restored to Athens a year later, and many of these oligarchs were executed. See Thucydides, VIII.xlv-xcviii.

[27] See Xenophon, *Hellenica: Books I-IV,* ed. and trans. by Carleton L. Brownson, 7 vols (Cambridge, MA; London: Harvard University Press, 1918), I, II.ii.10-20, who states that the Spartans resisted calls for the complete destruction of Athens in recognition of the *polis*' efforts during the Persian War, but agreed to peace on the condition that 'the Athenians should destroy the long walls of Piraeus, surrender all their ships except twelve, allow their exiles to return, count the same people friends and enemies as the Lacedaemonians [Spartans] did, and follow the Lacedaemonians both by land and sea wherever they should lead the way' (II.ii.20). While Athens' agreement to these conditions averted the *polis'* material destruction, it also hastened its obliteration as a military and political power.

[28] Out of Aristophanes' surviving work, *Ecclesiazusae* and *Wealth* are generally regarded as belonging to the largely lost 'Middle Comedy' phase of Greek comedy, which appears to have eschewed the abusive language and heavily politicised, Athenian focus of Old Comedy in favour of a more innuendo-laden and 'cosmopolitan' form of drama. There is little consensus on the character of Middle Comedy, however, since so little of it remains (aside from the two Aristophanic plays, the most significant survivals are Menander's nearly complete *Dyskolos* and the tolerably piecemeal *Epitrepontes*, as well as a selection of slighter fragments), but its influence was significant, as it is clear at least some plots by its more famous

spent force, rapidly losing its status as a major Mediterranean power, 'the most civilised society that has yet existed' entering its twilight years of political relevance.[29]

Amidst all this chaos, it seems astonishing that the Athenians were so diligent in continuing to observe the civic-religious festivals of the Lenaia and the City Dionysia, and more astonishing still that the ideas that suffused Aristophanes' plays could be so bold and confrontational. Modern surprise, though, only serves to illustrate the vast ideological chasm that separates our society from that of ancient Athens. Kitto states that one of the main characteristics that defined Athens during its greatest period (roughly 480-380BC) was that its public affairs were run by 'amateurs':[30] the roles central to the maintenance and protection of Athenian life—generals, legislators, judges, administrators—were all assigned by sortition, so there was a fair chance that every male citizen would hold office of some description during his lifetime.[31] Some of these positions involved considerable financial outlay—for instance, naval commanders paid for their own ships and supplies, and the *choregoi*, who would each provide financial backing to one of the plays performed at the festivals, were expected to foot the bill for the costuming of choruses, fees for actors and playwrights, and, if the production was successful, possibly even a feast for the company. Despite these financial burdens there is little indication of citizens shirking their civic obligations; on the contrary, Athens' citizenry seemed to have been content that the performance of these roles brought with it the honour of 'doing one's duty'. Kitto uses the term 'amateur' to emphasise how the Athenian citizen's involvement in political life was non-professional, but I suspect he would agree that the word's etymology—from the French '*amateur*' and the Latin '*amator,*' derived from '*amare,*' implying someone doing something for 'love'[32]—captures another important aspect of the Athenian socio-political model. Aristophanes wrote for and contributed to a society that was, in a very real

exponents (including Menander, Diphilos, and Philemon) were imitated and contaminated in the New Comedies of Plautus and Terence. See William Geoffrey Arnott, 'Middle Comedy (Greek),' in *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*; and William S. Anderson's, *Barbarian Play*: *Plautus' Roman Comedy* (Toronto; London: University of Toronto Press, 1993), which is largely concerned with Plautus' reception with Menander and the other Greek New Comics.

[29] H.D.F. Kitto, *The Greeks,* rev. ed. (London: Penguin, 1986), p.96.

[30] Kitto, p.128.

[31] Although Athenian democracy was politically remarkable by ancient (and even modern) standards, a society run by 'citizens' was not quite as egalitarian as it might first seem. A 'citizen' could only be a native-born Athenian, over thirty years old, and in possession of a certain amount of property (although this last requirement was reduced in later years). Women, children, slaves, and metics (non-citizens) were (of course) disenfranchised. See Kitto, pp.109-135, 221.

[32] 'amateur, n.' in *OED Online,* 2nd ed., 1989.
<http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/6041?redirectedFrom=amateur#eid> [accessed 11 Jan 2016].

sense, 'all in it together;' from this perspective, the apparently fantastical and challenging nature of his Great Ideas seem less astonishing and more reflective of a comic poet-teacher performing his social duty. For an example of this duty in action, the chorus in the first *parabasis* of *Knights* emphasise their playwright's social conscience:

> If any comic producer of the old
> school had tried to compel us to come forward to the audience
> and make a speech, it would have been no easy matter for him
> to gain his wish; but today our poet deserves it, because he hates
> the same men as we do, dares to say what is right, and advances
> nobly to face the Typhoon and the whirlwind.
> (*Knights,* ll.507-511)[33]

Aristophanes 'deserves' ('ἄξιός ἐσθ᾽,' l.509) to win the comic prize for this precise reason, because he 'hates' ('μισεῖ,' l.510) the same prominent figures and social ills—metaphorised as elemental, destructive forces, the 'Typhoon and the whirlwind' ('τὸν τυφῶ [...] καὶ τὴν ἐριώλην,' l.511), thereby elevating the playwright's efforts to a heroic level—and the fact that he 'dares to say what is right' ('τολμᾷ τε λέγειντὰ δίκαια,' l.510) shows he is not averse to addressing these problems directly. The chorus refers dismissively to older playwrights who, according to them, were not possessed of this level of social responsibility, but it is telling that they refer to them as 'κωμῳδοδιδάσκαλο[ι]' (l.507). This word, translated in Sommerstein's edition as 'comic producer,' is often rendered as 'comic poet,'[34] and is derived from 'κωμῳδ-ικός' ('of comedy, comic')[35] and 'διδάσκαλος' ('teacher, master'), the latter word being deemed appropriate because such poets 'trained the actors and chorus.'[36] Old Comic poets were indeed intimately involved in the rehearsal process of their plays, and this is probably the principle reason why the word was attached to such writers. Nonetheless, the word also suggests that the playwright is a 'teacher/master' of his audience as well,[37] and perhaps Aristophanes is

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[33] Aristophanes, *Knights*, ed. and trans. by Alan H. Sommerstein (Oxford: Aris & Phillips, 1981).

[34] 'κωμῳδο-δι^δάσκα^λος , ὁ,' n. [A.], in Henry George Liddell and Robert Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, rev. by Henry Stuart Jones, with Roderick McKenzie (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1940) (hereafter referred to as *LSJ*).

[35] 'κωμῳδ-ικός , ή, όν,' n. [A.], in *LSJ*.

[36] κωμῳδο-δι^δάσκα^λος , ὁ,' n. [A.], in *LSJ*.

[37] This is a view endorsed in Niall W. Slater, *Spectator Politics: Metatheatre and Performance in Aristophanes* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), p.10. See also Kenneth J. Reckford, *Aristophanes' Old-and-New Comedy: Six Essays in Perspective* (Chapel Hill, NC; London: University of North Carolina Press, 1987), pp.285-300, who, arguing against earlier twentieth-century criticism that sought to find clear didactic and political commentary in Aristophanes' plays, suggests that the Old Comic's opinions are often highly ambiguous, even contradictory, and that as a teacher 'his first loyalty is to the whole and comic truth' (p.289).

being ironic in assigning this title to other poets whom he claims appear less willing to instruct their public.[38] This emphasis on didacticism creates an obvious parallel with Jonson himself. Jonson appears to have invented the term 'playwright,' but Dutton highlights that his neologism was a 'derisive coinage' in sneering reference to the worksmanship of many of his colleagues 'who wrote as a form of manual labour.'[39] His preferred label of 'poet' indicates that he saw his work possessing more artistic value, and one that aligned him with more venerable company—it was a term he links explicitly with its original meaning of 'maker' (cf. *Discoveries*, ll.1665-1666; *EMO*, III.i.417; *Poet.*, V.iii.323), and was one that Aristophanes used to describe himself.[40] The Old Comic's assumption of a didactic role would also be immediately identifiable to his early modern inheritor, who himself believed the 'office of a poet' to be 'to inform men, in the best reason of living' (*Volp.*, Epistle.107-108),[41] and, irrespective of its historical accuracy, it is significant that Jonson applied the '*διδάσκαλοί*' label to both comic and tragic playwrights.[42]

As I will emphasise later in this chapter, it is in their joint recognition of the poet's didactic function that brings these playwrights closest together, as both use the strengths and limitations of theatrical representation to teach their audience an important

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[38] The term '*κωμῳδοδιδάσκαλος'* appears elsewhere in Aristophanes (cf. *Peace* l.737; *Lysistrata* Fr.53), Word frequency information taken from *Perseus Digital Library*, <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/wordfreq?lookup=poihth/s&lang=greek&sort=name> [accessed 11 Jan 2016].

[39] Richard Dutton, *Shakespeare, Court Dramatist* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), p.90. The *OED Online* records the first usage of the term in a commendatory poem to the Q *Sejanus* (1605), where it is clearly pejorative ('The Crew of common Play-wrights are disgraced by thee,' *Sej.* sig.A2); the second usage, by Jonson in his 1616 *Works* ('Play-wright, I loath to haue thy manners knowne In my chast booke,' *Epigrams* XLIX), is no more complementary. See 'playwright, n.' in *OED Online* < http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/145525?redirectedFrom=playwright#eid> [date accessed 23 Sep 2016].

[40] Jonson's appreciation of the Greek meaning of 'poet' is most apparent in the *Discoveries* passage, in which he identifies a poet as 'a maker, or a feigner; his art, an art of imitation, or feigning.' Aristophanes' use of '*ποιητής'* ('maker, creator') far eclipses '*κωμῳδοδιδάσκαλος'* as a term to describe himself and his contemporaries; the word appears in *Acharnians* (14 uses); *Birds* (7); *Clouds* (7); *Frogs* (37); *Knights* (9, including l.509 quoted above); *Lysistrata* (4); *Peace* (8); *Thesmophoriazusae* (8); *Wasps* (18). Tellingly, there are no references to the word in *Ecclesiazusae* or *Wealth*, the two late plays that lack *parabaseis* or significant choral addresses. Aristophanes most frequently uses these two structural elements in his earlier plays to discuss himself, his art, and his usefulness to Athenian morals and society.

[41] See *Volp.*, Epist.18-23n., which notes that the sentiment can be connected to Horace (*Epist.*, II.i.126-131; *Ars P.*, ll.340-341), Cicero (*Pro Archia*, VII.xvi), and to the writings of several Renaissance theorists.

[42] See *Discoveries*, ll.1863-1865: 'The parts of a comedy are the same with a tragedy, and the end is partly the same. For they both delight and teach; the comics are called *διδάσκαλοι* of the Greek, no less than the tragics.'

epistemological lesson about perception, and about the theatrical medium which conveys their message. Aside from these more philosophical considerations though, it should also be clear by now that I believe firmly that Aristophanes' plays contain elements of political commentary, and it is in this direct political intervention that the Old Comic poet departs most explicitly from his early modern successor. I do, however, stress the word 'elements,' and by 'political' I should rather say '*polis*-oriented,' meaning that Aristophanes' plays are concerned with the Athenian *polis*, rather than the more conventional sense of 'political' referring to the city's democratic organisation. My position follows that of Rhodes, who disagrees strongly with a number of recent critics who blur the distinction between '*polis*' and 'democracy' when discussing the Athenian festivals and the plays they contained.[43] While Rhodes accepts that Athens' fifth-century democratic identity helped to colour some aspects of the festivals, he denies that their organisation, structure or content of these festivals are democratic *per se*; instead, Athenian drama 'reflect[s] the *polis* in general rather than the democratic *polis* in particular.'[44] This formulation does not deny that the plays contained didactic elements that may have been included for the good of the *polis*, but does reject the notion that such elements are the product of Athens' democratic system.

Aside from Rhodes' caveats, the *polis*-orientation of Old Comedy is contested by those who see the plays principally as apolitical entertainments, with the festive frame of the City Dionysia or Lenaia and the comic form's fantastical, absurdist topics placing emphasis on relaxation and enjoyment rather than prompting profound intellectual or social insights.[45] Nonetheless, I find the arguments for a politically-inflected interpretation more

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[43] P.J. Rhodes, 'Nothing to Do with Democracy: Athenian Drama and The *Polis,' Journal of HellenicStudies* 123 (2003), pp.104-119. These critics (many of whom are cited more fully in fn. 45 below) include Goldhill, Hall, Foley, and Cartledge.

[44] Rhodes, p.119; also Christopher Carey, 'Comic Ridicule and Democracy,' in *Ritual, Finance, Politics, Athenian Democratic Accounts Presented to D.M. Lewis,* ed. by Robin Osborne and Simon Hornblower (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), pp.69-83. For a more detailed examination of the core elements (specifically ritual elements) of the Athenian festivals that pre-date democratic Athens, see Christiane Sourvino-Inwood, 'Something to Do with Athens: Tragedy and Ritual,' in *Ritual, Finance, Politics,* ed. by Osborne and Hornblower, pp.269-290.

[45] For readings of the plays that emphasises a 'politicised' Aristophanes, see Arrowsmith, 'Fantasy Politics'; G.E.M. de Ste. Croix, *The Origins of the Pelopennesian War* (London: Duckworth, 1972); Slater, *Spectator Politics*; Louis E. Lord, *Aristophanes: His Plays and His Influence* (London: Harrap, 1925); and the essays contained within *Nothing to Do with Dionysos?,* ed. by Winkler and Zeitlin (esp. Oddone Longo, 'The Theatre of the *Polis,'* pp.12-19; Simon Goldhill, 'The Great Dionysia and Civic Ideology,' pp. 97-129; Josiah Ober and Barry Strauss, 'Drama, Political Rhetoric, and the Discourse of Athenian Democracy,' pp. 237-270; Jeffrey Henderson, 'The *Dēmos* and the Comic Competition,' pp. 271-313); also *The City as Comedy: Society and Representation in Athenian Drama*, ed. by Gregory W. Dobrov

persuasive, including claims that: (i) these plays frequently presented socio-political issues germane to their audiences; (ii) there was a degree of 'comic catharsis' to be found in recognising and laughing at these issues; (iii) such a process should be understood as another outlet for the city's socio-political processes; and (iv), that the Old Comic playwrights seemed to take their public roles seriously. I agree with advocates of the other opinion, such as Reckford, that these political elements were not the *only* aspect of Aristophanes' plays, and that a great deal of their content was focused on celebration and joy.[46] As with overly-politicised readings of these plays, though, I cannot agree that festivity is the most important purpose of these comedies; alongside these aims was an equally urgent emphasis on didacticism, and it might be better to regard these two opposing impulses as maintaining a sort of equilibrium within Aristophanes' plays. To return to Kitto once more, such an interpretation makes sense in Athens' unique socio-political climate: '[t]he Athenian was accustomed to deal with things of importance: an art therefore which did not handle themes of importance would have seemed to him to be childish.'[47]

<div align="center">IV</div>

Jonson could not have written a comedy as politically charged as Aristophanes without seriously endangering his life,[48] but Thayer suggests that he brought his plays more in line with contemporary tastes, not to mention the law, by eschewing political and libellous statements in favour of imitating Aristophanes more broadly in his depiction of and

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(Chapel Hil, NC; London: University of North Carolina Press, 1997) (esp. David Konstan, 'The Greek Polis and Its Negations: Versions of Utopia in Aristophanes' *Birds,'* pp. 3-22; Jeffrey Henderson, 'Mass Versus Elite and the Comic Heroism of Peisetairos,' pp. 135-148; Malcolm Heath, 'Aristophanes and Politics,' pp.230-249). For readings that focus more on the plays' apoliticality and festive function, see Oliver Taplin, *Greek Tragedy in Action*; Reckford; and Cedric H. Whitman, *Aristophanes and the Comic Hero* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1964).

[46] Reckford, p.4.
[47] Kitto, p.129.
[48] One needs only consider the trouble Jonson found himself in for the presumed contemporary satirical references in the suppressed *Isle of Dogs* (1597) and *Eastward Ho!* (1605), or his almost pathological need to append performances and publications of his plays with numerous apologies, justificatory epistles and amended epilogues (for example, 'The Apologetical Dialogue' of *Poetaster;* a possible Apology to *Bartholomew Fair,* which seems to have perished in the 1623 fire at Jonson's home; and the carefully-explained alternative epilogues included in the Q and F printings of *Every Man Out of His Humour*). See Gum, pp.17-18, who suggests that in Jonson's era only Middleton's *A Game at Chess* made any attempt to use the theatre to make any sustained, direct comment on a political situation.

criticism of social *mores*.[49] This interest is first manifested in his 'comical satire' quality of his humours comedies that claimed to 'spare men's persons but tax their crimes' (*Poet.,* III.v.134), but, in the sections that follow, I also suggest that it is also apparent in his imitation of the Aristophanic Great Idea. As will become clear below, this shared purpose and cognate dramaturgical technique has significant implications for both playwrights' spatial practices, as it created a use of stage space that is characteristically reliant on onstage/offstage boundaries, performative strategies that build worlds from words, and the maintenance of a repeatedly shifting assemblage of characters on stage that creates a dramaturgy of 'centripetal force' that is entirely reliant on the favoured occupation of empty space.

Before turning to the four plays of this chapter though, it is worth pausing over the theatrical spaces that originally housed them in order to consider how, despite their multiple and obvious differences, they shared some important architectural and spatial features that impacted on Jonson and Aristophanes' dramaturgical strategies. For both of Jonson's plays the first performance space, or at least the first space for which these plays were written, was probably the Blackfriars theatre,[50] one of London's more exclusive hall

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[49] C.G. Thayer, 'Theme and Structure in *The Alchemist,' ELH* 26:1 (1959), pp. 23-35 (p.27). See also Dick, p.17, who argues that Aristophanes was interested in showing how the corruption of individuals impacts on the state, but that Jonson's focus lay on individual corruption itself.

[50] I add this caveat because extant performance records indicate that *The Alchemist* received its premier not in the Blackfriars but at Oxford in September 1610. Andrew Gurr, in *The Shakespearean Stage, 1574-1642,* 4th ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), p.287, gives a Blackfriars date of 1610 but acknowledges the evidence for assigning King's Company plays 'after 1609 to the Globe or the Blackfriars is inadequate;' in fact, it is not until 1631 that there is a record of performance at the Blackfriars venue (and even this is not entirely secure). These details may seem surprising for a play that ostentatiously sets itself 'here, in the Friars' (*Alch.* I.i.17) through its use of precise topographical detail and characters—tobacconists, country gentlemen, puritan brethren, and so on—which reflect the physical and social realities of this area of the city, and it is certainly inconvenient to my later argument about the play's site-specificity. There are, however, some important counter-arguments to be made. The first is that the Oxford premier was most probably necessitated by the outbreaks of plague in London that closed the public playhouses for much of 1610, so it is not unreasonable to infer that Jonson had every intention of having his play staged at the Blackfriars before issues of public health took the matter out of his hands. Furthermore, Barroll's work on the playhouse closures during this period indicates that they may have reopened by November 1610 (Barroll, pp.180-186, see citation below); Holland and Sherman, working from references to dates in the Quarto text, point out that the action of *The Alchemist* is set on 1 November. This is a detail that perhaps identifies the Q text as a slightly-reworked version of the play from its Oxford premier to its first performance in its intended venue, the convergence of date and place intended to make the play's site-specificity as pronounced as possible for the Blackfriars audience (Peter Holland and William Sherman, 'Introduction [*The Alchemist*], in *CWBJ*, III, pp.543-553, (p.545); see also Donaldson, *Magic Houses,* pp.93-94). My view, in accordance with the opinions of Munro, Holland and Sherman, is that *The Alchemist* was fully intended to be performed first at the Blackfriars—hence the particularly local references and characters that fill the play—but that plague forced the company to rethink its premier, and that the move to Oxford, although no doubt

playhouses, that was built on the land of a former Dominican convent.[51] The theatre was actually the second 'Blackfriars Theatre' to occupy this area, and despite being bought and developed by James Burbage in 1596, wrangles with wealthy neighbours in the district, as well as the untimely closure of all playhouses due to plague,[52] meant that the King's Men, the company for whom the playhouse was originally intended, would not begin playing there until either late 1609 or early 1610.[53] Although one must be cautious about a too-rigid distinction between the types of playgoers and performances at the 'popular' amphitheatres and 'coterie' hall playhouses,[54] it is generally accurate to say that the

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dampening some of the play's more metatheatrical convergences between fictive and real space, would not have greatly affected performance; I have no doubt that the lack of performance records until 1631 speaks more to an absence of evidence rather than evidence of absence. I therefore have no qualms about accepting *The Alchemist* as a 'Blackfriars' play, so my following discussion of its staging will draw upon the architectural features of the playhouse for which it was most clearly intended. For details on the London plagues, see Leeds Barroll, in *Politics, Plague, and Shakespeare's Theatre: The Stuart Years* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1991), pp.180-186, who argues that outbreaks of plague in London closed the playhouses for all of 1609, and that after opening February-July 1610 a resurgence in deaths led to them being closed once more, only for them to reopen in November 1610. The stage history of *The Staple* is much simpler: there is only one record of performance by the King's Men at Blackfriars in February 1626 (although it is possible it ran for longer than this), and there was probably a performance at court sometime during Shrovetide of that year (19-21 February)—Parr believes that the play may have continued to be played occasionally during the seventeenth century, but apart from this brief period it has not received another professional performance. For performance records and stage history on *The Alchemist* and *The Staple*, see Lucy Munro, '*The Alchemist:* Stage History,' Anthony Parr, 'Introduction,' in Ben Jonson, *The Staple of News,* ed. by Anthony Parr, Revels (Manchester; New York: Manchester University Press, 1988), pp.1-60 ( pp.49-53) and the 'Performance Archive' found, along with the Munro essay, in *The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Ben Jonson Online,* <http://universitypublishingonline.org/cambridge/benjonson/k/browse/performance/start=0/performance-play:The_Alchemist/>, and
< http://universitypublishingonline.org/cambridge/benjonson/k/essays/stage_history_Alchemist/1/ > [accessed 20 April 2016].
[51] *English Professional Theatre, 1530-1660,* ed. by Glynne Wickham, Herbert Berry, and William Ingram (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp.501,388. Note the word 'convent,' which the *OED Online* ('convent, n.') confirms has precedent for referring to a non-gender specific 'assemblage or gathering of persons' (1a., as early as 1382) and a 'company of men or women living together in the discipline of a religious order' (3a., as early as c.1290) [date accessed 20 January 2017].
[52] The restrictions on playing did not extend to the boys' companies, who were permitted to perform there from 1600, and who had in fact performed a number of Jonson's comedies at this venue: *Poetaster, Cynthia's Revels,* and *Eastward Ho!* The eventual success of the Blackfriars will have been of little direct comfort to James Burbage—he died in 1597, three years before any playing began there—but his son, Richard, who took it over as a business concern, was eventually able to reap the financial rewards. See *English Professional Theatre,* ed. by Wickham, Berry, and Ingram, p.502.
[53] Cf. Barroll's earlier dating with Wickham, Berry, and Ingram, pp.502-503, who favour 1609.
[54] See Andrew Gurr, *Playgoing in Shakespeare's London* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), pp.3-4, who outlines the influential theories of Harbage—who argued for 'rival traditions' of populist and elitist entertainments at the amphitheatre and hall playhouses—and Cook—who 'demolished' Harbage's theory, and instead argued for the average playgoer being 'privileged.' Gurr warns that both theories are 'rather less than a part of the truth,' and that, while the entrance fees of the hall playhouses would have priced out a large proportion of the London population, audience demographics and theatrical programmes were actually much more fluid and representative than Harbage and Cook suggest, especially at the amphitheatres. Instead of these unhelpfully broad distinctions between

Blackfriars catered to a more select audience, and this is reflected architecturally in its reduced auditorium size and through its capacity for aesthetic and technological innovation, which included more elaborate scenic effects,[55] inter-act music and entertainment,[56] and the seating of higher paying customers nearer—even on—the stage, this last feature being an especially pronounced departure from the audience distribution at the amphitheatres.[57]

The size difference for the Blackfriars stage and auditorium in comparison to early modern amphitheatre venues was considerable: the Globe stage is estimated to have been roughly 43 feet wide by 27 feet deep, its yard approximately 78 feet in diameter, with the whole theatre taking a capacity of approximately 3000 audience members;[58] by contrast, the Blackfriars measured 66 feet by 46 feet in its entirety (3036 square feet in total), with an audience capacity of around 600.[59] There are no precise dimensions for the Blackfriars stage, but rough calculations suggest that the playing space, with a width perhaps as small as 26 feet,[60] must also have been smaller than that at the Globe, and these cramped playing conditions can only have been exacerbated by the presence of up to fifteen stools onstage,[61] offering prominent seating positions that seemed to attract intentionally disruptive gallants, who confounded performances still further through their distracting behaviour and use of the same stage doors as the actors to reach and leave their seats.[62]

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amphitheatre and hall playhouses, Gurr suggests that we should adopt a more nuanced approach, seeing the reputations and audiences built up over the years by individual playhouses as dictating their theatrical programme more than their status as indoor/outdoor, coterie/popular venues (p.221). See also Andrew Gurr, 'Playing in Amphitheatres and Playing in Hall Theatres,' in *The Elizabethan Theatre*, ed. by A.L. Magnusson and C.E. McGee, vol XIII (Toronto: Meany, 1989), pp.47-62.

[55] Elaborate enough, for example, to accommodate masque scenes in I.ii of Beaumont and Fletcher's *The Maid's Tragedy* (performed c.1608-1611) and IV.i of Shakespeare's *The Tempest* (performed 1611).

[56] Gurr, *Shakespearean Stage,* p.182.

[57] Gurr, *Shakespearean Stage,* p.142. Janette Dillon, 'The Blackfriars Theatre and the Indoor Theatres,' in *Jonson in Context*, ed. by Sanders, pp.124-133 (p.124).

[58] Gurr, *Shakespearean Stage,* pp.176, 180.

[59] *English Professional Theatre,* ed. by Wickham, Berry, and Ingram, p.501.

[60] Rough calculations are from Gurr, *Shakespearean Stage,* p.145; Keith Sturgess, *Jacobean Private Theatres* (London: Routledge, 1987), pp.36-44.

[61] Gurr, *Shakespearean Stage,* p.194.

[62] Cf. Thomas Dekker's *The Gull's Hornbook*, which offers a satirical how-to guide for gallants at the theatre, including the advice that they should sit onstage, 'on the very rushes where the comedy is to dance [...] beating down the mews and hisses of the opposed rascality,' from where they 'have a signed patent to engross [monopolise] the whole commodity of censure' (p. 208). For even greater dramatic impact, Dekker also recommends that a 'conspicuous entrance' may be achieved by arriving late, acting insolently, and leaving early '[n]o matter whether the scenes be good or no' (p. 211). Thomas Dekker, 'The Gull's Hornbook (1609),' in *Shakespeare's Theatre: A Sourcebook,* ed. by Tanya Pollard (London: Blackwell, 2004), pp. 206-212. See also Gurr, *Shakespearean Stage,* p.194.

Like at the Globe, '[t]he audience literally surrounded the players' as they performed,[63] but I think it is important to stress the fact that the effect of this surrounding—for actors and audience alike—would have been especially pronounced in the close confines of the Blackfriars.

One can already see that in spatial and architectural terms the early modern theatre is drastically different to that of fifth-century Athens, and at first sight these pronounced disparities extend also to the differing economic imperatives and performance contexts that governed them. Jonson's theatrical *milieu* was a professional environment that relied on a quick turn-over of plays from its actors and playwrights, and often required these same plays to be taken on tour or performed on commission at the house or residence of wealthy clients or institutions.[64] Such an emphasis on speed and portability initially seems very different to Aristophanes' theatre, which due to the heavy public investment in the Athenian competitions meant that theatre-makers writing for a single performance at one of these festivals 'overall, lack[ed] economic pressures' in the production of their plays, and that they would also have a very clear ideas about the performance space for which they were writing.[65] The early modern logistical need for quick turn-overs for theatre companies who had a financial imperative to rehearse and produce material quickly therefore seems like an obvious point of departure,[66] but more recently the 'one-performance' model for Athenian theatre has been challenged by suggestions that playwrights may well have conducted 'trial runs' of their material before the big Athenian festivals, and there is some evidence to suggest that particularly popular plays had afterlives in touring productions.[67] If this view is accurate, Aristophanes and his contemporaries bear more of a comparison with the early modern playwrights, as they too

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[63] Gurr, *Shakespearean Stage,* p.194.

[64] See Tiffany Stern, *Rehearsal from Shakespeare to Sheridan* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), pp.22-123, esp. pp.54, 121-122, who believes three weeks was the average time period of preparation for a new professional play.

[65] Martin Revermann, *Comic Business: Theatricality, Dramatic Technique, and Performance Contexts of Aristophanic Comedy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), p.20.

[66] Revermann, p.21.

[67]See Revermann p.67ff., who argues that despite the festival context for the original Greek tragedies and comedies 'fifth- and fourth-century drama of all genres was conceived and performed as part of a theatre tradition which was both highly mobile and modular.' McLeish also raises the possibility of actors supplementing their income outside of the festival season through tours, private performances, and training of pupils, but also notes that other major employment opportunities were available in agriculture and the military: '[t]he 'season' for drama ended as the campaigning and farming seasons began; it would have been no harder for an actor to divide his time between them than for a man to combine acting and oratory' (pp.112-113).

would have needed to have an eye for creating dramatic material that could be easily transportable from venue to venue. Interestingly, even in the festival context the compressed timescales of Jonson's theatre also provides a point of comparison with Aristophanes', as due to the multi-purpose function of their performance space Athenian dramatists and performers often only had a short space of time in which to rehearse their material.[68]

As a result of these pressures and out of its need to be adaptable to a variety of performance spaces, the staging practice of both eras was based on a sort of dramaturgical shorthand, with exits and entrances, the use of certain stage properties, and the positioning of actors onstage following conventions that could be followed by both theatre-makers and audiences.[69] In Jonson's London, the trace of such dramaturgical shorthand can be seen in the numerous architectural similarities among its theatres. Although the Blackfriars differed in scale from the Globe, the stages of both playhouses seem to have maintained a number of architectural similarities:[70] i) two doors at either end of the tiring house wall, serving as points of entrance and exit for the actors; ii) a 'musician's gallery' directly above the tiring house, which could also accommodate a number of actors and, possibly, distinguished audience members; iii) a central doorway or 'discovery space' that could be used to reveal static scenes or as another point of ingress for particularly prominent characters or groups; and, finally, iv) a stage potentially surrounded on three sides (four, if one counts the musician's gallery above the stage) by audience members; and v) an auditorium that was designed to pack as many audience members as close as possible to the onstage action.[71]

In comparison with the claustrophobic and exclusive atmosphere of the Blackfriars, the staging and audience configuration in Aristophanes' Athens at first seems completely different. Both *Clouds* and *Birds* were produced at the City Dionysia, the festival that was

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[68] McLeish, p.34.
[69] This adaptability was especially important to the King's Men, who were regularly called on for performances at Court, and who from 1609-1610 needed to move plays between the Globe and Blackfriars playhouses with a minimum of fuss. For a good account of the likelihood of the early modern stage's use of what I have called 'dramaturgical shorthand,' see Bradley, *Text to Performance,* pp. 1-39, esp. p.5; for more on early modern staging practices and stages, see Andrew Gurr and Mariko Ichikawa, *Staging in Shakespeare's* Theatres (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).
[70] Bradley, *Text to Performance,* pp.20-21.
[71] See Iain Mackintosh, *Architecture, Actor and Audience* (London; New York: Routledge, 1993), pp.10, 16.

on a much larger scale than the winter Lenaia, attended not only by native Athenians but visitors from Attica and beyond, with audience numbers perhaps reaching between 14000 and 17000.[72] Large audience numbers were complemented by an equally large-scale performance area that was dominated by the *orchestra*, a space roughly 60 feet in diameter (itself nearly the length of the Blackfriars),[73] 'used always by the Chorus and often by the actors,'[74] and which was accessed on either side by two *eisodoi* ('entranceways') that were used as points of entry by the audience before the performance and during performace by the chorus for their first spectacular entrance song ('*parodos'*), as well as occasionally by the actors.[75] At the centre of the orchestra may have been a low altar, which probably functioned not, as earlier scholars like Schechner thought, as a focal point for genuine rituals associated with the festival, but rather as an impermanent piece of stage furniture, a centre-point around which the chorus danced and actors could perform certain set pieces.[76]

Behind this main performance area was a small rectangle of space, accessed by steps, which the character actors also occupied, and which was backed by a hall building (the *skene*) that connected to the temple precincts behind the Theatre. The *skene* functioned like the tiring house in early modern theatres, serving as an entrance and exit point for characters, a store for props and costumes, and also housing stage machinery like the *ekkyklema* (a revolve device or moveable platform that allowed the revelation of interior

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[72] McLeish, p.35. Recent work based on archaeological excavations has suggested that this number may be considerably lower, perhaps even as low as 7000 (Goette) or 3700 (Dawson), see Revermann, p.168. Even if these significantly reduced figures are taken into account, however, the audience of Greek theatre was still much larger than in the early modern period.

[73] I have been cautious in avoiding reference to the *orchestra*'s shape, as despite diagrams typically representing this space as circular—as it indeed appears to have been at the theatre of Epidauros, and in later phases of the Theatre of Dionysos that might post-date the fifth century—it seems more likely that at the time of Aristophanes the *orchestra* had an irregular elliptical, perhaps even rectilinear, shape. I favour the opinion that the fifth-century *orchestra* was elliptical, but for further discussion of this problem, see David Wiles, *Tragedy in Athens: Performance Space and Theatrical Meaning* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp.44-52; and Sourvino-Inwood, 'Something to Do with Athens,' in *Ritual, Finance, Politics,* ed. by Osborne and Hornblower, pp.269-290.

[74] McLeish, p.39.

[75] McLeish, p.39. I follow Oliver Taplin, *Stagecraft of Aeschylus,* p.449, and Wiles, *Tragedy in Athens,* p.134, in referring to these entranceways as *eisodos/eisodoi* rather than *parodos/parodoi;* Taplin demonstrates that the latter term is anachronistic, and is also potentially confusing, as the term '*parodos'* is also used to refer to the chorus' entry song.

[76] Rush Rehm, *The Play of Space: Spatial Transformation in Greek Tragedy* (Princeton; Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2002), p.41; Wiles, *Tragedy in Athens,* p.72. In terms of performance set pieces in Aristophanes' comedies, I am thinking in particular of the phallic ritual performed by Dicaeopolis and family (*Ach.,* ll.242-279) and Inlaw's desperate retreat to the altar to avoid the women in *Thesmophoriazusae* (l.688ff.), a position that he occupies for much of the rest of the play.

scenes);[77] the *mekhane* (a crane capable of lifting at least one actor, and which was fixed to the *skene* roof); and, possibly by Aristophanes' time, the *bronteion* (a stage device used to imitate the sound of thunder).[78] Again like the early modern tiring house, the *skene* wall appears to have had a large central door—reserved primarily for grand entrances or items of set that could be wheeled out via the *ekkyklema*—and which was flanked by two smaller doors on either side that served as houses or other locations that characters could use to enter or exit.[79] There are also a number of scenes in Aristophanes that appear to require characters speaking from a window or elevated position,[80] so there was evidently standing space somewhere on the *skene* roof, probably above the central door—a part of the *skene* which, in order to obscure partially the *mekhane* and house the *ekkyklema,* may have been a little higher and deeper than the walls on either side.[81]

The Aristophanic stage therefore possessed considerable technological facilities, and could utilise the vertical plane of the *skene* wall and roof as well as the horizontal plane of the stage and orchestra for performance purposes. The situation is very similar in Jonson's time—the horizontal and vertical staging options of the early modern stage have already been mentioned, but similar to the fifth-century theatre, both amphitheatre and hall playhouses could rely on a number of large and small effects and devices to increase a

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[77] See McLeish, p.45, who highlights that although there is doubt about the exact nature of the *ekkyklema,* there are three theories about how this 'revolve' was achieved: i) it was an area directly in front of the *skene* wall that revolved on its axis; ii) it was a small sofa on wheels that could be wheeled out through the *skene*'s central door (such as marked the appearance of Euripides in *Ach.* l.407ff., or that of Agathon in *Thesm.*l.95ff.); iii) it was a larger wheeled platform, big enough to accommodate several actors and/or set, that could also be wheeled out through the central door. Although McLeish does not mention this, I wonder if there were multiple *ekkyklema* devices, perhaps corresponding to the three different structures mentioned above, that could be interchanged according to the exigencies of a given play.

[78] McLeish, p.45. The uses of the *mekhane* in Aristophanes include the first appearance of Socrates in *Clouds* (l.217ff.), the flight of the dung beetle in *Peace* (l.82ff.), the arrival of Iris in *Birds* (l.1198ff.), and Euripides' appearance as Perseus in *Thesmophoriazusae* (l.1109ff.); it may possibly also have been used to depict Charon's boat in *Frogs* (l.180ff.). Eva Stehlíková, *Ancient Greek and Roman Theatre* (Brno: Masaryk University Press, 2014), pp.141-142, states that there is no evidence that the *bronteion* was in use during the fifth century, but Slater (*Spectator Politics,* p.148) argues that it may have been used to indicate Peisetaerus' usurpation of Zeus as he brandishes the latter's thunderbolt (*Birds,* l.1719ff.).

[79] Sommerstein, 'General Introduction,' in Aristophanes, *Acharnians,* ed. by Sommerstein, p.27, states that '[n]o Aristophanic play absolutely requires three doors, but several (*Acharnians, Clouds, Ecclesiazusae*) require two; arguments to the contrary are forced.'

[80] An elevated stage area might have been used by Philocleon in *Wasps* (l.316ff.), the Girl in *Ecclesiazusae* (ll.884-975), by the four birds who enter before the chorus in *Birds* (l.267ff.; see Slater, *Spectator Politics,* p.137), and perhaps by Strepsiades' slaves when they are ordered to destroy the Reflectory in *Clouds* (l.1488ff.). Cf. Euripides' use of this stage level when Medea (*Medea*)*,* Apollo (*Orestes*), and Dionysos (*Bacchae*) all appear on the roof at the end of their respective plays.

[81] McLeish, p.41.

performance's impact, including sponges filled with vinegar to simulate blood; fake heads for decapitations; trapdoors, which served as a point of entrance for actors, smoke, or pyrotechnics; fireworks and cannon-fire (the latter suitably attenuated for the indoor theatres); music, in the form of bandores, cornets, drums, lutes, recorders, sackbuts, shawms, trumpets and viols (again, selected according to the sonic impact they would have in specific venues); and a range of offstage effects that included devices to produce thunder, lightning, mist, or the sounds of bird song or galloping horses.[82] Aside from the 'great crack and noise within' of The Alchemist, though, it is notable that Jonson does not avail himself of much of the considerable technology at his disposal, a clear sign that he put his open disdain for other dramatists' use of creaking thrones, nimble squibs, rolled bullets or tempestuous drums into practice.[83] He also appears to have only used the vertical line of his stage very sparingly, [84] preferring a form of theatrical presentation that prioritised the horizontal plane of the stage. Both of these features of Jonson's dramaturgy are clear points of divergence from Aristophanes, who seems to embrace the various technological opportunities afforded to him by his own stage—although in the absence of substantial evidence from his contemporaries we are not able to be certain how he compared with his fellow Old Comic playwrights. The point to be made here is that, considering Jonson's typical economy with spectacle and vertical staging, there is an added significance to those moments at which he does make use of the Blackfriars' technical possibilities, and these will be borne in mind in subsequent sections that deal with the manifestation of Subtle's laboratory and the Staple. As I will argue in what follows, such moments are often profoundly Aristophanic in their spatial usage and dramaturgical intentions.

If the Theatre of Dionysos and Blackfriars shared a similar level of stage effects to exploit, another point of comparison is that both seem to make little use of stage set, which is

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[82] For general information on all these effects, see Gurr, *Shakespearean Stage,* esp. pp.151, 187-188, 199, 211, 216, 224-229. For more specific detail about music, see Mary Chan, *Music in the Theatre of Ben Jonson* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980), esp. pp. 9-44; David Lindley, 'Music,' in *Jonson in Context,* ed. by Sanders, pp.162-170; for the use of onstage fireworks, see Jonathan Gil Harris, 'The Smell of *Macbeth,' Shakespeare Quarterly* 58:4 (2007), pp.465-486.

[83] See *EMI* (F) Pro.1-30, which aside from dismissing these theatrical tricks also reveals a contempt for other playwrights who disregard the unities of place or time, promising that the play will not 'make a child, now swaddled, to proceed / Man, and then shoot up in one beard and weed / Past threescore years; or, with three rusty swords, / And help of some few foot-and-a-half words, / Fight over York and Lancaster's long jars.'

[84] Richard Cave, 'Visualising Jonson's Text,' in *Ben Jonson and Theatre,* ed. by Cave, Schafer, and Woolland, pp. 33-44 (pp.33-34).

itself a reflection of the need for actorly and spatial versatility within the performance area. There appears to have been next to no scenic decoration at the Blackfriars, a situation that was broadly reflected at the Theatre of Dionysos, although there is an indication in the latter that while the central section of the *skene* was probably constructed from wood, the areas either side of the central door might have constructed, or at least covered, by wicker or canvas, and were thus able to be adorned with some sort of scenic painting or decoration.[85] There are a few instances in which pieces of set are used: for example, there may have been some sort of net thrown over the part of the *skene* used to depict Philocleon's house in *Wasps*, and which was used as part of the comic business focused on keeping its owner inside in that play's opening scenes (*Wasps,* ll.316ff.).[86] More relevant to this chapter though, the front of the Reflectory in *Clouds* was marked by a large earthenware pot ('δῖνον': l.1473), whose name is meant to enforce the notion that Socrates and his followers have abandoned worship of Zeus for Vortex, or chaos ('Δῖνος': l.380—the wordplay is lost in translation); in contrast Strepsiades' house is fronted by the more traditional herm, an image of Hermes (''Ερμῆ': l.1478), and somewhere else onstage (perhaps in the place of the removable altar at the centre of the *orchestra*?) stands a statue of Poseidon, 'lord of horses' ('Ποσειδῶ τουτονὶ τὸν ἵππιον': l.83) to represent Pheidippides' hippomania. Aside from the likely presence of the *orchestra* altar, which forms the centre-point of the city consecration ll.853-902, the performance space for *Birds* is even more sparse, but indications in the text (ll.49ff., 265ff.) suggest that the area in front of the *skene*'s central door could have been surrounded by a number of large rocks.[87] It is also worth mentioning though that both plays make use of their theatre's stage machinery: the *mekhane* is deployed in *Clouds* for Socrates' first entrance (*Clouds,* l.217ff.), and for Iris' in *Birds* (l.1199ff.); while the *ekkyklema* may have been used for the 'grand reveal' of the Reflectory students (*Clouds,* l.182ff.) and

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[85] Scenic painting is alluded to by Aristotle, who claims that it was first introduced by Sophocles (*Poe.,* 1449a). See also Sommerstein, 'General Introduction,' in Aristophanes, *Acharnians,* trans. by Sommerstein, p.27; McLeish, p.44; Wiles, *Tragedy in Athens,* p.161. The connection of wicker or cloth to the *skene* is also suggested etymologically: Liddell and Scott note that 'σκηνή,' while meaning 'a wooden stage for actors' (II.), can also denote 'a covered place, a tent' (I.), and 'the tented cover, tilt of a wagon' (III.)—two definitions that themselves hint at the structure's link to lighter materials than wood. The decoration of at least part of the *skene* is speculative, but its lack of dramaturgical impact on the Aristophanic plays as we have them means that the presence or absence of such decoration is largely irrelevant to this study.

[86] Aristophanes, *Wasps*, ed. and trans. by Alan H. Sommerstein, rpt. (Oxford: Aris & Phillips, 2004).

[87] This is hinted at by Peisetaerus and Euelpides referring to rocks around the stage-house door (ll.49ff.) and by the four birds, separate from the Chorus, who enter at ll.265ff., and who separate themselves from the other performers by perching on these pieces of set.

Peisetaerus' appearance (l.1579f.) roasting 'a number of birds who have been found guilty of attempting to rebel against the bird democracy' (ὄρνιθές τινες ἐπανιστάμενοι τοῖς δημοτικοῖσιν ὀρνέοις / ἔδοξαν ἀδικεῖν': *Birds,* ll.1584-1585).[88] The use of the *skene* and its doors therefore seems to correspond broadly to how they were used at the Blackfriars, and both theatres seemed capable of providing pieces of sophisticated technology and easily transportable props to assist or augment performance. Unlike the early modern stage, however, the Greek playwrights could convey a more expansive sense of within and without by using the doors in the *skene* wall to denote interior, domestic spaces, and the two flanking *eisodoi* to indicate characters coming from the wider world outside, a convention particularly prominent in the tragedies.[89]

A final word needs to be said about the use of props. For obvious reasons of portability and speed, the vast majority of properties in both Aristophanes' and Jonson's plays are small, but in the absence of more elaborate scenic decoration they provide a significant visual element in the building of imaginative space in their respective plays. The text of *Clouds,* for instance makes reference to blankets (l.1ff.); lamps and tablets (l.20); various scientific instruments for Socrates' students (l.200ff.); a couch (l.634); a (live?) cock and hen (l.847); an unspecified 'present' for Socrates (l.1146); a kneading tray (l.1246); and a ladder, mattock and lighted torch to assist in the burning of the Reflectory (l.1486ff.). In *Birds*, reference is made to (presumably live) tame birds (l.1ff.); ritual blankets, myrtle wreaths, fire-pots, luggage, cooking equipment, bedding (ll.18ff., 40ff.); wings (some carried on in a basket) for Peisetaerus, Euelpides, and successful applicants to Cloudcuckooville (l.800); several scrolls (ll.961, 981, 1035); geometrical instruments (ll.998- 999), voting urns (l.1032), and bows and slings (ll.1165-1186). In *The Alchemist* we find a sword (I.i.1); alchemical instruments (I.i.1); frequent exchanges of money (for example, at II.iii.94, IV.iv.173); a ground plan for Drugger's shop (I.iii.9); a robe and gag for Dapper (III.v.4); pieces of paper and damask (IV.iv.6, IV.vii.26); tools to break down a door (V.ii.40); packing cases for the tripartite's booty (V.iv.106); and several costumes, including outfits for the priest and 'Queen of Fairy' (III.v.i, V.iv.20), Surly's 'Spanish suit' (IV.iii.20), 'Hieronimo's cloak and hat' for Lovewit (V.iv.68), and perhaps two more for Face's roles as Lungs and Jeremy (II.iii.288, V.ii.2).

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[88] Sommerstein's stage directions favour the idea that the *ekkyklema* was a wheeled platform, although I think that the revelation of a number of students in *Clouds* would have been aided by the use of a revolve.

[89] Taplin, *Stagecraft of Aeschylus,* pp.21-41.

Finally, *The Staple* requires a watch (I.i.9); numerous articles and clothing and goods from Pennyboy Junior's tradesmen visitors (I.i-iii); money (for example, at I.v.93, III.ii.125); desks, rolls of paper, parcels of news and perhaps more office material to indicate the News Office (I.iv, III.i, III.ii.152); wine and drinking vessels (IV.ii.170); Piedmantle's pedigree and Pennyboy Canter's deed (IV.iv.1, V.ii.38); and tables, papers, and possibly some sort of 'dock' for the dog trial at Pennyboy Senior's house (V.iv). When the large number of props is placed against the relative scarcity of large scenic decoration in both Aristophanes' and (especially) Jonson's plays, one gains a sense that both dramatists relied on their actors and their performances to construct the imaginative onstage worlds, mainly aided by the materials that they could bring on and off themselves.

<div align="center">V</div>

I have raised the points in the previous section because, despite the marked differences in audience demographic and the size of auditoria and performance areas, the Blackfriars Theatre and the Theatre of Dionysos share important similarities in the layout, function, and presentation of their stages. The most essential point of comparison is that both possessed tiring house areas that were *practical*— capable of housing a variety of properties, set, actors and stage machinery—but also *versatile*—their apparent lack all of all but generic adornment on their outer face, which was probably an accepted convention, meaning that they could represent a plethora of imaginative settings with very little physical alteration. This versatility was also echoed in the performance areas themselves, which despite differences in scale were both relatively empty, with the notable exception of the larger items of stage furniture that can be found in *Clouds, Birds,* and *The Staple of News.*

In this section I will suggest that both playwrights, writing with a definite performance space in mind, allowed the physical and technical aspects of these venues to inform their dramaturgical choices. Furthermore, and although this effect would not have been exclusive to performances at the Theatre of Dionysos or the Blackfriars, I argue that both of these venues gave pronounced emphasis to the centripetal dynamic of these plays, a dynamic focused on the 'magic' of the Great Idea or magnetic centre occupying the imaginative space behind the tiring house or *skene* wall, and which was activated through

actorly-invoked, spatio-kinetic configurations that allowed these plays to progress at the requisite frenetic pace. Ellis-Fermor, speaking specifically about *The Alchemist*, comments on the play's 'vortical' structure, the magnetic centre of the tripartite's laboratory drawing its characters inexorably towards its conclusion in so well-crafted a fashion that it is as if all its characters were trapped in a giant whirlpool of action.[90] While *The Alchemist* is undoubtedly a supreme example of this vortical dynamic, the present section of this chapter aims to show that the other three plays also reveal signs of this signature, and that clearly one may attribute Old Comic provenance to this particular element of Jonson's dramaturgical toolkit. I will, however, add to this in section VI by noting that *reading* these plays can obscure the fact that for several technical and conventional reasons neither Jonson nor Aristophanes could allow their vortical plays to draw their characters in uninhibited, and that there are several moments of narrative stasis—in Aristophanes, provided by the choral addresses, in Jonson by enforced Act-divisions—that created pauses in plot progression that can be easily overlooked on the page. I will make the point, however, that both playwrights took dramatic advantage of these pauses of their respective narrative clocks, and that when we consider them in contrast to the frantic business of the rest of their plays we see them serving as useful structural units in the build-up of audience anticipation.

Firstly, it would be useful to consider how the points of entry onto and off the stage could be employed to aid the centripetal drive of these four plays. Aside from serving as points of access on- and off-stage, it seems that the two side doors in the early modern tiring house could also signify a 'within/without' binary that was most apparent if the onstage scene depicted an indoor location, with one of the stage doors conventionally associated with the outside and the other leading further into the imagined building.[91] There is some evidence for this practice in III.iv of *The Staple,* set at Pennyboy Senior's house, and which features Pennyboy Senior and Broker entering '*at different doors'* (III.iv.0.SD.1)*,* the separate points of entry clearly intended to signify that Broker has entered the other's home from outside. Furthermore *The Alchemist,* which is set—with the exceptions of the doorstep scenes of V.i-iii—entirely within one room, provides an especially prominent

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[90] Ellis-Fermor, quoted in Thayer. Such an effect is exacerbated by the play's extreme fidelity to the unity of time, the action moving at such a pace that the audience's 'real-time' clock 'should strike five at once with the acts' (*Mag. Lady,* Chorus 1.9-10), creating a sense of synchronicity between fiction and reality. See also Donaldson, *Magic Houses,* p.89, who refers to the play's 'clockwork time scheme.'
[91] On the tiring house door/boundary, see Fitzpatrick, *Playwright, Space and Place,* pp.27, 43, 63-87.

example of an interior location, and in order to maintain a clear within/without boundary a possible staging option may have been to have one of the stage doors leading to the street outside and the other to Subtle's laboratory. However, considering that such a staging would require this second door to serve not only as a doorway into the laboratory but also a variety of other vaguely-located spaces within or attached to Lovewit's house—including, if we follow references within the playtext itself, a privy (III.v.78), a 'garden, or great chamber' (IV.i.172), and a 'chamber of demonstrations' (IV.ii.63)—it seems likely that the two-door option would result in some considerable (and confusing) entrances and exits for gulls and gullers, particularly in IV.vii, V.iii and V.v, scenes in which Jonson's stage is especially full and chaotic (see table 1.2 below, where all entrances and exits are labelled WI (within) or WO (without) to indicate whether characters have entered/exited further into/away from Lovewit's house or from the street outside, and the tripartite's entrances/exits have been marked in italics in order to differentiate better the distinction between gullers and gulled).

Table 1.2. Entrances and exits in *The Alchemist,* with those of Dol, Face and Subtle in italics.[92]

| Act/Scene | Entries (line number) | Exits (line number) |
|---|---|---|
| I.i | *1. Subtle, Face, Dol (First entry, WI?)* | |
| | | *196. Dol (WI)* |
| I.ii | 1. Dapper (WO) | |
| | | 175. Dapper (WO), *Face (WI)* |
| I.iii | 1. Drugger (WO) | |
| | *17. Face (WI)* | |
| | | 99. Drugger (WO) |
| I.iv | *1. Dol (WI)* | |
| | | *9. Face (WI)* |
| | | *29. Dol, Subtle (WI)* |
| II.i | 1. Mammon, Surly (WO) | |
| | *104. Face (WI)* | |
| II.ii | | *88. Face (WI)* |
| II.iii | *1. Subtle (WI)* | |
| | *52. Face (WI)* | |
| | | *54. Face (WI)* |
| | *66. Face (WI)* | |
| | | *100. Face (WI)* |
| | *210. Dol (WI)* | |
| | *212. Face (WI)* | *212. Dol (WI)* |

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[92] NB: the outdoor scenes (V.i-iii, highlighted in grey) essentially invert the onstage-inside/offstage-outside dichotomy that has run through the rest of the play. In these scenes, exits marked WO* signal that those characters, who are already outside, are leaving to another outside location.

| Act/Scene | Entries (line number) | Exits (line number) |
|---|---|---|
| | | *213. Face (WI)* |
| | *218. Face (WI)* | |
| | | *220. Subtle (WI)* |
| | | *224. Face (WI)* |
| | *233. Face (WI)* | |
| | | *260. Face (WI)* |
| | *287. Face (WI)* | |
| | | 313. Surly (WO) |
| | | 332. Mammon (WO) |
| II.iv | *1. Subtle, Dol (WI)* | |
| | | *19. Dol?* |
| | | *26. Dol (WI)* |
| II.v | 1. Ananias (WO) | |
| | | *44. Face (WO)* |
| | | 87. Ananias (WO) |
| II.vi | 1. Drugger (WO) | |
| | | 80. Drugger (WO) |
| | | *94. Face (WO), Subtle (WI)* |
| III.i | 1. Tribulation, Ananias (WI) | |
| III.ii | *1. Subtle (WI)* | |
| | | 162. Tribulation, Ananias (WI) |
| III.iii | *1. Face (WO)* | |
| | | *26. Subtle (WI)* |
| | *31. Dol (WI)* | |
| | *54. Subtle (WI)* | |
| | | *78. Dol (WI)* |
| | | *84. Subtle (WI)* |
| III.iv | 1. Dapper (WO) | |
| | 7. Drugger, Kastril (WO) | |
| | | 132. Kastril (WO) |
| | | 133. Drugger (WO) |
| III.v | *1. Subtle (WI)* | |
| | *31. Dol (WI)* | |
| | | 82. *Face, Subtle, Dol,* Dapper (WI) |
| IV.i | 1. *Face (WI),* Mammon (WO) | |
| | | *24. Face (WI)* |
| | *31. Face, Dol (WI)* | |
| | | *64. Face (WI)* |
| | *169. Face (WI)* | |
| | | 174. Mammon (WI), *Dol (WI)* |
| IV.ii | *1. Subtle (WI)* | |
| | 9. Kastril, Pliant (WO) | |
| | | *12. Face (WI)* |
| | *50. Face (WI)* | |
| | | *60. Face (WI)* |

| Act/Scene | Entries (line number) | Exits (line number) |
|---|---|---|
| | | 72. *Subtle (WI),* Kastril (WI), Pliant (WI) |
| IV.iii | *1. Face (WI)* | |
| | *3. Subtle (WI)* | |
| | | *18. Face (WO)* |
| | 20. Surly (disguised) (WO), *Face (WO)* | |
| | | *92. Face (WI)* |
| | | 104. *Subtle (WI)* Surly (disguised) (WI) |
| IV.iv | 1. *Face (WI),* Kastril (WI), Pliant (WI) | |
| | 52. Surly (disguised) (WI) | |
| | | 80. Surly (disguised) (WI), Pliant (WI) |
| | | *83. Face (WI)* |
| | | 93. *Subtle (WI),* Kastril (WI) |
| IV.v | 1. *Dol (WI),* Mammon (WI) | |
| | *15. Face (WI)* | |
| | *32. Subtle (WI)* | *32. Face, Dol (WI)* |
| | *56. Face (WI)* | |
| | | 95. Mammon (WO) |
| | | *110. Face (WI), Subtle (WI)* |
| IV.vi | 1. Surly (WI), Pliant (WI) | |
| | *17. Subtle (WI)* | |
| | *33. Face (WI)* | |
| | | *46. Face (WI)* |
| IV.vii | 1. Kastril (WI), *Face (WI)* | |
| | | 23. Pliant (WO?) |
| | 26. Drugger (WO) | |
| | 41. Ananias (WO) | |
| | | 58. Surly (WO) |
| | | 62. Kastril (WO) |
| | | 72. Drugger (WO) |
| | | 88. Ananias (WO) |
| | *106. Dol (WI)* | |
| | | *133. Subtle (WI), Dol (WI), Face (WO)* |
| V.i | 1. Lovewit (WO), Neighbours (WO) | |
| | | 45. Third Neighbour (WI) |
| V.ii | *1. Face* (WI) | |
| | 40. Third Neighbour (WO) | |
| V.iii | 1. Surly (WO), Mammon (WO) | |
| | | 26. Surly (WO*), Mammon (WO*) |
| | 30. Kastril (WO) | |
| | 42. Ananias (WO), Tribulation (WO) | |
| | | 53. Ananias (WO*), Tribulation (WO*), Kastril (WO*) |
| | | 76. Neighbours (WO*) |
| | | 91. *Face (WI),* Lovewit (WI) |
| V.iv | 1. Dapper (WI), *Subtle (WI)* | |

| Act/Scene | Entries (line number) | Exits (line number) |
|---|---|---|
| | *7. Face (WO)* | |
| | | *17. Face (WI)* |
| | *20. Dol (WI)* | |
| | *61. Face (WI)* | 61. Dapper (WO) |
| | | *65. Subtle (WI)* |
| | *67. Subtle (WI)* | |
| | | *69. Face (WI)* |
| | *91. Face (WI)* | |
| | | *96. Subtle (WI)* |
| | *98. Subtle (WI)* | |
| | | *100. Face (WI)* |
| | *105. Face (WI)* | |
| | | *148. Dol (WO), Subtle (WO)* |
| V.v | 1. Lovewit (disguised) (WI), Parson (WI) | |
| | *6. Face (WI)* | |
| | 11. Mammon (WO), Surly (WO), Kastril (WO), Ananias (WO), Tribulation (WO), Officers (WO) | |
| | | 38. Mammon (WI), Ananias (WI), Tribulation (WI), Officers (WI) |
| | | 44. Kastril (WI) |
| | 58. Mammon (WI) | |
| | 89. Ananias (WI), Tribulation (WI), Officers (WI) | 89. Mammon (WO), Surly (WO) |
| | 115. Drugger (WO) | 115. Ananias (WO), Tribulation (WO), Officers (WO) |
| | | 117. Drugger (WO) |
| | 123. Kastril (WI), Pliant (WI) | 123. Parson (WO) |
| | | 146. Kastril (WO), Pliant (WO) |

The table lays bare the fact that the play requires a great number of entrances and exits, some of them very rapid; it also serves to illustrate a typical Jonsonian technique of filling his stage with a large amount of characters and then emptying it again, a technique that becomes more intensified as the action reaches the *catastasis,* or complication phase, at the end of Act IV, and the *catastrophe,* or resolution, in Act V that sees the return and triumph of Lovewit.[93] Such a dramaturgical strategy invites an escalation of pace and

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[93] For a general discussion of Jonson's technique of filling and emptying his stages, see Patrick R. Williams, 'Ben Jonson's Satiric Choreography,' *Renaissance Drama* 9 (1978), pp.121-144, (esp. p.136); as well as two essays by Richard Cave, 'Script and Performance' (pp.23-32), and 'Visualising Jonson's Text,'

dramatic tension, especially in the crowded scenes of IV.vii and V.i-v, and in *The Alchemist* this build up is increased to fever pitch within the spatial confines of Lovewit's house and the preoccupation of both gulls and gullers alike in gaining or blocking access to the door that leads to the offstage laboratory. The distribution of entrances and exits is also revealing, as the shift in emphasis from Acts I-IV.v—from the tripartite's first entrance to the explosion of the laboratory, in which period movement is dominated by the trio (who make approximately 74 entrances/exits to the other characters' 38)—to Act IV.vi to the end of Act V—where the play's outside characters begin to make more of an impact, entering the inner space from 'without' in increasing numbers (approximately 50 entrances/exits to the tripartite's 20)—shows the centripetal energy of the gulled characters gradually overcoming the blocking efforts of the gullers. The increasing movement from without to within reveals *The Alchemist*'s vortical structure explicitly, helping to establish the spatio-kinetic dynamic that allows this quality to be enacted.

A similar centripetal energy derived from exits and entrances can be found in Aristophanes. Sommerstein's editions of *Clouds* and *Birds* reflect the general scholarly uncertainty about precise details of staging, as the complete lack of stage directions in the transmitted texts mean that unambiguous entrances, exits and characters' precise spatio-kinetic configurations are not always deducible.[94] Nonetheless, following Taplin's argument (highlighted in my Introduction) that much of the stage action of Greek tragedy is latent in the surviving plays, and can be extracted by considering them as performance rather than literary texts, there has been increasing interest in the playtexts' deictical

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(pp.33-44), in *Ben Jonson and Theatre,* ed. by Cave, Schafer, and Woolland. The division of plays into *protasis-epitasis--catastrophe* was derived from the Donatian critical tradition (via Scaliger, who added the *catatasis*), and was a sequence that Jonson was certainly aware of later in his career (cf. the Boy's speech in *Mag. Lady,* Chor.1.1-22, which refers explicitly to each of these structural units).

[94] That there has become any sort of agreement at all on stage layout, movement, actions, or even the assignation of speeches to characters is testament to the immense scholarly and editorial work of the last two millennia. The earliest copies of Aristophanes' plays were transmitted in papyrus rolls whose texts were made exceptionally difficult to read because they were written continuously, with readers having to make sense of the language without the aid of accentuation, punctuation, character headings, differentiation between prose and lyric verse, or even spaces between words. Many disagreements about stage action and line assignment remain, but it is startling how much the clarity of the received text relies on scholarly diligence which has restored Aristophanes' plays to a much more legibile form. See L.D. Reynolds and N.G. Wilson, *Scribes and Scholars: A Guide to the Transmission of Greek and Latin Literature,* 3rd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), p.4; Alan H. Sommerstein, 'The History of the Text of Aristophanes,' in *Brill's Companion to the Study of Greek Comedy,* ed. by Gregory W. Dobrov (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2010), pp.399-422; Ewen Bowrie, 'The Ups and Downs of Aristophanic Travels,' *Aristophanes in Performance,* ed. by Hall and Wrigley, pp.32-51; for an excellent study on the transmission and reception of Greek tragedy, see Robert Garland, *Surviving Greek Tragedy* (London: Duckworth, 2010).

references to characters' movements, use of properties, and entrances and exits—an interest that has produced insights that have helped refocus on the theatrical merits of these works, and which has more recently been given an Aristophanic focus by (among others) Revermann, Reckford, and Slater.

And indeed, when one turns to this chapter's Aristophanic texts, there are several clear examples of deictical references that are of interest not only because they seem to highlight points of entry and exit for various characters, but because they also appear to endorse a general movement from without to within. *Birds* begins with Peisetaerus and Euelpides entering laden with baggage, the former complaining that they have been 'traipsing back and forth' on an 'aimless to-and-fro journey,' while the latter adds that that they have 'gone around and about for more than a hundred miles of travelling' (*Birds,* ll.3-6). Although one does not need to take the claims of a 'more than hundred miles' ('*περιελϑεῖν στάδια πλεῖν ἤ χίλια*') trek completely seriously, the observation indicates that the duo have travelled a considerable distance from Athens to find the land of the birds, and, as tragic convention certainly dictated that those coming from far away enter through the *eisodoi*,[95] it would be in keeping for the two characters to enter in through one of these walkways, with the point of access to Tereus and what will eventually become Cloudcuckooville lying beyond the *skene* wall. Perhaps the spatial distinction between far-away Athens and nearby Cloudcuckooville was maintained through the rest of the play, with the introduction of each outsider character marked by their entrance and exit through the *eisodoi,* and the movement of the select few through the *skene* doors being an indication of their acceptance into the play's Great Idea (see table 1.3 below, where all entrances and exits are also labelled WI (within) or WO (without) to indicate whether characters have entered the stage space from the outer world or from the area occupied by Cloudcuckooville).

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[95] See Taplin, *Stagecraft of Aeschylus,* pp.450-451, who notes that, as was the case with the Roman comedies discussed in chapter 4, the precise offstage locations these *eisodoi* led to varied from play to play.

Table 1.3. Entrances and exits in *Birds*.

| Entry (previous line number) | Exit (line number) |
|---|---|
| 1. Peisetaerus, Euelpides, slaves[96] (WO) | |
| 60. Servant (WI) | |
| | 84. Servant (WI) |
| 92. Tereus (WI) | |
| | 208. Tereus (WI) |
| 267. Flamingo (WI) | |
| 269. Tereus (WI) | |
| 273. Mede (WI) | |
| 278. Second Hoopoe (WI) | |
| 286. Gobbler (WI) | |
| 296. Chorus (WO) | |
| 666. Procne (WI) | |
| | 675. Tereus, Peisetaerus, Euelpides (WI) |
| 800. Peisetaerus, Euelpides (WI) | |
| | 846. Euelpides (WI) |
| | 850. Peisetaerus (WI) |
| 858. Peisetaerus, Priest (WI) | |
| | 894. Priest (WI) |
| 903. Poet (WO) | |
| | 952. Poet (WO) |
| 959. Oracle-Monger (WO) | |
| | 990. Oracle-Monger (WO) |
| 991. Meton (WO) | |
| | 1020. Meton (WO) |
| 1021. Athenian Inspector (WO) | |
| | 1031. Athenian Inspector (WO) |
| 1035. Decree-Seller (WO) | |
| 1045. Athenian Inspector (WO) | 1045. Decree-Seller (WO) |
| | 1047. Athenian Inspector (WO) |
| 1049. Decree-Seller (WO) | |
| 1051. Athenian Inspector (WO) | 1051. Decree-Seller (WO) |
| 1053. Decree-Seller (WO) | 1053. Athenian Inspector (WO) |
| | 1055. Decree-Seller (WO) |
| | 1057. Peisetaerus (WI) |
| 1117. Peisetaerus (WI) | |
| 1121. First Messenger (WI?) | |
| | 1163. First Messenger (WI?) |
| 1169. Second Messenger (WI?) | |
| | 1185. Second Messenger (WI?) |
| 1199. Iris (WO*) | |

[96] These slaves perform numerous fetching and carrying duties for props throughout the play, such movements on- and off-stage are designated by Revermann as 'carrier entries' (pp.137-138). As these entries are purely functional and would fill up an already-busy table still further, I have chosen to discount them elsewhere in the play's action.

| Entry (previous line number) | Exit (line number) |
|---|---|
| | 1261. Iris (WO*) |
| 1270. First Herald (WO) | |
| | 1307. First Herald (WI) |
| 1336. Young Man (WO) | |
| 1371. Cinesias (WO) | 1371. Young Man (WO) |
| 1409. Informer (WO) | 1409. Cinesias (WO) |
| | 1468. Informer (WO) |
| 1493. Prometheus (WO) | |
| | 1552. Prometheus (WO), Peisetaerus (WI) |
| 1564. Poseidon, Heracles, Triballion (WO) | |
| | 1578. Peisetaerus (WI) |
| | 1693. Peisetaerus, Poseidon, Heracles, Triballion (WI?) |
| 1705. Second Herald (WI?) | |
| 1719. Peisetaerus, Princess (WI) | 1719. Second Herald (WI?) |

This table, as with table 1.2, raises some salient points about the play's centripetal dynamic. To begin with, it is significant that it is not until l.675 (over a third of the way through the play) that Peisetaerus and Euelpides are permitted to enter the land of the birds at all; prior to this they have had to speak first to a servant (l.84ff.), then Tereus (l.208ff.), and following the stage gradually filling with birds and the spectacular entry of the chorus in the *parodos* (ll.267-296) they then endure the threats of violence from this same choric group. Eventually they are invited into Tereus' 'nest' ('νεοττιάν,' l.641) behind the *skene* wall, but the audience still has to wait a little longer as Aristophanes elasticates his protagonists' exit, the characters' movement offstage repeatedly halted as Peisetaerus first asks about wings for himself and his companion (ll.649-650), then the chorus requests that they should be entertained by Procne the piper (ll.658-660), upon whose entry the two Athenians' departure is delayed still further as they set about leering over her (ll.667-675).

The pair's eventual exit (l.675) therefore comes at the end of several dramatic episodes in which the protagonists' efforts are set against a gradually filling stage, increasingly violent opposition from the chorus and, for a final comic twist, a sequence of delays intended to prolong the audience's expectations for as long as possible. One sees here an immediate parallel with *The Alchemist*, which also relies on the repeated entrances and exits of gulls and gullers to elasticate its action to a similar point of such hyper-tension that the elastic-snapping *catastasis* of Lovewit's return cannot help but bring a dramatically-satisfying

release.[97] It is also noteworthy that following this moment in *Birds* the stage is bombarded by a series of human characters (especially at ll.903-1055, and 1336-1468), whose rapid entrances and exits, often on the heels of one another, mark some of the play's most frenetic sequences of revolving-door farce. The episode featuring Peisetaerus repeatedly refusing the requests of the Athenian Inspector and the Decree-Seller and subsequently chasing them away (ll.1021-1055) is particularly fast-paced, although Aristophanes again elasticates the exits of both characters over thirty lines, Peisetaerus needing four attempts to finally drive away the applicants.[98]

If one accepts the *eisodos* entry point as a valid staging option, *Birds* reveals a very clear movement of its human characters—first the two protagonists, then the series of applicants to the newly-founded Cloudcuckooville—from without to within, the actors entering from the *eisodoi* (denoting the outer world beyond the city's boundaries) with their onstage actions and speech all focused, literally or metaphorically, on the *skene* wall and the nest/city that lies behind it. Moreover, the vast size and spatial configuration of the Theatre of Dionysos gave Aristophanes considerable options in ensuring that without/within distinctions and the entrances and exits of his actors were appropriately rapid and clear.

To return to *The Alchemist*'s door issue, the Blackfriars stage, by comparison, possessed of only one direction of entrance, and reduced to a much smaller size (a size which, lest we forget, could well have been reduced still further by the fifteen onstage audience members), appears deficient in both of these areas, particularly if the actors were compelled to use only the side doors of the tiring house. In order to alleviate some of this threshold traffic, therefore, another staging option to the two-door model would be to

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[97] For more on Andrews' notion of 'elastic' moments, see Introduction, section III.

[98] In fact, if one were to be strict with the *eisodoi*=without, *skene*=within distinction, the speed of some of these exits means that my labelling both characters' exits and entrances as 'WO' (without) is probably not strictly accurate. Assuming that this scene took place somewhere near the *skene* wall, and taking into account the sheer size of the Theatre of Dionysos, there is no way an actor portraying a 'without' character could get all the way offstage and then on again via the *eisodoi* in the space of a few lines. Equally, though, I am not sure if there would have been enough time for these characters to enter one of the *skene* doors and then re-enter again, and even if this were possible I think the optics of characters escaping *into* the place they were aiming for might have been a little confusing. Instead, it might be easier to not view these as 'exits' and 'entrances' in the strict sense but as opportunities for the two actors playing to perform some sort of tried-and-tested comic business (hiding behind the Peisetaerus-actor's back, ducking when he turned around, and so on) whose rapid and exaggerated movements would have the double benefit of being easily visible to the audience while allowing the scene's pace to stay at the requisite level.

locate the laboratory behind the central door in the tiring house wall, its spatial centrality a visual complement to its importance in the plot.[99] As a result of this configuration the Blackfriars stage would offer two entrances/exits that lead from/to spaces 'within' Lovewit's house and one serving as door 'without' leading to the street outside, alleviating stage traffic while still maintaining the representational distinction between out and in. For instance, to maintain the play's requisite pace it seems essential that at the end of I.ii, where Dapper is conducted out of the house 'by the back way' by Face (I.i.163), and the beginning of I.iii, when Subtle bids Drugger '[c]ome in' a few lines later (I.iii.1), that these entrances and exits are managed through the use of both side doors. This scene is only one of many in *The Alchemist* that requires quick changeovers of characters, but by helping to divert characters and define the domestic space a little clearer a general adherence to the door usage mentioned would certainly aid in facilitating the '[c]ontinuous and high-speed staging' that lies at the heart of early modern theatre practice.[100] In fact, although maintaining the spatial distinction between within/without is important for continuing the imaginative integrity of the tripartite's Blackfriars house, it is the benefits this staging option would give to the play's high-speed tempo that is the most crucial to its comic effect, and would help give the play the same visual clarity that is arguably present in *Birds.*

There is another possible point of comparison between the claustrophobic and frantic atmosphere of *The Alchemist's* stage space and *Clouds,* which, as a play with a much more domestic focus than *Birds*, does not have to convey a sense of wide geographical area, but instead exchanges this for a more varied use of the *skene* wall, whose doors would have been required to indicate at least two locations: the Reflectory and the house of Strepsiades. Despite the difference with *Birds*, the play retains a centripetal drive, as although the sense of the stage being assailed by a series of characters moving without to within is much reduced, movement on- and off-stage is largely confined to between the two houses, giving the sense of an inward-focusing dynamic that is restricted to a much tighter spatio-kinetic field. The terminology in table 1.4 below seeks to highlight this difference, with characters' movements labelled to refer to either Strepsiades' house (S), the Reflectory (R), or the *eisodoi* (E). The movements of Strepsiades and his son

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[99] This central doorway was more likely used for important entrances. See Gurr *Shakespearean Stage,* p.183.
[100] Gurr, *Shakespearean Stage,* p.219.

Pheidippides are entirely occupied with (S) and (R), and the majority of the play's other entrances and exits come from the Reflectory itself. The only exceptions to this are Strepsiades' two fellow demesmen creditors, who could conceivably have used the *eisodoi* to enter, but perhaps their neighbourly association would have been better indicated by their use of the other *skene* door. Either way (and discounting the chorus, whose *parodos* entrance always required them to enter through the *eisodoi*), there is a sense of a more restricted area of movement, the frequent entrances and exits at the *skene* wall recalling the intensely focused dynamism of *The Alchemist* much more than *Birds.*

Table 1.4. Entrances and exits in *Clouds.*

| Entry (previous line number) | Exit (line number) |
|---|---|
| 1. Strepsiades, Pheidippides (S)* | |
| | 125. Pheidippides (S) |
| 132. Student (R) | |
| 183. Students (R) | |
| | 199. Students (R) |
| 218. Socrates (R) | |
| 326. Chorus (E) | |
| | 509. Socrates, Strepsiades (R) |
| 626. Socrates (R) | |
| 633. Strepsiades (R) | |
| | 699. Socrates (R) |
| 722. Socrates (R) | |
| | 726. Socrates (R) |
| 731. Socrates (R) | |
| | 803. Strepsiades (S), Socrates (R) |
| 813. Strepsiades, Pheidippides (S) | |
| 888. Better Argument (R) | |
| 890. Worse Argument (R) | |
| | 1104. Better Argument (R) |
| | 1112. Worse Argument, Pheidippides (R), Strepsiades (S) |
| 1130. Strepsiades (S) | |
| 1145. Socrates (R) | |
| | 1164. Socrates (R) |
| 1166. Socrates, Pheidippides (R) | |
| | 1169. Socrates (R) |
| 1213. First Creditor (E?) | 1213. Strepsiades, Pheidippides (S) |
| 1221. Strepsiades (S) | |
| | 1245. Strepsiades (S) |
| 1247. Strepsiades (S) | |
| | 1255. First Creditor (E?) |
| 1258. Second Creditor (E?) | |
| | 1300. Second Creditor (E?) |
| | 1302. Strepsiades (S) |
| 1320. Strepsiades, Pheidippides (S) | |
| | 1475. Pheidippides (S) |
| 1495. Student (R) | |
| 1501. Socrates (R) | |
| | 1511. Strepsiades, Socrates, Student(s) (E?) |

Appropriately enough, the spatio-kinetic energies of the three plays analysed so far have shifted more and more focus onto the back walls of the stage, and it is with this back wall—more specifically, the central door in that back wall, that the centripetal energies of *The Staple of News* appear most concentrated. Indeed, although the use of the central doorway in *The Alchemist* is a hypothetical one, *The Staple* offers a few more definite instances where it might be used. Considering Gurr's point about the central space being reserved for entrances of the grandest or most important characters, it seems logical that Pecunia, a blatant allegorical representation of the play's obsession with money, and who is accompanied everywhere by up to five equally allegorised attendants, commanded both the ideological centrality and physical size to justify the use of the central door. The door might have been used as early as II.i, when Pecunia and her retinue enter with Pennyboy Senior, where it could have been useful because of the number of characters entering (seven), the fact that this is the Infanta's first appearance, and therefore deserving of a significant entrance, and that, due to Pecunia's complaint to her guardian about being locked away from society, the company have clearly entered from another part 'within' the house. A more unambiguous use of the central doorway comes in II.v, where stage directions read that '*The study is opened where she* [PECUNIA] *sits in state* [*attended by* BROKER, STATUTE, BAND, WAX, *and* MORTGAGE]' (II.v.43.SD1-3), a *tableau vivant* that seems tailor-made for the discovery space.[101] In fact, given the obviously allegorical significance of Pecunia and her party, I wonder if original audience members may have recalled in this moment Volpone's exhortation to Mosca to '[o]pen the shrine that I may see my saint' (*Volp.* I.i.2), a line that almost certainly signalled the revelation of the magnifico's wealth in the discovery space.[102] Carlson has proposed the interesting idea that theatre (a term that he uses to refer both to performance and to the physical environment that contains it, and which he frequently seems to conceive in terms of the playhouse and repertory system identifiable with the early modern theatre) is always

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[101] Gurr, *Shakespearean Stage,* p.200.

[102] *Volp.,* I.i.2n. Admittedly, to make this connection an audience would have had to have been long-standing and wide-ranging playgoers, as the original *Volpone* discovery space would have been at the Globe, the first playhouse to host the play in March 1606; the only record of a Blackfriars performance was over thirty years later, on 27 October 1638.
'Performance Archive,' in *The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Ben Jonson Online,* <http://universitypublishingonline.org/cambridge/benjonson/k/browse/performance/start=0/title:%22volpone%22/> [accessed 4 May 2016].

'haunted by its predecessors,'[103] and that this 'haunting' manifests itself to theatre audiences in the 'recycling' of various theatrical elements: including the bodies of familiar repetory actors, stage properties or pieces of set; the echoing of lines, episodes of action or scenes between plays or other forms of performance; even the repetition of the same play or performance with a different set of artistic and technical personnel. The point is highly speculative, but if Jonson's original audience were able to witness both *Volpone* and *The Staple* (and possibly in the same venue)*,* I wonder if Pecunia's discovery space staging would allow the later play to accrue additional reverberations when the well-known character of Volpone, to use Carlson's term, 'ghosts' the Infanta's otherwise blandly positive character,[104] the moment providing a visual and spatial cue to the audience, imbuing the Infanta of the Mines with the sort of unpleasant acquisitive associations that had previously swirled around the old magnifico.[105]

Aside from the central doorway's association with Pecunia, there is also a strong possibility that the properties used to denote the Staple itself appeared from this area too, a possibility that would allow these two points of focus to 'ghost' one another throughout the play so that they cohere together in the minds of the audience. Jonson's strange interruption of the printed text at the end of Act II with the address 'To The Readers' promises that '[i]n this following Act, the Office is opened and shown' (*Staple,* To The Readers.1), a statement that Parr suggests may have been realised through the revelation of the Office's furniture by throwing back the curtains on a booth,[106] which due to its importance and the size of some of its contents would most sensibly be located in the central area. Jonson's paratextual intervention concerning the Office, which follows immediately after Gossip Expectation's complaint that '[t]hey have talked on't, but we see't not open yet' (Second Intermean.38), suggests that III.i is intended as the Staple's grand reveal, but its earlier appearance in I.iv, which, if the Register is to be trusted, is indicated by several pieces of potentially bulky stage properties, including desks, a table, carpet and a chair (I.iv.1-2), as well as the 'several rolls and files' of news that Cymbal later

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[103] Marvin Carlson, *The Haunted Stage: The Theatre as Memory Machine* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2003), p.8.

[104] Carlson, p.2, and *passim*. The idea of ghosting will be discussed more fully in chapter 4.

[105] For more on the thematic and performative connections between *Volpone* and *The Staple,* see Alan C. Dessen, *Jonson's Moral Comedy.* The probable use of the discovery space to display tableaux depicting wealth is not limited to Jonson either, cf. the opening of *The Jew of Malta,* which shows '*BARABAS discovered in his counting house, with heaps of gold before him' (*Christopher Marlowe, *The Jew of Malta,* in *The Complete Plays,* ed. by J.B. Steane (London: Penguin, 1969), I.i.0.SD.1-2).

[106] Jonson, *Staple,* ed. by Parr, 'To The Readers,' 1n.

claims to reside in this room (I.v.5), may also have been brought through this central space. As with its possible use in *The Alchemist*¸ the deployment of the central space for the 'grand reveal' moments associated with Pecunia and the Staple help to establish both as dramatically central¸ and would perhaps go some way to giving a spatio-performative unity to a play that has been seen as peculiarly erratic and de-centred.[107]

In fact it is worth asking why Pecunia, whose attractive qualities easily rival those of the News Office, is not acknowledged in the play's title, as although the anticipatory description of and visits to the Staple form some of the play's most obviously striking moments, it is fair to say that its imaginative dominance is due more to its novelty than its time onstage. Despite being a *locus* foregrounded in its play's title, the Staple's presence, either onstage or by reputation, is surprisingly slight: there is Barber's description and Pennyboy Junior's enthusiastic response to it (I.ii-iii); its physical appearance onstage (I.iv-vi and III.i-iii); and Barber's description of its destruction in (V.i)—by these rough measurements, the much touted News Office takes up less than half of the play. By contrast, Pecunia is central to the scenes at Pennyboy Senior's house (II.v); is present at the Staple (III.i-iii) and is the subject of the conversation between Cymbal and Pennyboy Senior at the latter's house (III.iv); is present and once again centre of attention in the scenes at the Devil Tavern (IV.ii-iv); before serving to resolve the plot's difficulties by marrying Pennyboy Junior at the play's close (V.vi). Shut up with her companions in the house of the miserly Pennyboy Senior, she is also courted by Cymbal, who wishes 'to draw her' to the Staple (I.vi.58), and receives visits from Piedmantle (II.ii), Fitton, Almanac, Shunfield, and Madrigal (II.iv), as well as Pennyboy Junior (II.v).

The attention Pecunia receives clearly identifies her as a rival *locus* to the Staple, and the comparative magnetic attraction that each exerts on the play's characters would have been exacerbated if, as suggested above, the tableau of Pecunia and company in II.v and the physical positioning of the Staple had been the same place. The splitting of attention between these two centres would certainly account for the disunity that some have

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[107] See Devra Rowland Kifer, '*The Staple of News:* Jonson's Festive Comedy,' *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900,* 12:2 (1972), pp. 329-344 (p.329), who cites Ward (1899), Thorndike, (1929); and Palmer (1934) as strong critics of the play's disunity of form. Kifer's more positive interpretation of the play follows more recent criticism by Townsend, Partridge, Thayer, and Knoll. Perhaps most appropriately for the *logos* focus of this chapter, though, see Richard Levin, '*The Staple of News,* The Society of Jeerers, and Canters' College,' *Philological Quarterly* 44:4 (1965), pp.445-453, who argues that the play's main thematic focus is on the three groups of his essay's title, which are all themselves manifestation of 'common abuses of language' (p.447).

perceived in the play, but one could see both *loci* conforming to a larger purpose if one follows the opinion of Kifer, who argues that *The Staple* is unified by a 'festive' theme organised around the prodigal-son narrative of Pennyboy Junior.[108] In this reading, both Staple and Pecunia represent the sort of worldly concerns—one that must be resisted; one that must be tamed and appropriated—whose disunity can be explained away when the play is seen more as a *Bildungsroman* or psychomachia for the recalcitrant Pennyboy.[109] Consequently, I would suggest that, although *The Staple'*s action appears nowhere near as concentrated as *The Alchemist'*s clockwork mechanism or the Great-Idea-driven Aristophanic comedies, the fact that both Pecunia and the Office 'ghost' one another thematically, and that this ghosting is enforced spatially with their appearance from the same part of the stage, the centripetal dynamic that is so prominent in *The Alchemist* and the two Aristophanic plays is still reproduced in this later play.

# VI

I would like to add to the previous section by making a more general point, as I believe the centripetal drive of the four plays is in fact a high-paced version of the sort of spatio-kinetic dynamic that is naturally encouraged by the stage layout and dramaturgical practices of Jonson and Aristophanes' theatrical *milieux.* Bradley, in a study of the movement of Elizabethan plays from text to performance that has proved influential with later performance theorists (including Womack and Turner), argues that '[i]t is not an exaggeration to say that the action of an Elizabethan play *consists* of entrances;' with actors' movements to and from the stage imposing a level of 'order and discipline' on performance, the constant recombination of characters allowing for progress or shifts in action, tempo, time and place.[110] In Bradley's view it is the scene—a fairly small structural unit governed by the entry of a character or characters, and whose use is also traceable in England's native, non-classical theatrical traditions—that forms the basis of early modern dramaturgical practice, as its use emphasises a dynamic of 'continuous performance' and 'high-speed staging,'[111] with fresh characters coming onstage to replace those in the

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[108] Kifer, p.330.

[109] Kifer, p.331.

[110] Bradley, *Text to Performance,* p.23-24, emphasis in original.

[111] Bradley, *Text to Performance,* p.6; Gurr, *Shakespearean Stage,* p.219.

previous scene.[112] However, the fact that the scene as structural unit and continuous performance as performative dynamic are the foundational principles of early modern dramaturgical practice has been obscured by the neoclassical critical tradition—derived from Donatus' influential commentary on Terence—of dividing plays into acts.[113] Act-division was a practice endorsed by the sixteenth-century editions of the Roman playwrights, with the plays of Seneca—as influential to Renaissance tragedy as Terence was to comedy—being particularly amenable to such division,[114] and as a result gained such traction that they would be adopted by those playwrights—including, of course, Jonson—who wished the form of their printed playtexts to share the same artistic and cultural prestige as the ancients. The supreme irony of this practice is that Donatus based his employment of act divisions on fragmentary commentaries by Varro on Plautus and Terence, as well as a contentious passage in Horace's *Ars Poetica,*[115] and although he endorsed this structural model recognised that it did not always fit the classical texts, which were, like their early modern counterparts, also intended for continuous performance.[116] The result was that the dramatic shape of both ancient and early modern plays were forced to fit a Procrustean critical mould that contributed new interpretative difficulties at the same time as appearing to assert a(n artificial) degree of structural uniformity.[117]

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[112] Cf. Jones, *Scenic Form,* p.3, who sees the scene as the 'primary dramatic unit'; and Turner, p.37.

[113] Bradley, *Text to Performance,* p.7; Baldwin, *Five Act Structure, passim.*

[114] Jones,*Scenic Form,* p.67.

[115] Turner, p.179. The Horatian text is: '*Neve minor quinto, neu sit productior actu / Fabula quae posci volt et spectata reponi:'* 'Nor must the fable, that would hope the fate / Once seen to be again called for an played, / Have more or less than just five acts' (Jonson's translation). See Ben Jonson, *Horace, of the Art of Poetry*, ll.270-272 [Latin, ll.189-190]. Jonson had underlined this section in his copy of Horace (see 270-272n.).

[116] F.H. Sandbach, *The Comic Theatre of Greece and Rome* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1977), p.113. See also pp.77-102 (esp. p.87), where Sandbach suggests that the apparent traces of act divisions in the Roman plays, particularly in Plautus, are less an indication of breaks in action and more a structural echo of their Greek New Comic sources (including Menander), plays which did seem to include breaks in action that would have been filled by the chorus, which had lost its pre-eminence from the Old Comic period and now performed a role closer to *intermezzi* entertainment. See also R.L. Hunter, 'The Comic Chorus in the Fourth Century,' *ZLE* 36 (1979), pp. 23-38.

[117]Duckworth, p.98. For a good discussion of the sort of disjunctions this critical imposition has placed between literary and performative readings of dramatic 'texts,' see Jones, *Scenic Form,* pp. 66-88 (esp. p.67). Jones argues that much Shakespearean criticism, by unthinkingly accepting the act divisions of the First Folio and of Nicholas Rowe's later edition, frequently overlooks the fact that many of Shakespeare's plays do not fit this structure, and that in dramatic terms it is more profitable to think of his plays frequently being split into 'two unequal movements,' with the division coming roughly at the end of Act III (p.68).

As Bradley puts it, the early modern dramatists 'spoke of Acts, but they wrote in Scenes,'[118] paying lip-service to dramatic conventions imposed by the literary incarnations of the ancient plays while continuing to prioritise making their works stage- rather than page-worthy. Jonson, for all his literary and classical pretensions, is certainly not exempt from the professional dramatists' ambivalent attitude,[119] but we do encounter a problem with the 'continuous staging' theory if we remember that both of Jonson's plays were intended for the Blackfriars, which, as an indoor playhouse, required inter-act pauses so that the candles in the hall's chandeliers and wall sconces be trimmed or replaced.[120] According to Gurr these pauses were short, perhaps no more than a minute, the equivalent of approximately thirty lines of verse,[121] and were incorporated more from technical than artistic considerations; nonetheless, dancing and music were frequently employed to fill these intervals, and there is reason to think that this courtly approach to theatrical presentation had a secondary function in promoting these playhouses as privileged spaces.[122] There is therefore a curious irony in the fact that this practical necessity of hall playhouse performances eventually established the convention of inter-act pauses that mirrored those act-divisions placed in Renaissance editions of classical texts, achieving the kind of impact on early modern dramaturgy that these publications did not achieve on their own.[123]

Having said all this, does knowledge of these inter-act pauses substantially affect our reception of Jonson's plays, and does it at all relate to Aristophanes' dramaturgical practice? The two tables below illustrate the relation between units of what I will call 'narrative action' (sections of the performance that are involved with plot progression: unhighlighted in table 1.5 and highlighted in light grey in table 1.6) and 'paused action' (sections of the performance not directly involved in narrative progression: highlighted in

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[118] Bradley, *Text to Performance,* p.6.

[119] See Turner, pp.38-39, who argues that although scholars have
'typically taken Jonson at his word and have regarded him as England's first neo-classical dramatist [...] it is all the more important to insist on the enduring influence of Elizabethan stage practice' on his work as well.

[120] Gurr, *Shakespearean Stage,* p.217. Jonson actually allows this practicality to intrude into the Induction to *The Staple,* which features '*TIREMEN enter[ing] to mend the lights*' (Ind.40.SD.1).

[121] Gurr, *Shakespearean Stage,* p.219, using Rafe's Maylord speech from the last interact of *The Knight of the Burning Pestle* as an example, claims that these breaks 'were designed to last the length of no more than thirty lines of verse, little more than a minute.'

[122] Gurr, *Shakespearean Stage,* p.219.

[123] The convention of inter-act pauses even spread to the amphitheatre playhouses, which, as outdoor venues, clearly did not need these intervals for lighting purposes, but instead used them to claim a point of similarity with their more expensive hall counterparts. Gurr, *Shakespearean Stage,* p.217.

dark grey in both tables); additionally, table 1.5 provides a line count for each individual structural unit and a running line count for each play, with this information transposed into graphic form in table 1.6. For Jonson, the units of 'paused action' are represented by paradramatic material such as the prologues, intermeans and epilogues, with the inter-act pauses in *The Alchemist,* whose length is unknown, being represented by Gurr's thirty line estimate;[124] in Aristophanes pauses are represented by sections dominated by the chorus (the *parodos* and *parabasis*). This tabulation is, of course, open to contention. I have, for instance, chosen to ignore the small choral odes that can be found embedded within some of the units of plot action,[125] and some may object to my reference to the choral units as 'not directly involved in narrative progression'—I think both choices are defensible, though, as in the former the short choral contributions are much more integrated within the action of the scene; with the latter, and despite my agreement that the *parodos* and *parabasis* are absolutely integral to the plays' didactic function, I think it equally apparent that they do not necessarily contribute to the advancement of plot (this will be discussed further in chapter 2). I would also like to highlight that my distinction between 'narrative' and 'paused' sections is not synonymous with 'illusionistic' and 'non-illusionistic.' The illusionistic/non-illusionistic dichotomy is perhaps justifiable in Jonson's two plays, which despite containing frequent metatheatrical elements largely limit the intra-act action to illusionistic presentation, with this illusionism dropping most obviously in the intermeans.

Aristophanes, however, wrote for a theatre whose notion of presentation was decidedly non-illusory,[126] and it would be wrong here to suggest that the differences between narrative and paused action signalled an exchange of illusionistic presentation for non-illusionistic, or vice versa. Instead, it might be better to say that these shifts are a 'renegotiation' of the [theatrical] contract,'[127] marking a change of 'performance modes and methods of relating to its audience,' a process that used non-illusory and illusory techniques without distinguishing them as such.[128]

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[124] I have assigned each of the *Alchemist* intermeans a length of thirty lines, roughly corresponding to the amount of time Gurr judges to be average for these pauses (see fn. 121 above).

[125] See, for example *Clouds*, ll.700-706, 949-958; *Birds,* ll.451-459, 1553-1564.

[126] See G.M. Sifakis, *Parabasis and Animal Chorus: A Contribution to the History of Attic Comedy* (London: Athlone Press, 1971); J.L. Styan, *Drama, Stage and Audience* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975); Slater, *Spectator Politics* pp.6-7; McLeish, p.92.

[127] Slater, *Spectator Politics,* p.3.

[128] Slater, *Spectator Politics,* p.21.

Table 1.5. Line count of structural units and running line count for *Clouds, Birds, The Alchemist,* and *The Staple of News*.[129]

| *Clouds* (1510 lines) | *Birds* (1765 lines) | *The Alchemist* (3061 lines [3197 lines with intermeans]) | *The Staple of News* (2902 lines) |
|---|---|---|---|
| Prologue 1-262 | Prologue 1-208 | Prologue 1-24 | Induction 61 |
| Parodos 263-363 (100) | Parodos 209-351 (142) | Act I 25-536 (512) | Prologue 62-91 (30) |
| Quasi-half-*agon* 364-475 (111) | Battle scene 352-434 (82) | Intermean I (30) | Act I 92-598 (507) |
| Transition scene 476-509 (33) | Iambic transition scene 435-450 (15) | Act II 572-1329 (758) | Intermean I 599-661 (63) |
| Parabasis I 510-626 (116) | Agon 451-638 (187) | Intermean II (30) | Act II 662-1225 (564) |
| Iambic syzygy 627-813 (186) | Iambic transition scene 639-675 (36) | Act III 1364-1889 (525) | Intermean II 1226-1278 (53) |
| Iambic transition scene 814-888 (74) | Parabasis I 676-800 (124) | Intermean III (30) | Act III 1279-1792 (514) |
| Proagon 889-948 (59) | Iambic syzygy 801-902 (101) | Act IV 1924-2665 (741) | Intermean III 1793-1835 (43) |
| Agon I 949-1104 (155) | Parabasis II 1058-1117 (59) | Intermean IV (30) | Act IV 1836-2345 (510) |
| Iambic transition scene 1105-1113 (8) | Iambic syzygy 1118-1266 (148) | Act V 2700-3197 (497) | Intermean IV 2346-2417 (72) |
| Parabasis II 1114-1130 (16) | Iambic scenes and lyric interludes 1269-1493 (224) | | Act V 2418-2888 (471) |
| Stasimon 1303-1320 (17) | Iambic syzygy 1494-1705 (211) | | Epilogue 2889-2902 |
| Iambic scene (or proagon) 1321-1344 (23) | Exodos 1706-1765 (59) | | |
| Agon II 1345-1451 (106) | | | |
| Final scene 1452-1510 (58) | | | |

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[129] The designation of structural units in Aristophanes' plays is taken from Arthur Pickard-Cambridge, *Dithyramb, Tragedy and Comedy,* 2nd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962), pp.216-218, 222-224.

Table 1.6. Distribution of plot action and paused action in *Clouds, Birds, The Alchemist,* and *The Staple of News.*
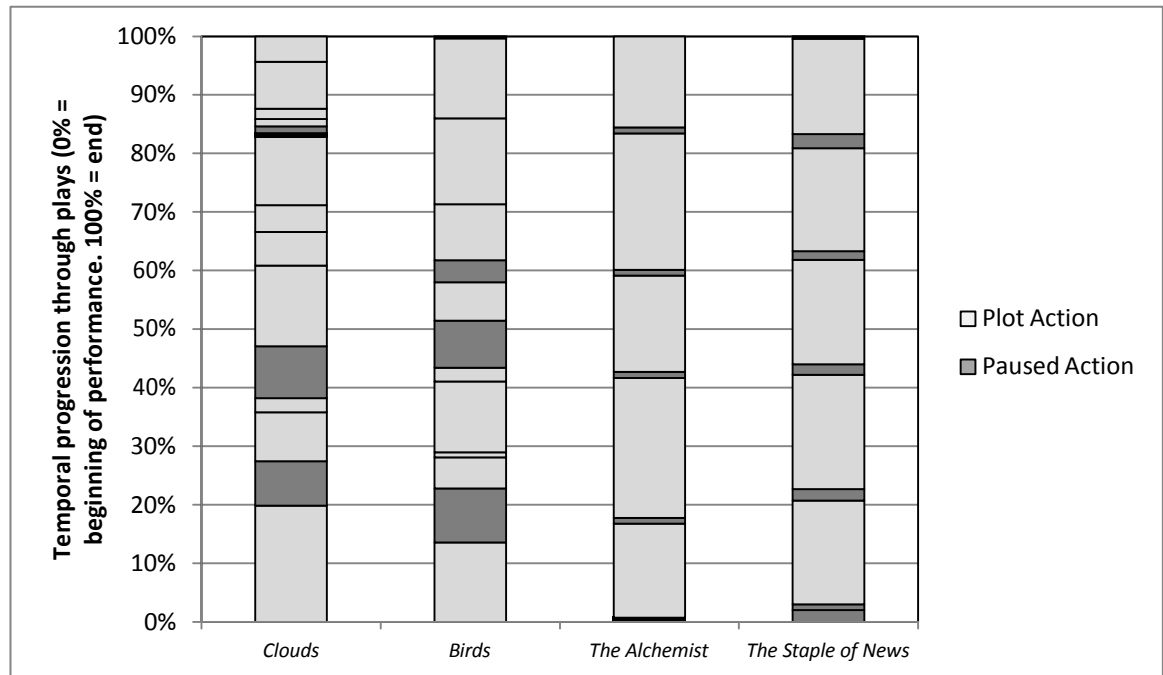


Both tables reveal a surprising regularity in the dispersal of plot and paused action (the latter highlighted in grey in table 1.5) across the plays. In the Aristophanic plays this is less pronounced, but both include pauses in their *parodoi* and *parabaseis* (*Clouds:* ll.263-363, 510-626; *Birds:* ll.209-351; 676-800), which come approximately one-fifth and half-way through their plays' total action, with their second *parabaseis,* despite occupying significantly different positions, appearing in the second half. In Jonson, the plot and paused action distribution is even more regular, and although both plays differ in length it is surprising how uniformly the action is suspended, with the pauses dividing the acts into fairly regular fifths of the plays' total action.

I am not suggesting a like-for-like comparison between plot and paused action in Jonson and Aristophanes, but it is worth drawing attention to this dynamic in the light of my comments about the plays' centripetal force. Beacham, commenting specifically on Plautus' *Casina,* remarks that the occasional use of a cleared stage in that play constitutes a 'dramaturgical holding of breath,'[130] providing a brief moment of calm that helps throw the extreme pace and franticness of the action that precedes and follows it into sharper relief. I think it hugely significant that the pauses in action produce similar 'holdings of

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[130] Beacham, p.104.

breath' in these four plays. Table 1.7 provides a summary of the plot action that occurs immediately before and after these pauses, and it is instructive to note that they frequently form a buffer before significant phases of action.

Table 1.7. 'Holdings of breath' in *Clouds, Birds, The Alchemist,* and *The Staple of News*.

| *Clouds* | *Birds* | *The Alchemist* | *The Staple of News* |
|---|---|---|---|
| (1)ll.263-363: *parodos* - after Socrates' appearance on the *mekhane* - before Strepsiades is admitted into the Reflectory | (1) ll.209-351: *parodos* – after Peisetaerus and Euelpides have applied to Tereus for admittance to the land of the birds - before the pair are threatened by the bird chorus | (1) ll.537-571: Intermean I – after the tripartite have introduced and dealt with Dapper and Drugger - before the arrival of Mammon and Surly | (1) l.599-661: Intermean I – after introduction of characters and first sight of the Staple - before the revelation of Pennyboy Senior and Pecunia |
| (2) ll.510-626: *parabasis* I – after Strepsiades has entered the Reflectory; - before Socrates has realised Strepsiades is unteachable | (2) ll.676-800: *parabasis* I – after Peisetaerus and Euelpides have been accepted - before the pair re-enter with wings | (2) ll.1330-1363: Intermean II – after the tripartite have introduced and dealt with Mammon, Surly, Ananias and Drugger - before the return of Ananias with Tribulation | (2) l.1226-1278: Intermean II – after Pennyboy Junior has met Pecunia - before the opening of the Staple |
| (3) ll.1114-1130: *parabasis* II – after the loss of the Better Argument to the Worse, and Pheidippides' acceptance into the Reflectory - before Strepsiades goes to collect his son (supposedly a month later) | (3) ll.1058-1117: *parabasis* II – after Peisetaerus has dismissed the human applicants to Cloudcuckooville - before the city walls are built and the god delegation arrives | (3) ll.1890-1923: Intermean III – after a meeting with Ananias and Tribulation, as well as Drugger and Kastril, and Dapper's first meeting with the 'Queen of Fairy' - before Mammon's arrival waiting for the stone | (3) ll.1793-1835: Intermean III – after the play's second Staple scene - before the scene in the Devil Tavern |
| (4) ll.1303-1320: stasimon [not noted in tables above] – after Strepsiades takes Pheidippides home - before Strepsiades realises his son is uncontrollable | | (4) ll.2666-2699: Intermean IV – after the laboratory's 'explosion' and Surly's attempted revelation - before the return of Lovewit | (4) ll.2346-2417: Intermean IV – after Pennyboy Canter's revelation and Pennyboy Junior's fall from grace - before Pennyboy Junior's redemption |

Part of the function of these pauses is to provide a sense of temporal disruption similar to Bakhtin's literary concept of the 'chronotope,'[131] which gives a sort of logic to plot elements that would take longer to complete in 'real-time'—such short passages of time are implied in *Clouds* (2) and (4), *Birds* (2) (3), and all of the pauses in *The Staple*, and this disruption is especially emphasised in *Clouds* (3), which covers a period of thirty days, the longest temporal break in any of the extant Old Comedies. These pauses therefore exert a dual, but contradictory function: when they mark a break between continuous phases of action they help rupture the co-temporality of real and stage time, giving the audience an attendant sense of dislocation from the action; but when used to link scenes that have made either spatial or temporal leaps they have the effect of imposing a unity on what could otherwise seem to be series of unrelated events.

I do not wish to overstate this sense of 'dislocation' in these three plays; real and stage time were not typically co-terminous in either the Greek or early modern theatres, and audiences were consequently comfortable with the convention; but the extreme temporal compression already present in *The Alchemist*—which, as stated earlier, is extremely loyal to the unity of time—makes these pauses much more keenly felt in that play in particular. I will give two examples: the first is *Alchemist* (Table 1.7, section 1), which forms the bridge between Doll announcing Mammon's arrival with Surly 'Coming along at the far end of the lane, / Slow of his feet, but earnest of his tongue / To one that's with him' (I.iv.7-9), and the pair's entry, separated only from Doll's speech by a monologue of Subtle's and the conjectured 30 lines of Intermean I. The second, from *Alchemist* (Table 1.7, section 4), covers the interval between Face desperately resuming 'mine old shape' of Jeremy the butler and ordering Subtle and Doll to tidy the house (IV.vi.120) and the reappearance of Lovewit on his doorstep with his perplexed neighbours. What is so striking about these two moments—and which is, incidentally, shared by the play's other two intermeans—is that there is a sense of continuous action running across the dividing line of the acts, and that it would be in keeping with the play's high tempo to perform this action of, say, Mammon and Surly entering for Act II as soon as Subtle exits at the end of Act I. And yet, if the act divisions were enforced as strictly in the Blackfriars

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[131] M.M. Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays,* ed. by Michael Holquist, trans. by Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1981), pp.84-258.

as Gurr thinks they may have been, it is interesting to consider that this temporal continuity *does not happen,* and that the intermean acts as a 'dramaturgical holding of breath,' a pause that provides a few minutes' extended tension as the audience expects the arrival of Mammon, Surly, or Lovewit. But what is the dramaturgical advantage of all this breath-holding? One might say that these inter-act pauses also offer Jonson's audiences the same opportunities for mental reflection that one can discern in the *parabaseis* of Aristophanes, which are themselves concerned with pointing out their playwright's excellent qualities and pointing their plays' themes towards issues that are relevant to Athenian society. The effect of these pauses in Jonson is clearly not as socially or politically profound as that found in Aristophanes, but they certainly afford a quiet(er) moment that allows their audiences to gain a heightened appreciation of the frantic action that surrounds them.

*The Alchemist'*s hyper-compressed timeframe makes it a particularly good example of the effect a pause in action can have on a play's centripetal drive, but it is noteworthy that the same lulls are apparent in the other three plays. I am not saying that the pauses in Jonson's action are derived from Aristophanes—as already mentioned, the intermeans are a result of the very practical necessity for maintaining the light sources in the indoor playhouses, as well as an opportunity to imitate aristocratic interludic convention—but I think the Blackfriars intermeans bring a serendipitous point of convergence between the two playwrights in that both had to contend with lulls in action for plays that at first sight appear to have a relentless, centripetal impetus. The action of all four plays is already dependent on arrested expectations—in *Clouds* one might consider how the desire for the Great Idea is drawn out through the extended door-knocking scene outside the Reflectory (l.132ff.)*,* or Strepsiades' final hesitation before he eventually enters Socrates' school (l.505ff.); or the protagonists' aforementioned prolonged battle for acceptance in *Birds*; or the divided focus of attention provided by Pecunia and the News Office in *The Staple,* which sees the play's characters moving about between several locations in search of the next novelty; or *The Alchemist,* whose entire structure is built upon the tripartite's careful delaying of their gulls' desires. Such delays are already built into the narrative of the plays, but the addition of these units of stasis (enforced in Jonson's case by his architectural environment, in Aristophanes' by dramaturgical convention) help draw out the tension even more, providing, as Beacham demonstrates with *Casina*, cold spots of pace that make the frenetic action that surrounds them all the more palpable. Jonson deliberately uses these intermeans in his later Blackfriars plays to provide further commentary on the main

action,[132] a sign that he recognised their capacity as a liminal artistic space that could be filled with additional material, and these four examples here certainly reveal the potential that such moments had to increase comic tension, stretching the play's elastic a little tighter so that it will be all the more satisfying when it eventually snaps.

# VII

Section IV has already demonstrated that Aristophanes and Jonson both wrote for theatre spaces that were practical, versatile, minimalist, and, most importantly, reliant on the audience to paint the blank canvas of the stage with their own imaginations. This last expectation was well-established by convention, and will be the focus of the final sections of this chapter. States, speaking specifically about Shakespearean and Aeschylean theatre, claims that both of these playwrights were especially powerful exponents of 'rhetorical scenery,'[133] using the language of their plays rather than elaborate scenography to make the 'kingdom for a stage' that they wanted their audience to see and hear. Perhaps States is correct in giving pre-eminence to these two playwrights, but they were certainly not alone in their use of 'rhetorical scenery;' indeed this dramatic mode is very much bound up with the dramaturgical strategies typical to fifth-century Athens and early modern London. One might laugh at the theatrical naivety of the mechanicals in *A Midsummer Night's Dream,* as their painfully literal interpretation of Pyramus and Thisbe leads them to look up in an almanac whether 'the moon shine the night we play our play' (*MND,* III.i.44), and their concerns about the power of stage verisimilitude results in Snug, fearing for the constitutions of his female audience, seeing fit to remind the audience that he is not really a lion (III.i.32-40), but to the early modern theatregoer there would have been nothing inherently ridiculous in Quince calling a rehearsal in the forest outside Athens and announcing '[t]his green plot shall be our stage, this hawthorn-breake our tiring house' (III.i.3-4). Lieblein sees Quince's declaration representing an attitude to drama that was conventional in Shakespeare's era, and broadly speaking to theatre in general, that 'it does not take much to make a theatre [...w]ords in dramatic discourse designate; they turn

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[132] Cf. *The Staple of News* and *The Magnetic Lady,* which both make use of interact choric commentators. The dramatic and structural function of these choral groups will be discussed more fully in chapter 2.

[133] Bert O. States, *Great Reckonings in Little Rooms: On the Phenomenology of Theatre* (Berkeley; Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1985), p.54.

space into a place.'[134] The same link between words and place are can be found in Greek theatre, too. According to States:

> [W]hen the blind Oedipus came through the central portal of the *skene*, the audience 'saw' a palace much different from the one it had perceived when these same doors opened to reveal, say, the corpses of Agamemnon and Cassandra in Aeschylus's earlier play. Even if nothing has changed scenographically, the play appropriates the stage as part of its qualitative world as established by its poetry.[135]

States also claims that in these theatrical traditions where an actor's words have such power in constructing the 'qualitative world' for their audience there is a 'certain tension' between the imaginative, poetic world of the playtext and the neutral, but real, space of the performance area that contains it.[136] Paradoxically, an audience member's experience of the theatrical event would be cheapened—in a certain sense made less immediate or 'real'—if too many 'real' reminders of the world—set, elaborate costume or props—intruded onto the poetic world of the stage to provide a restrictive representation of something that, if still contained within the audience's mind, would hold an infinite number of resonances and forms.[137]

In these final sections I aim to show that Jonson and Aristophanes both exploited the tension that States refers to, playing with what the audience could and could not see and hear on their stages. Once again, the tiring house or *skene* wall is key, but I would now like to move my analysis away from this back wall's role as focus for centripetal energy and towards its importance as a threshold between reality and fantasy. More specifically, I will concentrate on the doors, the literal thresholds in these stage walls, as it is only through these portals that any 'magic' of the playwrights' imaginative space can be glimpsed. Bachelard, in *The Poetics of Space*—a phenomenological and psychoanalytic analysis of the house as idea and architectural structure—provides a useful starting point for considering the symbolic importance of these doors, which excite curiosity about their possibilities when open and their mysteries when closed:

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[134] Leanore Lieblein, 'Green Plots and Hawthorn Brakes: Towards a Definition of Performance Space in the Renaissance,' in *Comparative Critical Approaches,* ed. by Beecher and Ciavolella, pp. 119-126 (pp.119-120).
[135] States, p.53.
[136] States, p.56.
[137] States, p.28. Cf. Fricker, who argues that the 'reported scene,' an account of offstage actions by onstage characters, stimulates audience imagination more than its onstage counterpart. Like States, Fricker also places emphasis on the 'word-scenery' created by actors (p.9).

But how many daydreams we should have to analyse under the simple heading of Doors! For the door is an entire cosmos of the Half-open. In fact, it is one of its primal images, the very origin of a daydream that accumulates desires and temptations: the temptation to open up the ultimate depths of being, and the desire to conquer all reticent beings. The door schematises two strong possibilities, which sharply classify two types of daydream. At times, it is closed, bolted, padlocked. At others, it is open, that is to say, wide open.[138]

The mystical importance that Bachelard invests in the image of the door, an 'entire cosmos of the Half-open,' will be important for these final sections, as I suggest that it is through the use of the stage doors in the walls of the tiring house or *skene* that Jonson and Aristophanes provide a visual and imaginative focal point for their Great Ideas, the possibilities of what lies beyond them giving imaginative substance to airy nothings. More specifically though, Bachelard's focus on the physical and metaphysical ambivalency of doors though leads to an interesting question for the four plays under discussion: just what lies behind Jonson and Aristophanes' stage doors, and how much of it does the audience get to see? The answer, although much is promised, is quite simple: 'not a lot.'

As already mentioned, the domestic space 'within' *The Alchemist*'s tiring house is fairly amorphous, containing as it does a number of rooms and passageways whose precise spatial relationship to one another is never made entirely clear. The laboratory itself is equally mysterious, although this seems entirely appropriate for its role as the personal dream factory for the play's gulls. These dreams vary in type and extravagance, summing up the huge number of uses to which the era thought alchemy could be put,[139] and range

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[138] Gaston Bachelard, *The Poetics of Space,* trans. by Maria Jolas, rpt. (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 1994), p.222.

[139] Alchemy, the mystical pseudo-science that was one aspect of a raft of related occult practices—including astrology, chiromancy, physiognomy, geomancy, and palmistry—had its roots in classical, Arabic, Chinese, and medieval sources, but had been revitalised in the Renaissance, first in fifteenth-century Florence, and then gradually spreading to the rest of Europe. Taking its quasi-spiritual, quasi-scientific justification from the doctrines of Neoplatonism and offshoots of Christian mysticism like Rosicrucianism, alchemy held a curiously ambiguous status—officially condemned by Church and State, yet claiming the interests of many leading intellectuals and eminent individuals, including William Lilly, Simon Forman, John Dee, and Walter Raleigh. Alchemy, and its two most famous endeavours—the transmutation of base metals into gold and the pursuit of the philosopher's stone—therefore intertwined the possibilities of material and spiritual gain; the practice was taken seriously by many in England, even, as indicated by the names above, by some of its greatest thinkers, and Queen Elizabeth genuinely regarded the alchemists' labours as a possible solution to the country's financial worries. As an occult and pseudo-scientific practice it was also open to ridicule and exploitation though, as shown by Holland and Sherman ('Introduction [*The Alchemist*], in *CWBJ*, III, pp.548-551), who cite numerous real-life cases that may have inspired the con-tricks found within *The Alchemist*. For more information on alchemy see Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic: Studies in Popular Beliefs in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century England,* rpt. (London: Penguin, 1991), esp. pp. 264-271; 301-332; 446-452;

from the more prosaic desires of the clerk Dapper, who requires a familiar '[t]o rifle with at horses and win cups' (I.i.193); and the newly set-up tobacconist, Drugger, who 'would be glad to thrive' by learning the correct arrangement of his shop to attract customers (I.iii.13); until it reaches its fantastical apogee in Mammon's ambition for the philosopher's stone, a desire that charges Lovewit's house with the fantastical associations of the Orient and the New World:

> MAMMON: [*to Surly*] Come on, sir. Now, you set your foot on shore
> In *novo orbe;* here's the rich Peru:
> And there within, sir, are the golden mines,
> Great Solomon's Ophir!
> (*Alch.,* II.i.1-4)

Mammon's use of the word 'within' is telling, as at no point does he, or the audience, see the promised 'golden mines' beyond. Indeed, if one is to take the tricksters at their word, the room 'within' seems full of all manner of marvels—Face mentions alchemical apparatus, 'your beech-coal, and your cursive waters, / Your crosslets, crucibles, and curcubites' (I.iii.102-103), as well as a 'perspective,' an optical instrument in which Kastril can descry the financial dealings of his fellow Londoners (III.iv.83-99); and Subtle refers to a 'chamber of demonstrations' wherein lies his 'grammar, and logic, / And rhetoric of quarrelling [...] / Drawn out in tables' (IV.ii.63-65). We see little evidence of any of this esoteric equipment by the play's end, when the triumphant Lovewit seeks to get the tripartite's dupes out of his house by describing the inner room that had served as the laboratory:

> LOVEWIT:                    Here I find
> The empty walls, worse than I left 'em, smoked,
> A few cracked pots and glasses, and a furnace,
> The ceiling filled with poesies of the candle,
> And madam with a dildo writ o' the walls.
> (*Alch.,* V.v.38-42)

It is noteworthy that Lovewit's description emphasises absence: the walls are 'empty,' as are the 'cracked pots and glasses,' and the only vestiges of occupation are the ethereal traces of smoke on the walls and ceiling, which give the sense that the laboratory has evaporated out of existence. The offstage laboratory has been inflated in the minds of

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756-771; also Margaret Healy, 'Alchemy, Magic and the Sciences,' in *Jonson in Context,* ed. by Sanders, pp.322-329.

characters and audience alike to a fantastical, absurd degree, but Lovewit's puncturing of this imaginative extravagance is precisely Jonson's point: in the end it has revealed itself to be, like the many fine words that the tripartite used to conjure it up, merely hot air.

In *The Staple of News* Jonson again deploys this trick of showing and withholding, allowing the language of his characters to do most of the former. We have to rely on the reports of others to give shape to Jonson's magnetic centre, but Thomas Barber, like Mammon, cannot resist describing the News Office in grandiose terms:

> THOMAS:                           Oh, sir, a staple of news!
> Or the New Staple, which you please.
> PENNYBOY JR:                           What's this?
> FASHIONER: An office, sir, a brave young office set up.
> [...]
> PENNYBOY JR:                           For what?
> THOMAS: To enter all the news, sir, o'the time—
> FASHIONER: And vent it as occasion serves! A place
> Of huge commerce it will be!
> PENNYBOY JR: [...]
> What is't, an office, Tom?
> THOMAS:                           Newly erected
> Here in the house, almost on the same floor,
> Where all the news of all sorts shall be brought,
> And there be examined, and then registered,
> And so be issued under the seal of the office,
> As staple news; no other news be current.
> [...]
> [...............................] Master Cymbal
> Is Master of the Office; he projected it.
> He lies here i'the house, and the great rooms
> He has taken for the office and set up
> His desks and classes, tables and his shelves—
>  (*Staple,* I.ii.22-23, 25-28, 31-36, 41-45)

The choice of the verb 'vent' is interesting in this context: apart from punning on 'vend,' the word could also denote '[t]o relieve or unburden (one's heart or soul) in respect of feelings or emotions'; '[t]o discharge, eject, cast or pour out'; '[o]f persons, animals, or their organs: To cast out, expel, or discharge, esp. by natural evacuation.'[140] Significantly this word and the general tenor of Barber's ebullient description had appeared in Jonson's earlier masque *News from the New World Discovered in the Moon* (staged at court on 6 January and 29 February, 1620), a production that also had England's nascent print

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[140] 'vent, n.2.,' 1b., 2a., 2b., in *OED Online,* 2nd ed., 1989.
<http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/6041?redirectedFrom=staple#eid> [accessed 15 Jan 2016].

industry as one of its dominant themes.[141] Jonson's repeated choice of 'vent' to describe the conveyance of news is telling, as in both works he signals the idea that the raw material of the news industry is ethereal, insubstantial, but also potentially an act of communicative flatulence, an uncontrollable and unpleasant emission that carries its stink to the furthest corners of the land.[142]

As with Subtle's laboratory, the News Office is therefore an amorphous, ambivalent site. It is claimed to lie 'i'th house, on the same floor' to Pennyboy Junior's residence (I.iii.64), but there is a sense of a huge imaginative space expanding beyond the tiring house wall, filled with the 'great rooms' that Cymbal has taken over for his project, set up with 'desks and classes, tables and shelves,' as well as a remarkable filing system wherein all the news of the land can be filtered:

> CYMBAL: Into authentical and apocryphal.
> FITTON: Or news of doubtful credit, as barbers' news.
> CYMBAL: And tailors' news, porters', and watermens' news.
> FITTON: Whereto, besides the *coranti*, and *gazetti*—
> CYMBAL: I have the news of the season—
> FITTON:                                  As vacation-news,
> Term-news and Christmas-news.
> CYMBAL:                         And news o' the faction.
> FITTON: As the Reformed news, Protestant news—
> CYMBAL: And Pontifical news, of all which several,
> The day-books, characters, precedents are kept,
> Together with the names of special friends—
> FITTON: And men of correspondence i'the country—
> CYMBAL: Yes, of all ranks and religions—
> FITTON: Factors and agents—
> CYMBAL:                     Liegers that lie out
> Through all the shires o'the kingdom.
> (*Staple,* I.v.9-21)

The audience are never given a view of the Staple in its entirety, and Cymbal's distinction between the onstage 'outer room' (I.v.2) and his mysterious reference to 'a room within' (I.v.2) to which he invites Pecunia and Pennyboy Junior to 'retire' when the News Office is suddenly inundated with customers (III.ii.112-113), reveals the same showing-withholding staging practice that is so apparent in *The Alchemist.* Nevertheless, what one might say is

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[141] Kifer, pp.329-330.

[142] There may be an additional malodorous association in the description of the Staple's officers as 'emissaries,' who very titles and occupation, as '[m]en employed outward [...] sent abroad / To fetch in the commodity' (I.ii.50-51), continue this sense of gaseous and noxious dispersal. See Jonson, *Staple,* ed. by Parr, Revels, I.ii.47n.

that Jonson is willing to reveal more of his magnetic centre than he has done previously. As already mentioned, it seems that III.i is the scene in which the Staple is most clearly 'opened and shown,' and its appearance is indicated in the text which Cymbal instructs his workers 'up, into your desks' and 'spread the rolls upon the table' (III.i.39-40), implying that a number of fairly large pieces of stage furniture have been brought onto the stage by this point, possibly during the Second Intermean.[143] I would add that an indication of the Staple's physical contents was probably also represented as early as I.iv, another scene in the Office, where the Register asks '[w]hat, are those desks fit now? Set forth the table, / the carpet and the chair' (I.iv.1-2). Clearly at this point too there was some requirement for scenic decoration, although, in deference to the centrepiece Staple scenes of Act III, perhaps only a smaller amount of stage furniture was brought out at this point, whetting audience curiosity but by no means sating it.

So far I have claimed that Jonson relies on his actors' language to supply the 'rhetorical scenery' for his two plays; this is particularly prominent in *The Alchemist,* as in *The Staple* he at least gives some indication of location through a few items of stage furniture. A similar reliance on *logos* can be discerned in Aristophanes' two plays, which, barring the large number of portable properties and the possible exception of those items of fixed set mentioned above (a fairly inobtrusive trio of statues and pots in *Clouds,* a few scattered rocks and an altar in *Birds*), also relies on the playtext to create the imaginative space behind the *skene* wall. In *Birds* this effect is particularly pronounced, for despite the grand architectural nature of Peisetaerus' project—'a single City of the Birds [...] completely encircl[ing] the whole of the air, and all this space between heaven and earth, with a wall of great baked bricks' (ll.550-552)—the only building materials brought onto the stage are the descriptive words supplied by the play's characters. It is notable that Tereus refers to Peisetaerus' Great Idea as a 'plan' ('*τοῖς λόγοις*': l.437),[144] and Slater has made a useful observation in pointing out that many of the stages that lead from these mere words to the creation of the city—the marking of perimeters, the bestowing of wings on successful

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[143] See Jonson, *Staple,* ed. by Parr, Revels, 'To The Readers,' 1n., which speculates that the Office may have been revealed by drawing back a curtain attached to an onstage booth. Parr does not specify where exactly this 'booth' may be located on the stage, but as per my argument in section V I think it likely that the spatial centrality of the discovery space would make the central doorway a likely candidate.

[144] Slater also notes that Tereus asks Peisetaerus to 'teach' ('*δίδαξον*', l.438) his plan to the birds, a moment that he connects explicitly to Aristophanes' own role as *κωμῳδοδιδάσκαλος* to his chorus (*Spectator Politics,* p.138).

applicants, the consecratory sacrificial ritual—are dependent on the constitutive power of *logos*, the ability of the utterance to bring into being that which did not previously exist.[145] But, of course, the irony attendant on this logocentrism is that it is not accompanied by any concrete evidence of the city itself. Perhaps Aristophanes gives a sly nod to this discrepancy in the scene where Peisetaerus tells Tereus to find the future site of Cloudcuckooville by looking into the sky:

> PEISETAERUS: Did you see anything?
> TEREUS: Yes, the clouds and the sky.
> PEISETAERUS: Well, this is surely a stage [πόλος] for the birds, isn't it?
> TEREUS: A stage [πόλος]? In what way?
> PEISETAERUS: A place for them, as one might say; but because it's the scene of activity [πολεῖται], and everything passes through it, it is at present called a stage [πόλος]. But if once you settle and fortify it, then instead of being called your stage [πόλος] it will be called your State [πόλις].
> (*Birds,* ll.178-184)

Sommerstein's translation of 'stage', 'scene of activity' and 'State' for 'πόλος' ('firmament', re-etymologised to refer to a dwelling-place for the birds[146]), 'πολεῖται' ('to be frequented, to be the scene of coming and going') and 'πόλις' ('city-state') nicely captures the alliteration and half-rhyme that elides together these three normally disparate words. The slipperiness of the language is representative not only of the creative power of *logos*, of which Peisetaerus is a master, but through the shifting connotations that link the intangible, airy 'πόλος' with the solid, earthly 'πόλις,' Aristophanes subtly exposes the physical impossibility that lies at the heart of Cloudcuckooville: the creation of a physical something to literally inhabit the airy nothing of the sky.

I see this moment as an apt representation of the sort of language strategies that Aristophanes uses throughout the rest of the play to conjure up the offstage site. It is significant, for instance, that the first action in founding the city, before it is even assigned a patron deity or its architectural plans are decided upon, is to name it (l.810), as this act foregrounds the invocatory power of language that lies at the heart of Peisetaerus' project. All building activity is left strictly offstage, such as when Peisetaerus instructs Euelpides to 'go off to the air and do some odd jobs for the wall-builders: fetch them up rubble, strip off and mix mortar, carry up a hod, fall off a ladder, post sentries, keep the

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[145] Slater, *Spectator Politics,* pp.132-149.
[146] This and following definitions taken from Aristophanes, *Birds,* 178-184n.

fires covered, run the rounds with a bell, and spend the night there' (l.840ff.). The audience of course never sees any of this happening, and there are obvious practical reasons why Cloudcuckooville cannot be built onstage, but Aristophanes takes imaginative advantage of the city's physical absence by creating a sense of impossible proportions when describing it: its walls are 'a hundred fathoms' high ('ἑκατοντορόγυιον,' l.1131), built with the aid of 'thirty thousand cranes' and 'ten thousand storks' ('τρισμύριαι γέρανοι,''πελαργοὶ μύριοι' ll.1136-1137, 1139), and 'so broad that Proxenides of Boaston and Theogenes could drive two chariots past each other in opposite directions along the top of it, with horses under their yokes as big as the wooden horse of Troy' (ll.1126-1129). As with *The Alchemist,* and to a lesser extent *The Staple,* the audience are left to do the building themselves, and the result is curiously ambiguous. From one perspective, the rhetorical scenery the audience supply is a marker of their creative collaboration and essential to Aristophanes' fantastical setting—there is no way any theatre-maker could create a convincing simulacrum of the bird-city onstage, so by not even trying the playwright acknowledges his own limitations while communicating his belief in the power of his words and of his spectators' imaginations. From another though, the lack of physical presence onstage raises questions about the power of Peisetaerus' smooth rhetoric, which has already helped him adapt his original utopianism without comment.[147] It is both appropriate and ironic that the most tangible substantiation of the protagonist's new world order comes via the central door and the *ekkyklema,* the stage house revealing a *tableau* of Peisetaerus surrounded by cooking implements, in the middle of preparing a dinner of birds 'found guilty of attempting to rebel against the bird democracy' (ll.1584-1585). This episode has been interpreted as a sinister use of the protagonist's newfound power in the bird city,[148] indicating that the new leader of Cloudcuckooville has moved on from his original scheme of a sort of free-love commune where all can live in happiness, their guts and groins suitably satisfied,[149] and has begun to embrace the autocratic

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[147] For excellent discussion of exactly what type of 'utopianism' *Birds* is meant to reflect, see Konstan, 'The Greek *Polis,*' in *City as Comedy,* ed. by Dobrov, who compares the 'Utopia unlimited' of *Birds* to the 'Utopia limited' of *Ecclesiazusae* and the 'Utopia still wanted' of *Wealth*; also Reckford, pp.330-364,
[148]Thomas K. Hubbard, 'Utopianism and the Sophistic City in Aristophanes,' in *The City as Comedy,* ed. by Dobrov, pp. 23-50 (p.25); Slater, *Spectator Politics,* p.147
[149] See Aristophanes, *Birds,* ll.128-161, where Peisetaerus describes his ideal city as one in which neighbours are constantly inviting one another to weddings and that fathers willingly approve of their attractive sons' sexual relations with other men, where Tereus adds that the bird life is one without money, and where Euelpides confirms that all will 'live the life of newly-weds' ('ὑμεῖς μὲν ἄρα ζῆτε νυμφίων βίον': l.161).

methods of governance he had rejected so forcefully in the play's opening lines.[150] Such a shift is even marked semantically by a subtle change in honorifics from 'Governor' ('ἄρχων,' l.1123) to 'monarch' ('τύραννον,' l.1708), and (literally) reaches its apotheosis in Peisetaerus' final appearance (l.1719) leading his new bride and bearing the thunderbolt of Zeus, his avian subjects 'reduced to a chorus of admirers.'[151] As earlier sections have established, the extent to which one can interpret Aristophanic plays as politicised events is still a very live issue, but in the light of Peisetaerus' changes in attitude it is at least worth considering how the probity of his language could be under scrutiny: how much of what our protagonist says is reality, and how much is fiction? I do not wish to overstate the effect of this element of the play, but as they left the theatre perhaps these alterations remained as a nagging doubt in the audience's minds, complicating the exact nature of what they had seen and heard, and what it says about Peisetaerus' motives. Such a possibility is increased by Aristophanes' chosen art form—which, in a perfect meeting of form and content, coincidentally but appropriately used the same methods of rhetorical sleight-of-tongue in order to convince its audience. Perhaps we as audience members are also left with the sense that the moral murkiness suggested by Peisetaerus' manipulation of *logos* implicates not only the character but his creator too.

If command over the slipperiness of *logos* is what allows Peisetaerus to achieve his Great Idea in *Birds*, and becomes the means by which this Great Idea is reified in the minds of the audience, *Clouds* goes a step further, as it is this very control and reification of *logos* itself that constitutes this play's fantastical scheme. As with the other three plays, the door in the *skene* wall becomes a portal to a fantastical realm; according to Strepsiades, it leads to the 'Reflectory for clever spirits,' inhabited by students, 'the charlatans, the palefaces,' led by the 'god-forsaken Socrates' (ll.102-104), 'who try to argue us into believing that the sky is a baking-cover, and we're the charcoal, and it's all around us. These people teach you, if you pay them, how to carry the day in argument, whether your cause is just or unjust' (ll.95-99). Control over *logos* lies at the heart of the sophists' business, and is the very ability that Strepsiades wants to acquire himself, and the play's decisive *agon* (ll.949-1104) between the Better and Worse Arguments ('Κρειττων Λογος'; 'Ηττων Λογος') foregrounds the central importance of the word still further. Nevertheless this *agon,*

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[150] See Aristophanes, *Birds* ll.125-126: 'TEREUS: Obviously you're hoping to live under an aristocracy. / PEISETAERUS: Me? Certainly not [...]' ('δῆλος εἶ ζητῶν'; 'ἐγώ, ἥκιστα[...].' Note that some manuscripts attribute the exchange to the Hoopoe and Euelpides.

[151] Konstan, 'The Greek *Polis*,' in *City as Comedy*, ed. by Dobrov, p.16.

rather than implying that *logoi* are a force for good, cheapens the power of the word when the two agonists allow their exchange to descend into a tawdry slanging-match. The Better Argument, accused by his opposite of being 'senile' ('*τυφογέρων*': l.908), casts himself as a representative of 'the old education' ('*τὴν ἀρχαίαν παιδείαν*': l.961) that demands the rigour, ascetism, and sexual control worthy of the men who triumphed at Marathon (l.986), and accuses the new education embodied in the 'faggot' ('*καταπύγων*': l.909) Worse Argument as encouraging indolence, physical softness and such affronts to traditional morality as adultery, pathic homosexuality (both l.990ff.), and father-beating (l.911) in the young Athenians of the day. The Worse Argument defeats his opponent with specious argumentation, firstly by pointing out that the encouragement of hot baths or frequenting the Agora cannot be seen as enervating because they were practised respectively by Heracles and Nestor, and therefore not worthy of opprobrium; secondly by turning his focus to the audience and getting the Better Argument to recognise that the 'wide-arsed' ('*τοὺς εὐρυπρώκτους*') constitute 'the majority' of Athens' grandees (ll.1097-1098), a joke that not only implicates Aristophanes' spectators with adulterous or homosexual practices but also suggests how widely the attitudes of the new learning have been embedded into Athenian society. It is notable that both Arguments rely on carrying the day with *ad hominem* attacks, and though the Better Argument makes a more robust defence of the old learning his desire to play the man rather than the ball sees him descending to the same sort of tricks as his opponent, and thereby makes victory inevitable for the latter, who is, after all, much more adept at this sort of casuistry. Aristophanes' *agon* between the two Arguments is no doubt entertaining, and is a useful way of fleshing out a Great Idea that has the danger of remaining a little too abstract, but its most significant effect is that the playwright uses the characterisation of these two figures—petty, pedantic, all too human—as a means to degrading the probity of *logos* in the play.

It is not only the ideas housed within the Socrates' school that come under scrutiny, but also its human residents. By describing the Reflectory's inhabitants as 'palefaces' ('*ὠχριῶντας*') Aristophanes mocks the sophists by implying that their occupation keeps them out of the light and away from regular social discourse, an impression enforced later when the inside of the Reflectory is compared to the 'cave of Trophonius,' a subterranean oracular shrine in Boeotia that carried additional unpleasant associations with the underworld (see l.508, and note). Such associations are not flattering in a *polis* that was

characterised by its intensely social and interpersonal culture,[152] but Strepsiades brings a far more serious charge when he labels the characters as 'charlatans' ('ἀλαζόνας')[153] in the thrall of a 'god-forsaken' ('κακοδαίμων') teacher, as he raises the public suspicion, active at the time of this play's composition, that sophistic teaching was specious, mercenary, and potentially morally threatening.[154] Whether Aristophanes took this public suspicion completely seriously or not, it is clear that he exploits the intellectual pretension of the new learning and the ridiculous characteristics of some of its proponents to their full comic potential, and he does this through a sustained use of stage machinery that lends substance to the Reflectory's *logos*-driven enterprise. The first of these is the grand reveal of the Reflectory's students, which was probably realised onstage through the use of the *ekkyklema*:

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[152] See, for example, Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination,* p.135, who argues that classical Greek society was an intensely exterior one, with no conception of private individuality.

[153] Interestingly, this term came to be applied to comic characters. See Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics,* 1108a. (II.xii-xiii), who compares the ἀλαζών, a character type of which the Roman *miles gloriosus* ('braggart soldier') is a representative, with the εἴρων**,** a dissembling character who uses the other as a sparring partner in comedy, and whose natural cunning allows them to eventually triumph. Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics,* trans. by H. Rackham, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1926).

[154] The charges that Aristophanes brings against the sophists (not to mention Socrates) in this play are more than a little unfair. The first of the sophists, as claimed by Plato in a work named after the man, was the fifth-century philosopher Protagoras (c.490-420BC), whose ideas became increasingly dominant in Athens during Aristophanes' writing career. Sophistry was popular in Athens because its promotion of *sophia* ('wisdom,' a term that could also be translated as 'expertise') emphasised the power of *logos*, and taught its students to 'marshall their thoughts so as to reach conclusions logically from fairly obvious premises,' with an emphasis on how formal rhetorical devices, thinking on both sides of a question, elegance of language and an understanding of audience psychology could all help the pupil to communicate and think in a more concise, effective manner (Broadie, pp.73-75). As Broadie points out, a large part of the sophists' remit was 'the study and teaching of communication-skills, so these skills were of great use to the debate-driven society of fifth-century Athens, where 'the expertise most at a premium was skill in civic speech: debate exhortation, pleading, formal eulogy' (pp.73-74). There was therefore nothing inherently wrong with sophistic teaching, and despite Plato's writings leading subsequent generations to view the sophists as morally equivocal and mercenary (see, for example, Plato's *The Sophist*), in reality this was a philosophical school that 'represented love of intellectual accomplishment for its own sake,' and in their challenge to conventional views about *physis* ('nature') and *nomos* ('law, custom') many of its adherents were able to further greatly the boundaries of scientific and philosophical enquiry (Broadie, p.76, 86). Unsurprisingly Socrates, the pre-eminent philosopher in Athens before his execution in 399BC, seems to have been associated in the popular consciousness with this movement; certainly Aristophanes, in placing him in his imagined Reflectory along with the other sophists, clearly thought that his audience would find the connection appropriate. However, although Socrates' questioning attitude and unconventional approach gave him some superficial points of similarity with the sophists, Plato was at great pains to distance his master from them, and indeed during his life Socrates appears to have been antagonistic to many of the philosophical and educational attitudes (such as accepting payment for teaching) that members of this group espoused. See Sarah Broadie, 'The Sophists and Socrates,' in *The Cambridge Companion to Greek and Roman Philosophy,* ed. by David Sedley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp.73-97.

> STREPSIADES: Open up, quick, open up the Reflectory, and show me
> Socrates as quickly as you can—I'm bursting to learn! Open the door!
> [*A platform is rolled out of the door, on which are a number of thin,*
> *pale students in attitudes presently to be described.*] Heracles! Where
> do these creatures come from?
> STUDENT: Why are you surprised? What do you think they look like?
> [...]
> STREPSIADES: [...] what are these people doing, the ones who are
> bent right over?
> STUDENT:  They are searching into the nether darkness beneath Tartarus.
> STREPSIADES: Then why is their arse looking at the sky?
> STUDENT: It's learning astronomy of its own account.
> [...]
> [*He points to instruments hanging up at the back of the vacated*
> *platform*] Tell me, what in heaven's name are these?
> STUDENT: This here is astronomy.
> STREPSIADES: And what's this?
> STUDENT: Geometry.
> STREPSIADES: So what's that useful for?
> (*Clouds,* ll. 181-185, 191-194, 200-202)[155]

Unflatteringly referred to as 'creatures' ('ϑηρία,' l.184: literally, 'wild beasts') by Strepsiades, who does not initially see that they are human, and intent on geometric and astronomical work that seems scarcely of any value, the students are hardly a good advertisement for the Reflectory's curriculum. It is however interesting that Aristophanes has chosen to show them *in situ,* as this episode provides the most extended glimpse into the inner workings of Socrates' school, with the elaborate technical requirements of the reveal illustrating that the playwright saw it as a moment of great comic potential.

The *ekkyklema* episode provides the fullest indication of the Reflectory's interior, but the subsequent appearance of Socrates on the *mekhane,* hovering over the other characters, provides another instance of the school's activity being brought onto the stage, although here the sense of ridiculousness is intensified by an impression of hubristic over-reaching:

> SOCRATES: Why dost thou call me, thou creature of a day?
> STREPSIADES: First of all, I beg you, tell me what you're doing.
> SOCRATES: I walk the air and descry the sun.
> STREPSIADES: You mean you decry the gods from a wicker cage? Why
> not do it on the ground, if at all?
> SOCRATES: I could never have made correct discoveries about
> celestial phenomena, except by hanging up my mind and mixing the
> minute particles of my thought into the air which it resembles. If I
> had been on the ground and investigated the upper regions from

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155 Aristophanes, *Clouds*, ed. and trans. by Alan H. Sommerstein (Oxford: Aris & Phillips, 1982).

below, I would never have made my discoveries; for it is certain that
the earth forcibly draws the moisture of thought to itself. Just the
same thing happens to cress.
(*Clouds,* ll.223-234)

MacDowell notes that Socrates' theories on 'the moisture of thought,' despite sounding
odd today, are actually quite accurate reflections of contemporary scientific thought, and
that many of the philosophic and scientific notions espoused in other parts of the play are
also recognisable as genuine ideas that were circulating in fifth-century Athens.[156]
Nonetheless, a speech that moves bathetically from the celestial to cress is deliberately
ridiculous, and its ridiculousness is enforced further by its context, as Socrates position in
the *mekhane,* hovering precariously in a 'wicker cage' ('ταρροῦ') between heaven and
earth, provides a visual metaphor for the flimsiness of airy sophistic pretensions. But the
*mekhane* does not just make Socrates seem ludicrous: the formal register of his opening
line ('Why dost thou call me...' 'τί με καλεῖς...') evokes the tone of address made by gods
to mortals in more elevated poetry,[157] lending his opening lines a gravitas that—when
combined with his position in the *mekhane*, occupying an aerial realm beyond that of the
mere mortal—suggests spatially and linguistically that the philosopher has arrogated
divine status for himself. Such an impression hardly mitigates the opening suggestion that
Socrates is 'god-forsaken,' and to Aristophanes' original audience, watching the
performance in a *polis* that was traditionally god-fearing but which was becoming
increasingly agnostic, the effect of the character's entry must have been one that had the
potential to expose simultaneously Socrates' human fallibilities (fallibilities which, if similar
examples from *Peace* and *Birds* are anything to go by, could be emphasised in
performance by throwing the *mekhane* actor about as he is suspended mid-air)[158] while
also suggesting his dangerous ambition.

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[156] See Douglas M. MacDowell, *Aristophanes and Athens: An Introduction to the Plays* (Oxford: Oxford
University Press, 1995), pp.199-121, who cites Theophrastos (*On Perception,* XLIV) for evidence of
Diogenes of Apollonia's views on air and its influence on thought, and who also identifies the theories of
Anaxagoras and Hippon's as influencing some of *Clouds'* material.

[157] Aristophanes, *Clouds,* l. 223n; Sommerstein specifically links Socrates' 'creature of a day' line with
what he terms 'high poetry,' including Pindar, VIII.95; Pindar, fr.157; Aeschylus, *Prometheus Bound,* ll.83,
253, 546, 945; Euripides, *Orest.,* l.976.

[158] See Aristophanes, *Peace,* ll.173-175, where Trygaios' ascent to heaven is accompanied by scripted
appeals to the *mekhane* operator to pay attention, and which could easily be extended in performance
by some by-play as the actor hangs on to the crane in mock (or real?) terror; or *Birds,* l.1199ff., where
following his entry on the *mekhane* the Iris-actor shouts out similar instructions to the operator and has
to contend with Peisetaerus hitting the crane in order to get him away.

Through such uses of the *ekkyklema* and the *mekhane* in these key episodes of *Clouds* Aristophanes hereby raises suspicions about *logos* by using the exact opposite method to *Birds:* whereas in the latter the absence of material evidence about the realities of Peisetaerus' Great Idea is enough to induce suspicion in an audience, the former utilises the theatrical technology to expose and hold to ridicule the mysterious goings-on in the Reflectory and the pretensions of its inhabitants.

As this section has aimed to demonstrate, Jonson and Aristophanes differ in the extent to which they employ their stage house doors and machinery, but in all four plays they clearly exploit the tension between on- and off-stage. All four plays are thematically concerned with the physical properties of *logos*¸ either as a commodification (a physical item of trade in *The Staple;* a medium through which the pedagogic product of *Clouds* can be delivered), or as a means in itself for acquiring or creating material things (the wealth of foolish clients in *The Alchemist;* the creation of an entire *polis* in *Birds*). An audience would not of course expect, or even think it possible, that either playwright could represent the full extent of their Great Ideas or magnetic centres onstage, but I would suggest that Jonson and Aristophanes make dramatic capital out of the experiential tension between showing and withholding. By revealing to the audience at least some physical manifestations of the bigger projects supposedly taking place behind the tiring house wall both playwrights reify their abstract ideas, giving *logos* a tangibile importance. But, as the final section will show, that which is withheld behind the tiring house wall is perhaps of greater significance, as it makes manifest the curious ambivalence of the theatrical event itself, the tension between the visible and the suggested meaning that an audience can never completely be at ease with how far they can trust their playwrights to really mean what they say.

# VIII

If Jonson appears more willing in *The Staple* to give his audience a physical representation of his magnetic centre, it is noteworthy that the fates of both Staple and laboratory are the same: both take place offstage, and in both cases the audience have to rely on a character's report to hear of its demise. In *The Staple* the task falls to Thomas Barber:

> BARBER: 'A doleful day it is, and dismal times
> Are come upon us. I am clear undone.
> PENNYBOY JUNIOR: 'How, Tom?'
> BARBER: 'Why, broke! Broke! Wretchedly broke!'
> PENNYBOY JUNIOR: 'Ha?'
> BARBER: 'Our Staple is all to pieces, quite dissolved!'
> PENNYBOY JUNIOR: 'Ha?'
> BARBER: 'Shivered as in an earthquake! Heard you not
> The crack and ruins? We are all blown up!
> Soon as they heard th'Infanta was got from them,
> Whom they had so devoured i'their hopes
> To be their patroness and sojourn with 'em,
> Our emissaries, register, examiner
> Flew into vapour; our grave governor
> Into a subtler air, and is returned,
> As we do hear, grand captain of the Jeerers.
> I and my fellow melted into butter
> And spoiled our ink, and so the office vanished.
> (*Staple,* V.i.36-50)

Barber emphasises the destruction of the offstage site with images of liquefaction and evaporation: while he himself is 'undone,' 'melted into butter' along with his fellow clerk Nathaniel,[159] the Office's emissaries are appropriately dispersed 'into vapour' and 'subtler air.' The Staple itself undergoes an equally violent rending: it is at first in 'pieces,' 'blown up' 'dissolved,' '[s]hivered as in an earthquake,' before finally 'vanish[ing]' altogether.

Such a description bears comparison with that of Face, who follows the *'great crack and noise within'* that signals the laboratory's destruction (*Alch.,* IV.v.0.SD.1) with similar words to indicate what he claims now lies beyond the tiring house wall:

> FACE: O sir, we are defeated! All the works
> Are flown *in fumo*: every glass is burst.
> Furnace, and all rent down! As if a bolt
> Of thunder had been driven through the house.
> Retorts, receivers, pelicans, boltheads [all alchemical equipment],
> All struck in shivers!
> (*Alch.,* IV.v.57-62)

Subtle's equipment has been 'struck in shivers,' irreparably broken, allegedly as the moral consequence to Mammon's dalliance with Dol that occurs between IV.i and IV.v; but even

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[159] The character of the clerk Nathaniel and the series of rather weak puns on 'butter' (cf. also I.iv.13, 59, 120; Int.2.50-68; Int.3.16-17) is seen by Steggle as a 'transparent satirical attack' on Nathaniel Butter, the London publisher who spearheaded the print news industry in England from the early 1620s. See Steggle, 'Aristophanes in Early Modern England,' in *Aristophanes in Performance,* ed. by Hall and Wrigley, p.63; S.A. Baron, 'Butter, Nathaniel (*bap.* 1583, *d.* 1664), in *ODNB* [date accessed 5 Feb 2016].

more telling is the claim that his alchemical experiments are 'flown *in fumo,'* the essence of the laboratory's purpose dissipating without a trace. As with Barber's speech, and the speech by Lovewit cited earlier, Face suggests a gaseous dispersal of the laboratory's contents, a poetically apt ending for a site that has proved equally intangible, and the repetition of the phrase in other parts of the play serves to foreground further the associations between the laboratory and evaporation.[160] The imagery shared between the three passages is strikingly similar (consider, for example, the 'burst' glasses in the *Alchemist* passage with the Staple's rending into 'pieces'; or the repetition of 'shivered'), but the most important point of convergence is that both laboratory and Staple have gone up in smoke or melted away.

There is one remarkable difference between the destruction of the laboratory and the Staple though. The *'great crack and noise within'* that signals the destruction of the laboratory points to the use of a stage effect, probably effected in the original performance by the actors setting off a squib behind the tiring house wall, producing the sort of explosion that, in the close confines of the Blackfriars theatre, had the appropriate noise level and pungency to justify Face's claim that the laboratory is 'flown, or stinks' (IV.v.89).[161] Despite the similar levels of descriptive violence in the destructions of both these imaginative centres, it is notable that no similar explosion occurs in *The Staple;* instead, it is to Barber to report that the Office is 'dissolved,' and he records his incredulity at Pennyboy Junior's surprised 'Ha?' by asking 'Heard you not / The crack and ruins? We are all blown up!'

The interesting thing here, of course, is that Pennyboy's lack of awareness is shared by the audience: unlike in *The Alchemist,* they have been given no auditory or olfactory cues for the Staple's destruction, so Barber's news is *genuinely* a surprise. This moment has been seen as a sign of the play's weakness, the quiet disappearance of the Staple betraying Jonson's awareness of its limitations as a dramatic device, this moment, and in fact everything that occurs in the final Act, an afterthought possessing 'somewhat the quality of a coda' to the more dramatically significant revelation of Pennyboy Canter at the end of

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[160] Cf. the play's Argument, 12, 'it [the laboratory], and they [the tripartite], and all in fume are gone'; and IV.vi.45, 'fly out all *in fumo.'* I owe this observation to Chloe Preedy's paper, 'We Are All Blown Up!' (see chapter 1, fn. 1).
[161] Cf. Harris, pp.465-466.

Act IV.[162] Perhaps, though, there is scope to be more generous in analysing this episode. Parr certainly seems to wrestle with how to interpret the scene, as he sees Barber's description casting doubt on the theory (supported elsewhere in his edition of the play) that the Staple was indicated onstage through the use of a booth, suggesting that 'the prosaic dismantling of such a structure after Act IV [during either the Intermean or an interval] in full view of the audience would further weaken the latter's imaginative grasp of the momentous 'crack and ruins' when the news office falls.'[163] From this perspective, and barring a few easily portable props or items of costume, the News Office would have to have been built up almost entirely in the audience's imagination through the actors' words, placing an emphasis upon the auditory rather than the visual theatrical experience that certainly tallies with Jonson's repeated calls throughout his works for 'hearers' rather than 'spectators.'[164] If this is accurate, it is entirely appropriate that Barber's words, which conjured up the Staple in the mind's eye of his audience in I.ii, and which, alongside the descriptions of other characters associated with the Office, had been the only point of access by which this imaginative construct achieves any substantiality at all, should also be the route through which its destruction is communicated. Maybe Jonson is testing how far his audience is willing to trust in the 'rhetorical scenery' of his stage; certainly there is an ironic appropriateness to the Office's destruction being described through the very communicative mode that it sought to harness for commercial purposes.

Parr also adds that the bathos of Barber's description following the Staple's onstage dismantling might have been Jonson's point, as he may have 'relished the ironic discrepancy between humble representation and inflated idea;'[165] a discrepancy that, in his capacity as writer of idealistic, panegyric masques for an aristocratic coterie that were far from ideal and often more deserving of approbation than praise, he may have found grimly borne out by his professional experiences. In such a context, one could argue that it is a dramatic strength rather than a weakness that the Staple's destruction is described in words rather than sound or visual effects. Perhaps this anticlimactic ending for the Staple,

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[162] Waith, *Patterns and Perspectives,* p. 187.

[163] Parr, 'Introduction [*The Staple of News*],' in Jonson, *Staple,* ed. by Parr, p.60, n.114.

[164] Cf., for instance, Jonson's appeal to 'learnéd ears' in *Cynthia's Revels* (*Cynthia* (Q), Pro.11); the recurring juxtaposition of 'spectators' and 'hearers' in the Induction to *Bartholomew Fair* (*Bart. Fair,* Ind.49, 101-102)*;* the Preface to the masque *Hymenaei,* which insists that "the outward show or celebration" of the masque performance is subordinate to the "more removed mysteries" of the poetry that animates it (*Hym.,* Preface.9,13); and the Prologue to *The Staple*, where the speaker hopes that the audience had "come to hear, not see, a play" (*Staple,* Pro.2).

[165] Parr, 'Introduction [*The Staple of News*],' in Jonson, *Staple,* ed. by Parr, p.60.

physically and descriptively vanishing rather than exploding like Subtle's laboratory, is supposed to represent the enterprise's fundamental insubstantiability, a notion that is certainly supported by the Office's gaseous associations and Jonson's apparent contempt for this brand of commodified *logos*.[166]

In both of his plays Jonson therefore relies on words to communicate the end of his characters' projects. As in Aristophanes, there are eminently practical reasons for taking this dramaturgical decision, but there is an added irony in that *logoi*—in the form of alchemical jargon and the Staple's items of trade—are intrinsically bound up with the magnetic centres themselves. There are parallels here with the two Aristophanes plays— words are, after all, the foundational element of Cloudcuckooville, and their manipulation is the Reflectory's *modus operandi;* in fact, one could expand this point to include all of Aristophanes' extant comedies, whose reliance on the Great Idea reveal an underlying debt to the persuasive and creative power of *logos.* Broadly speaking, it is here that one can discern Jonsonian comedy's greatest divergence from its Old Comic forbear. Aristophanic plays usually conclude with the acceptance of the Great Idea marked by the character and chorus' departing song ('*exodos*') bearing the characteristics of a drunken revel ('*komos*'), the play's logical discrepancies or unresolved elements forgotten in the general uproar as all depart to the happy prospect of marriage, feasting, or sex.[167] In contrast, as Knowlton has shown, Jonson pointedly does not allow his fantastical schemes to survive until the end of his play, with the interstice between Acts IV and V frequently serving as the pivot on which his characters' fantastical projects turn from success to ruin.[168] On several occasions the violence of these projects' collapse is signalled by a physical explosion, and it is in these moments that Jonson reveals himself to be far more cynical than Aristophanes.[169] Jonson's fantastical schemes, already morally compromised,

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[166] See Julie Sanders, 'Print, Popular Culture, Consumption and Commodification in The Staple of News,' in *Refashioning Ben Jonson: Gender, Politics and the Jonsonian Canon*, ed. by Julie Sanders, Kate Chedgzoy, and Susan Wiseman (Basingstoke; London: Macmillan, 1998), pp.183-207.

[167] The *komos* was a social activity that had its own life outside of the theatre, and was characterised by drunkenness and raucous behaviour. Aside from Aristophanes' habitual invocation of its energy, perhaps the most famous literary example is provided by Alcibiades' disruptive appearance at the head of a *komos* that helps to draw the action of Plato's *Symposium* to a close (*The Symposium,* ed. and trans. by Christopher Gill (London: Penguin, 1999), 212c ff.). For more information on the role the *komos* and associated social occasions played in Greek culture, see Stephen Halliwell, 'The Uses of Laughter in Greek Culture,' *Classical Quarterly* 41 (1991), pp.279-296.

[168] Edgar C. Knowlton, 'The Plots of Ben Jonson,' *Modern Language Notes* 44:2 (1929), pp.77-86.

[169] For a more corporeal example of this phenomenon, see also Helen Ostovich, 'The Appropriation of Pleasure in *The Magnetic Lady,'* *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900,* 34:2 (1994), pp.425-442, who

are not permitted to survive, to be endorsed by the *komos*-like ending that (broadly speaking) characterises the end of Aristophanic comedy. It is almost as if Jonson's dramaturgical strategy is to anticipate the action that happens after the Aristophanic play: when the dust has settled and the characters have shook off their hangovers or roused themselves from their marriage beds, will the Great Idea that brought them there still hold water? The answer, Jonson seems to suggest, is that it will not.

I was 'broadly speaking' when describing the *komos*-like ending of Aristophanic comedy, because of course there are several moments in his plays that do not fit neatly into this pattern. One might include the bird-roasting scene in *Birds* or the hag episode in *Ecclesiazusae* (ll.976-1111)[170] as two such problematic moments: both seem to presage the abuse of the play's new political and sexual hierarchies, and as such they suggest underlying flaws in the utopian models their plays promote. These two episodes are only hints for the future, however, and do not detract materially from their plays' concluding *komos*; indeed, only *Clouds* has an ending that can be characterised as decidedly at odds with this general pattern of revelry.

Our understanding of this play's ending is problematised though by the knowledge that the transmitted *Clouds* text is a second, amended version of an earlier play that had not been well-received by its audience, and despite much speculation there is no clear consensus on whether '*Clouds* II' was even performed at all.[171] Nonetheless, I think it important to emphasise that the play's revisions meant that it was *intended* to be performed,[172] and considering this moment in its putative original performance context serves as an appropriate end to a chapter that has been so concerned with the mapping of *logos* onto space. I would therefore like to conclude by analysing the closing moment of *Clouds* in order to suggest that Aristophanes, while not quite reaching Jonson's cynical extremes, is here willing to show the limitations of his Great Idea more than in any other of his plays. More importantly though, I would like to emphasise that the play's anti-*komos* exposes the dramatic problem of representing the infinite flights of fancy that playwrights

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observes that the increasingly chaotic action in *The Magnetic Lady* is mirrored offstage by the expanding and 'exploding' of Placentia's pregnant belly.

[170] Aristophanes, *Ecclesiazusae*, ed. and trans. by Alan H. Sommerstein, rpt. (Oxford: Aris & Phillips, 2007).

[171] See Revermann, p.326, who cites Dover (1968), Hubbard (1991), Rosen (1997), and Casanova (2000), who hold views on opposing sides of the debate.

[172] Revermann, pp.326-332.

can embark upon with language with theatrical resources that, while considerable and innovative, can never be anything more than a pale imitation of the unfettered imagination.

At the end of *Clouds,* Strepsiades, angry that his efforts enrolling Pheidippides in the Reflectory has merely given his son authority over him through the power of specious argumentation, calls on his slave to help him perform a drastic action that is intimately connected the *skene* wall and the door of the Reflectory:

> STREPSIADES: [...] Come here, come here, Xanthias! Come outside, and bring a ladder and a mattock, and then go up on top of the Reflectory and hack down the roof, if you love your master, until you bring the house down on them. [*The slave, having brought the implements out, climbs on to the roof and sets to work.*] And someone fetch me a lighted torch; and I'll make someone here pay a penalty today for what they've done to me, no matter how big they talk.
> (*Clouds,* ll.1485-1492)

The ensuing action, as slave and Strepsiades rush to and from the two houses represented by the *skene* wall, and set about hacking apart or burning the Reflectory while is occupants struggle to escape, is intentionally spectacular and chaotic. At this point, the stage is as full as it is at any point of the play, and the references within the text to flames, to characters choking on the smoke and to slaves and sophists clambering around on the roof suggest that here was an opportunity for the *skene* to be exploited for its technical potential, allowing it to provide the different physical levels of action and stage effects required to give the sense that the Reflectory is burning to the ground. There is an irony in Strepsiades calling for a 'torch' ('δᾷδ') to perform this action, as such a prop was commonly used in other Aristophanic comedies to indicate the *komos* procession or revelry that would bring a harmonious and joyful end to their play's action.[173] Unlike most of Aristophanes' plays, *Clouds* ends on a discordant note, the very props normally associated with a conciliatory ending marshalled to ensure the destruction of the Reflectory and the Great Idea it represents, its characters fleeing in terror rather than departing in triumph.[174]

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[173] Cf. *Clouds,* 1484-1485fn., which notes that torches are used to indicate bridal or other processions at the conclusion of *Peace, Birds,* and *Frogs,* for nocturnal revellers in *Wasps, Ecclesiazusae* and probably *Acharnians,* and for both revelry and a procession at the conclusion of *Wealth.*

[174] The only other Aristophanic play to end on such a despondent note is the *Thesmophoriazusae,* where Inlaw and Euripides both flee for their lives (l.1225f.).

By the time of the Reflectory's burning the audience had been treated to the comically unedifying spectacle of Athens' most prominent philosopher suspended in a crane, and to a personified version of the old style of educational system summarily dismissed with the specious argumentation of his opponent, all of whom are hardly great advertisements for the probity either of *logos* or its most famous exponents. I would suggest though that this final moment serves as a bathetic deflation of the visual and aural elements of performance as well—one cannot be certain about what techniques were used (or, if the play was not performed, what techniques *could* have been used) to depict the burning, but when we imagine this play in the vast, open-aired Theatre of Dionysos, and picture the smoke from the burning *skene* building drifting up and dissipating into the vast expanse that surrounds this amphitheatre the effect begins to seem rather unimpressive in its surroundings, and perhaps it is fair to say that such a small end does not seem fitting for such a Great Idea. Much of this chapter has been focused on those areas where Jonson is the most Aristophanic, but it is in the final conflagration of *Clouds*—where the experience of performance does not and cannot live up to the power of the words of his playwrights or of his characters—that shows Aristophanes at his most Jonsonian when he allows his Great Idea, undermined before the end of the play, to dissipate with the smoke from the burning Reflectory.

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IX

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This chapter has aimed to show that in these four plays Jonson and Aristophanes share some illuminating points of comparison in their spatio-dramaturgical techniques. The first of these is concerned with structure and tempo: both playwrights organise their plays around the magnetic properties of a Great Idea or centre attractive, and it is this structural principle that lends their plots a centripetal dynamic, emphasised in performance through the use of the tiring house or *skene* wall as a point of dramatic focus. This centripetal drive imbues these plays with a frenetic pace that was modulated through pauses in the narrative action, and although the original reason for these pauses might have been a matter of convention or compunction rather than choice, it is significant that their inclusion has an aesthetic impact, as the careful manipulation of pace allowed for by these lulls helps to extend dramatic tension still further in the narrative proper.

The second point of comparison is more philosophical, as it is concerned with what these two playwrights saw as the capabilities and limitations of their chosen art form. I think it no coincidence that in four plays that are so thematically concerned with the power of *logos*, and by extension the power of the imagination, both Jonson and Aristophanes play with the extent to which their word-driven art form can represent *logos* and its effects onstage. The attempt to represent *logos* on the *topos* of the performance space creates interesting resonances, as the playwrights' self-conscious manipulation of showing and withholding reveals the word in its contradictory glory: as a medium for great imaginative flights of fancy or sinister manipulation; as a marketable commodity that has the habit of escaping its vendor; or as a thing capable of both solid tangibility or airy insubstantiality.

What is of special interest about these resonances is that they also apply to theatre itself, an art form that also relies on the power and suggestion of the word to create not only that which is brought onstage but also that which remains out of sight, in the 'unrepresented space of invisibility and implication' of offstage space.[175] I said towards the beginning of this chapter that Jonson could not have written anything as politically charged as Aristophanes; however, he does show his allegiance to his Old Comic forbear through an artistic radicalism that uses *logos* self-reflexively to explore the possibilities of theatrical representation while simultaneously acknowledging its limits. Surly, the most sceptical and (nearly) perceptive of *The Alchemist*'s gulls, recognised that:

> [...] alchemy is a pretty kind of game,
> Somewhat like tricks o' the cards, to cheat a man,
> With charming.
> (*Alch.,* II.iii.180-182)

One could easily apply this sentiment to all four plays if one replaced the word 'alchemy' with 'language,' or even 'theatre,' for it is through the actors' words and the magic taking place in the offstage space of the tiring house that these two playwrights are able to cast their own form of charm over their audience, one that used theatrical tricks to expose the trickery of theatre. Prospero might have seen fit to assure Ferdinand that the revels of his wedding-masque had ended, that the cloud capp'd towers had dissolved with not a rack left behind, but in their insistent playing with the shown and withheld, never letting their audience be completely comfortable about whether they are laughing at the joke or a part of it, Jonson and Aristophanes seem to want to leave their audience with a vestigial

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[175] Turner, p.24.

uncertainty about the (in)substantial pageantry of their plays, an uncertainty that problematises the ontological and phenomenological integrity not only of their theatrical events but even of the all-important words that are used to create them.

# Chapter 2

# Monstrous Regiments: Jonson's Aristophanic Choruses

I

> A chorus is not geometric but *organic*. In just the same way as a *collective body*, it has its *centre of gravity, its extensions, its respiration*. It is a kind of *living cell*, capable of taking on different forms according to the situation in which it finds itself. It may exhibit *contradictions*, its members may sometimes *oppose* one another in subgroups, or alternatively *unite* to address the public with one voice.[1]

> To these [satyr plays] succeeded the Old Comedy,
>  And not without much praise; till liberty
>  Fell into fault so far as now they saw
>  Her *licence* fit to be restrained by law;
>  Which law received, the Chorus held his peace,
>  His power of *foully hurting* made to cease.
>  (Horace, *Art,* ll.365-370, emphasis added)[2]

These two quotations, echoing the thoughts of writers from late twentieth-century Paris, early seventeenth-century London and first century Rome, are separated by a wide gulf in time, but they provide a useful entry point for considering Jonson's use of choral groupings in his plays. Lecoq's interpretation of the chorus renders metaphorical the group as a larger body, an 'organic' whole, which helps to communicate something about its unique identity and its physical properties within a playing space. For Lecoq, the chorus is a unified entity, possessing its own 'centre of gravity' and representing, paradoxically, both the cohesive and competing voices within a larger community; such an appreciation of the practical, dramaturgical uses of this group highlights some of the key performative qualities that will be the focus of this chapter.[3]

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[1] Jacques Lecoq, *The Moving Body: Teaching Creative Theatre,* trans. by David Bradby (London: Methuen, 2002) p.139. Emphasis added.

[2] The translation of Horace is Jonson's; the Cambridge editor states that l.370 ('His power of foully hurting made to cease,' '*Turpiter obticuit sublao iure nocendi'* (l.260 in Horace's original)) is underscored in Jonson's copy.

[3] My use of a modern pedagogue's opinion on the chorus might seem unusual, even dangerously anachronistic, when applied to choral groupings on the classical and early modern stages. However, Tunstall, who has conducted practice-as-research on the uses of Lecoqian technique in the performance of Shakespeare, highlights that the Lecoq approach and the Shakespearean text marry so well because

The second quotation, from Jonson's translation of Horace's *Ars Poetica*, is a useful companion to Lecoq's, as it gives us a sense of what a Roman writer (and his early modern translator) understood to be the peculiar dramatic power that the choral unit possessed. Here the emphasis is not upon the physical presence of the group but upon its influence on the tone of the plays that contained it. The *Ars Poetica* makes a specific link between the satiric 'licence' of Old Comedy and the chorus' particular capacity for 'foully hurting'; the sentiment is Horace's but the words are Jonson's, and it is important to remember that Jonson had a close creative affinity with his Roman predecessor throughout his life and that the *Ars Poetica*—articulating the concern a poem should 'profit and delight' ('*utile dulci*') its audience[4]—a creative standpoint with which Jonson's work was in constant dialogue—can be viewed as a 'statement of [Jonson's] critical manifesto,' and as such, one should view it as reflecting the attitude of the early modern poet as much as his Latin counterpart.[5]

In essence, Lecoq's emphasis on the performative and phenomenological realities of the choral unit and Horace/Jonson's focus on the chorus as a mouthpiece for socio-political commentary represent the two strands of argumentation that will run through the entire chapter. I will suggest that Jonson, like Lecoq and the Ancient Greek dramatists, recognised the aural and visual impact a choral grouping had in performance, and that he used the chorus' physical presence in order to enact his own brand of 'foully hurting.' I begin in section II by providing some context on the form and function of the chorus in Aristophanic comedy, highlighting that they were integral to their plays' dramatic structure and made a significant contribution to the keenness of Aristophanes' *polis*-oriented satire. Section III focuses on Jonson, and emphasises that he did not appropriate these formal or functional elements of the Old Comic chorus wholesale; rather, he was a habitual experimenter with choric groupings, and I analyse their varying manifestations in several of his plays, which range from more rigid 'formal choruses' to a much more fluid model of chorality that is characterised by rapid shifts in choric privilege between

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both prioritise the body as the fundamental conduit for performance. See Darren Tunstall, 'Shakespeare and the Lecoq Tradition,' *Shakespeare Bulletin* 30:4 (2012), pp.469-484.

[4] Horace, *Ars Poetica,* in Horace, *Satires, Epistles and Ars Poetica,* trans. by H. Rushton Fairclough, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, MA; London: Harvard University Press, 1926), l.344.

[5] Stanley Stewart, quoted in Victoria Moul, *Jonson, Horace and the Classical Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), p.178. Maus believes that Jonson's engagement with the two separate roles of 'profit' and 'delight' fluctuated constantly throughout his career, his work being animated by the tensions created by this need to create plays that are both entertaining and instructive; cf., among others, the prologues to *Volpone*, *The Alchemist,* and *Epicene.* See Maus, pp.47-76.

individual characters and character groupings. I also aim to demonstrate that the Jonsonian chorus is a *contaminatio* of other sources aside from Aristophanes, and that chorality—especially fluid chorality—was an essential element of the playwright's dramaturgy, as the particular dynamic this grouping created, and its capacity for commentary and theatrical self-awareness, provides a dramatic representation of the sort of critical, self-reflective attitudes that Jonson wished to instil in his audience.

The rest of the chapter will focus on the Collegiate ladies of *Epicene,* who represent one of Jonson's most interesting uses of an 'informal chorus.' I will demonstrate that Jonson deploys some of the visual, aural, and spatial theatregrams associated with the Aristophanic chorus in his Collegiate ladies—specifically through their sheer numbers, their control over plot, their aggressive attitudes, and their social parity with (at least some members of) the watching audience. I will also argue, with special reference to Aristophanes *Thesmophoriazusae,* that the 'hermaphroditical authority' that these women represent articulates a similar fear of female control to be found in the Old Comic play, a fear that both playwrights articulate through an exploration of the constructed femininity of these imposing choric groups.

This specific focus on the gender politics of *Epicene* and *Thesmophoriazusae* brings me to this chapter's title, which refers to John Knox's *The First Blast of the Trumpet Against the Monstrous Regiment of Women* (published anonymously in 1558)*,* a polemical work that uses Biblical authority to attack the notion of female sovereignty. Knox's strong anti-gyneocratic stance was not the only one held by his age—many in the period were able to advocate for either side on the issue of female rule, with a wealth of classical, Biblical, and contemporary examples to illustrate their arguments, and his acceptance of a female ruler when Elizabeth I succeeded her sister (an acceptance, ironically, also shored up through Biblical comparison) shows that it was in fact a position with which Knox himself did not even remain consistent.[6] Nonetheless, I think his title is useful for two reasons. The first lies in the ambiguity of the term 'Regiment,' which in modern usage often refers to a large group of people or things that have, or are thought to have, military associations,[7] but which in Knox's age was understood as referring to '[r]ule or

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[6] For discussion of the differing views on female rule in sixteenth-century society, see Paula Louise Scaligi, 'The Sceptre or the Distaff: The Question of Female Sovereignty, 1516-1607,' *The Historian* 41:1 (1978), pp.59-74. For John Knox, his changing views on female sovereignty, and discussion of the position his views took in the wider (early modern) debate, see Judith M. Richards, '"To Promote a Woman to Bear Rule": Talking of Queens in Mid-Tudor England,' *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 28:1 (1997), pp.101-121 (esp. pp.115-117).

government over a person, group, or country; governance.'[8] Although this specific semantic ambiguity seems not to have been present at the time of Knox's pamphlet, the conflation of these modern and early modern connotations is felicitous, as it captures something fundamental to this chapter: that corporate (especially female) authority has the potential to be dangerous, aggressive, even monstrous.

This chapter also provides my first opportunity to interrogate the theatregram as a conceptual model. I will argue that the Aristophanic chorus is a composite of a number of different theatregrams (of character, association, motion, and design), and that the range of differences on display in the Jonsonian chorus is caused by the playwright's deliberate selection of some of these, and the suppression or complete omission of others, to fit the unique exigencies of each play. This 'continuum model' is useful in explaining the generally fluid nature of Jonsonian chorality, and offers an insight into how Jonson was able to put his views on the ancients serving as 'guides, not commanders' into practice.

# II

Before turning to the Jonsonian chorus, I will briefly consider the original function and performance context of the Aristophanic chorus in order that we can better understand what sort of dramatic effects this character grouping was intended to create. Such an introduction underlines the notion that the plays under discussion should be considered as embodied events, and that any performance-based analysis of a playtext needs to be sensitive to the extra-textual and extra-performative elements that make up the ontological experience of perceiving and participating in the theatre event itself. This is crucial, as in many ways the textual remnants of Jonson's choruses are not obviously Aristophanic (and, as section III will emphasise, Aristophanes was not the only source of influence); it is only when we look beyond obvious structural or textual similarities and imagine how these choruses moved and acted onstage that we begin to see the most

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[7] 'regiment, n.' 8a., b. *OED Online.*
<http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/161269?rskey=GUcrMS&result=1#eid> [date accessed 16 November 2016].

[8] 'regiment, n.' 1a. *OED Online.* The entry cites Gower's *Confessio Amantis* (c.1393) as the first use of the word in this context, with Knox's pamphlet cited fourth on the list. Employment of the word in a military context is not found until 1569.

profound points of contact between the Aristophanic originals and their early modern descendants.

The extant Old Comedies use the chorus as a core structural element: scenes between character actors are broken up by large structural units like the *parodos*, or entry of the chorus; by smaller choral odes that punctuate subsequent dialogue scenes, and, perhaps most importantly, by one or two *parabaseis*, which were directed at the audience. I indicated in chapter 1 that these *parabaseis* were moments of 'paused' action, but this description now needs some refinement. These structural units actually have the curious quality of being simultaneously a digression from and integral to the 'narrative' action that surrounds them; this strange status is signalled by the word's etymology, which derives from '*παραβαίνειν*' (frequently translated as 'to step forward,' but perhaps more accurately 'to step to one side').[9] The side-stepping quality of the *parabaseis* is confirmed by their contents, which offer sidelong commentaries on their plays' action, the comic poet, contemporary political or social situations, and even the audience itself, allowing it to function as a 'nexus between poet, chorus, dramatic characters, and *polis*.'[10] In contrast to the views of the Cambridge Ritualists, who saw the *parabasis* as a vestige of Old Comedy's ritual origins,[11] I join Hubbard in viewing this structural unit as essential to the *polis*-orientation of Aristophanes' dramaturgy (see chapter 1, section III),[12] as these moments of 'stepping aside' allowed the chorus to act as a bridge between the real world of their audience and the imaginary world of Aristophanes, with the content of their speeches often applying the same themes displayed in the fictive elements of the play to real figures and situations.[13]

Structurally and functionally, then, the chorus was important to Greek drama, and its importance was increased further in performance. The most obvious sign of this is revealed in the group's size and their proximity to the audience. As opposed to the tragic chorus, which usually contained between twelve and fifteen members, a typical Greek

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[9] '*παραβαίνω, v.,*' I. ('to go by the side of'), III. ('to come forward'), in *LSJ*. Hubbard translates '*παραβαίνειν*' according to definition III, but to my mind the usual meaning of the suffix '*παρα-*' ('near,' 'alongside,' 'contrary to,' and so on) seems more appropriate. See Hubbard, *Mask of Comedy,* p.17; Stehlikova, p.269.

[10] Hubbard, *Mask of Comedy,* p.ix.

[11] See Hubbard, *Mask of Comedy,* p.16, who cites Murray (1964) and Cornford (1968), among others, as proponents of the ritual view of comedy.

[12] Hubbard, *Mask of Comedy,* p.17.

[13] Hubbard, *Mask of Comedy,* p.30.

comic chorus numbered around twenty four performers who all danced and sang their parts in the *orchestra*,[14] a space that, as in tragedy, the chorus occupied for the entire play following their *parodos* entry. An emphasis on the sensorial experience of theatre is key to our appreciation of the significance of these details; our modern, post-Stanislavskian notions about the primacy of character might lead us to conclude that the individual speaking parts are the most important component of Greek Old Comedy, but when one compares the movements and speech of a few individual actors with the much larger scale of the chorus (especially in comedy) we begin to appreciate how great a performative impact they must have had on an audience.

Indeed, Wiles makes the point that performers in the Theatre of Dionysos were likely to have stood in the shadow of the *skene* building that formed the back of the stage, and audience members could have been seated up to 100 metres away, resulting in a spatial divide between performer and spectator similar to that of a modern football match.[15] At these distances, any form of nuanced delivery from actors or chorus members would have been lost, so both character and choral performers must have relied on powerful vocal delivery and strong, stylised movement.[16] Csapo attests that the professional actors who took the speaking roles in tragedy and comedy would have had considerable vocal skills— the demands of the writers' verse required a virtuoso mastery of breathing technique, diction, and volume—with which the non-professional chorus members would not have been able to compete.[17] Despite the individual actors' skill, though, their numbers were conventionally limited (scholars have generally thought to three actors, although it appears that four may have been more typical for Aristophanes' plays),[18] so it seems

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[14] Sommerstein, 'General Introduction,' in Aristophanes, *Acharnians,* trans. by Sommerstein, p.16.

[15] David Wiles, *Greek Theatre Performance: An Introduction* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000)*,* p.109.

[16] Wiles, *Greek Theatre Performance,* p.109.

[17] Eric Csapo, 'Performing Comedy in the Fifth Through Early Third Centuries,' in *The Oxford Handbook of Greek and Roman Comedy,* ed. by Michael Fontaine and Adele C. Scafuro (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), pp.50-69 (p.66).

[18] There has even been some speculation that in some cases speaking parts may have been expanded to five. See Douglas M. MacDowell, 'The Number of Speaking Actors in Old Comedy,' *Classical Quarterly* 44 (1994), pp.325-335, who provides a useful overview of the debate, and who uses the evidence from the extant Aristophanic comedies to argue that 'it appears that every extant play of Aristophanes certainly or probably needs four speaking actors, but none needs more than four' (p.335). MacDowell acknowledges that a possible exception to this rule might be *Acharnians,* which contains two scenes (the first at the Ecclesia at ll.43-175; the second with the Megarian and his Daughters at ll.824-828) that might have benefitted from five actors. Even in these instances though, he produces a reasonable argument that the need for a fifth actor could have been negated through a few quick changes of costume in the first scene and the use of dolls in place of the Megarian's Daughters in the second

logical to suppose that the additional volume and mass provided by the choral group would have made their contributions as imposing in their own way as those of the more technically skilled performers.

Aside from the comic chorus' physical qualities, one must also acknowledge that their entrance serves as the catalyst that animates the movement of the protagonists' Great Ideas from conception to realisation. Prior to their first appearance, the audience had sat through a prologue section—referred to by Sommerstein as the play's 'conception' phase[19]—in which the plays' protagonists had outlined their fantastical schemes interspersed with 'warm-up' material (audience address, slapstick comedy, clichéd gags, and the like) that Reckford sees as a form of 'preliminary catharsis' that sets the audience in the right frame of mind for the ensuing comic action.[20] To use the prologue section of *Wasps* (ll.1-229) as an example, the slave Sosia recounts a dream in which a flock of sheep is 'harangued by an omnivorous whale with the voice of an inflamed sow' ('*δημηγορεῖν φάλαινα πανδοκεύτρια, ἔχουσα φωνὴν ἐμπεπρησμένης ὑός,*' ll.35-36), an allegory intended to be interpreted as the threat posed to the Athennian people (the sheep) by the grotesque, unnatural demagoguery of the politician Cleon ('the omnivorous whale': '*φάλαινα πανδοκεύτρια*'). Sosia's companion Xanthias then offers to 'explain the plot to the audience' ('*κατείπω τοῖς θεαταῖς τὸν λόγον,*' l.54), which the pair do with reference to the 'compulsive juror' ('*φιληλιαστής,*' l.88) Philocleon and  to his wasp-chorus companions (l.88ff.), but not before promising that the play will contain no low comedy ('laughter stolen from Megara': '*γέλωτα Μεγαρόθεν κεκλεμμένον,*' l.57), no shameless attempts at crowd-pleasing like 'a pair of slaves scattering nuts out of a little basket' ('*κάρυ᾿ ἐκ φορμίδος δούλω διαρριπτοῦντε*': ll.58-59), or clichéd skits like 'Heracles being cheated of his dinner' ('*Ἡρακλῆς τὸ δεῖπνον ἐξαπατώμενος*': l.60). This opening episode is typical of Aristophanic prologues,[21] and helps to locate the play within its political context (the reference to Cleon) and to other comedies (in its rejection of cliché). Most importantly, though, its tone is light and playful, and it lays down the exposition required for the rest of the play's action, so functionally it is essential for

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(p.335). The critical assumption about three actors may have stemmed in part from Horace, who advises any budding dramatists that they should not 'let a fourth actor essay to speak' ('*nec quarta loqui persona* laboret': *Ars P.,* l.192).

[19] Sommerstein, 'General Introduction,' in Aristophanes, *Acharnians,* trans. by Sommerstein, pp.11-12.

[20] Reckford, pp.56, 69. See also Peter Arnott, *Public and Performance in the Greek Theatre* (London: Routledge, 1991), p.7.

[21] Cf. similar moments in *Knights,* l.36; *Peace,* l.43-53; *Birds,* l.30.

getting the audience into the state of relaxation and readiness that Reckford views as so crucial to Aristophanic comedy.

All of this changes with the entrance of the chorus. The *parodos*, which involves a group of twenty four entering a playing space that has hitherto been occupied by a much smaller number of performers, can already be seen as a visually and aurally imposing episode, but it is also structurally significant, as it helps the play progress beyond Sommerstein's conception phase and into the period of struggle that comes before the Great Idea is eventually achieved and its consequences realised.[22] As will be explored more thoroughly in section IV, the struggle phase is heralded by the chorus exhibiting an aggressive attitude in their *parodoi,* often with the threat of physical violence for the protagonists (cf. *Ach.,* ll.204-241; *Knights,* ll.242-332; *Wasps,* ll.230-316; *Birds,* ll.209-351; *Lys.*, ll.254-349; *Thesm.,* ll.295-380). The chorus was also crucial to the *agon*, a duel-like debate between the protagonists and their antagonists, the outcome of which they often arbitrated, and which was characterised by an opening hostility to the protagonist(s) and their Great Idea and invariably concluded with the chorus changing their opinion in favour.[23] In terms of plot, then, the chorus help move their plays from the light-hearted tone of the opening to the episodes of aggression and eventual acceptance that mark the establishment of the Great Idea.

The chorus was also significant for a more personal (or *personnel*) reason: unlike the professional character actors, these performers were comprised of volunteers from the Athenian citizenry, and a fair proportion of the audience they addressed must have been ex-chorus members themselves.[24] The result was that Aristophanes was writing for, in Arnott's words, an 'informed audience' who recognised the comic chorus as 'an index of public mentality,' with the group embodying the link between the real and fictive worlds of

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[22] In Sommerstein's reading, Aristophanes' plays involve four phases: i) conception; ii) struggle; iii) realisation; iv) consequences ('General Introduction,' in Aristophanes, *Acharnians,* trans. by Sommerstein, pp.11-12). See also G..M. Sifakis, 'The Structure of Aristophanic Comedy,' *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* 112 (1992), pp.123-142.

[23] Sommerstein, 'General Introduction,' in Aristophanes, *Acharnians,* trans. by Sommerstein, p.11; Ostovich, 'Introduction [*Every Man Out of His Humour*],' in Jonson, *Every Man Out,* ed. by Ostovich, Revels, p.19.

[24] See Renaud Gagné and Marianne Govers Hopman, 'Introduction: The Chorus in the Middle' (pp. 1-34 (p.26)), and Jeffrey Henderson, 'The Comic Chorus and the Demagogue,' (pp. 278-296 (p.281)) in *Choral Mediations in Greek Tragedy,* ed. by Renaud Gagné and Marianne Govers Hopman (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

audience and play that strengthened the formal link already provided by the *parabasis*.[25] Indeed, Longo makes the very interesting point that it is the chorus' dual status as performers and citizens that makes Old Comedy so politically relevant: they are a 'staged metaphor for the community involved in the dramatic performance,' representatives both of the Athenian audience members and of the democratically-elected judges who decided on which poets would compete at the festivals,[26] and their unique mediatory position gave the plays that contained them extra satiric impact.[27] Indeed, it is notable that Aristophanes reserves a large portion of his overtly political satire for the *parabaseis*, when the divide between fiction and reality is at its thinnest, and in which he finds opportunity to attack the state's mistreatment of war veterans (*Ach.,* ll.676-718), the corruption of politicians (*Knights,* ll.1261-1315), and the mismanagement of the Peloponnesian War (*Frogs,* ll.674-737). Perhaps Aristophanes' political commentary was given an extra edge when channelled through the voices and bodies of twenty-four Athenian citizens, whose mode of direct address in the *parabaseis* and choral odes would have served to remind their audience of the realities that animated the onstage satire.

For an example of these realities in action, let us return to the first parabasis of *Knights,* cited in chapter 1, in which the chorus argue in favour of Aristophanes winning first prize in the City Dionysia:

> [...]our poet deserves it, because he hates
> the same men as we do, dares to say what is right, and advances
> nobly to face the Typhoon and the whirlwind.
> (*Knights,* ll.510-512)

This address follows the knight-chorus' angry denunciation of Paphalagon, an overweening slave and thinly disguised caricature of Cleon.[28] One is able to interpret the address from two perspectives: firstly, the knights' reference to Aristophanes hating 'the same men as we do' ('τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἡμῖν μισεῖ': l.510) is appropriate for their fictive characters, as the Athenian equestrian class harboured as much ill-feeling for Cleon and his policies as their playwright;[29] but simultaneously the references to the 'poet' ('ὁ ποιητής': l.509) serves as

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[25] Arnott, pp.24, 34.

[26] Longo, 'Theatre of the *Polis,'* in *Nothing to Do with Dionysos?,* ed. by Winkler and Zeitlin, p. 17.

[27] Tanya Pollard, 'What's Hecuba to Shakespeare?' *Renaissance Quarterly* 65:4 (2012), pp. 1060-1093 (p.1083); Gagné and Govers Hopman, 'The Chorus in the Middle,' in *Choral Mediations,* ed. by Gagné and Govers Hopman, pp.10, 6.

[28] MacDowell, *Aristophanes and Athens* p.81ff.

[29] MacDowell, *Aristophanes and Athens,* p.82.

a reminder that the knights are a creative construction, and that it is performers, real Athenian citizens, reciting these lines. This dual presentation makes Cleon an enemy to the knights in the play and also, by association, the enemy of the choral members themselves, allowing Aristophanes' satiric attack to extend beyond his play world and to implicate the real world of his audience. Here one sees a clear example of Gagné and Govers Hopman's contention that the chorus 'is not only a group of performers, but also, crucially, a group of Athenian citizens;'[30] Aristophanes deliberately manipulates this duality to make his play appear to speak with the authority of fellow Athenians and enforce the idea that the issues at stake in the play are those that affect the *polis* at large.[31]

Taken together, it can be seen that the comic chorus performed an essential, shaping function in Aristophanes' comedies, and its liminal status (enforced structurally and in the non-professional, citizen status of its members) imbued the group with a 'para'-quality that allowed their comic gaze to sweep beyond the bounds of the stage itself. Table 2.1 below outlines the typical characteristics of the Aristophanic chorus, which I have broken down into five separate theatregrams and one more general characteristic based on the performers' real identities.

Table 2.1. Characteristics of the Aristophanic chorus.

| Characteristic | Manifestation |
|---|---|
| Theatregram of person/association | Grouping of the chorus as a 'character' with a collective identity and imposing size |
| Theatregram of motion | Aggressive group movement, especially in the *parodos* |
| Theatregram of design | In the *parabaseis* and, to a lesser extent, the choral odes, performing a structural function in breaking up narrative action with commentary on the play and wider context |
| Theatregram of motion/design | The chorus' entry in the *parodos* |
| Theatregram of design | Involvement in and contribution to the resolution of the play's *agon*[*es*] |
| Identity of performers | The chorus performers are drawn from the Athenian citizenry |

In the rest of this chapter I argue that, despite these profound socio-politico differences between classical Athens and early modern London, the dramaturgical qualities of the Aristophanic chorus are frequently refigured in Jonson's work. I maintain, however, that from play to play Jonson was selective in which of these qualities he used, and the

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[30] Gagné and Govers Hopman, 'The Chorus in the Middle,' in *Choral Mediations,* ed. by Gagné and Govers Hopman, p.26.

[31] According to lines from *Wasps* (ll.1284-91) and the supporting scholia, Aristophanes was prosecuted by Cleon for comments made about him in *Knights*, which is certainly indicative that at least some people saw stage satire as potentially serious. See Sommerstein, 'General Introduction,' in Aristophanes, *Acharnians,* trans. by Sommerstein, pp.2-3.

itemisation of choral characteristics in the table above is helpful in demonstrating how he was able to do this. The chorus is not an irreducible dramaturgical element in itself; rather, it is composed of a number of performative and personal attributes that can be deployed independently of one another. Each expression of Jonsonian chorality is perhaps best understood as sitting on a continuum, with each  example's place determined  by the number of the characteristics listed above it can be seen to exhibit. In order to explore this continuum notion further, I now turn to a brief discussion of Jonsonian chorality across his entire *oeuvre,* an overview that will place the chorus of *Epicene* in its wider context.


# III

Jonson's dramaturgy always favoured the ensemble; as we saw in reference to the Great Ideas of chapter 1, he habitually subordinated character to plot, and his *mise–en–scènes* have an endlessly polyphonic, kaleidoscopic quality as they fill and empty with characters combining, interacting, and breaking away from one other.[32] It is from the perspective of the visual and aural richness of the Jonsonian stage that I will consider his use of choruses, because it is through this lens that one gains a sense that his use of this (these) character(s) is much more fluid than perhaps allowed by Aristophanic precedent—which, although never exactly the same from one play to the next, has an element of formal rigidity about it that is absent in many of the Jonsonian examples. Furthermore, I will suggest that the fluidity of Jonsonian chorality appears to be in tension with the theatregram model, a concept that, fundamentally, claims essential qualities for dramaturgical units that should  resist deliquescence. What I  would  like to emphasise through the rest of the chapter though is that while from play to play Jonson is willing to tinker with the functional, structural, and performative elements associated with the chorus, it is their liminal, 'para-' quality that is most consistently retained. I acknowledge that this choral liminality is not limited to the Old Comic chorus, but I would argue that it is through examining the Jonsonian chorus in performance, and seeing their capacity for 'foully hurting' in action, one can see the sidestepping, socio-political discursive qualities of the Aristophanic grouping revitalised on the early modern stage.

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[32] Helen Ostovich, ''Jeered by Confederacy': Group Aggression in Jonson's Comedies,' *Medieval and Renaissance Drama in England* 3 (1986), pp. 115-128 (p.115).

In this section I also aim to place these statements in the context of Jonson's theatrical *milieu* and his career. I should stress that while Jonson's heavy reliance on fluid chorality was perhaps one of the most idiosyncratic elements of his dramaturgy, the fluid choral model itself was not his own innovation. The conception of the chorus on the sixteenth century stage was never homogeneous; as Bigliazzi notes, playwrights could draw on a range of native, continental, and classical traditions in the creation of the character grouping, and these separate, conflicting and intersecting precedents were widely disseminated across page and stage.[33] The printing of all of Seneca's tragedies in English between 1556 and 1581, alongside performances of Senecan and Senecan-imitation plays in Latin,[34] offered the most prominent route from a classical source, as it helped popularise the Roman playwright's distinctive chorus in sixteenth-century plays like Sackville and Norton's *Gorboduc,* Kyd's *Cornelia,* Daniel's *Cleopatra,* and Jonson's *Catiline.*[35] But this Senecan influence also competed with more recent dramatic innovations; as was the case with *Gorboduc,* the neo-Senecan chorus was frequently associated with more modern inter-act components like the dumb show and the Italian *intermedia*, and other plays conflated the chorus with the 'authorial presenters' roles that were present in many late-sixteenth/early-seventeenth-century plays (including Lydgate in Tarleton's(?) *2 The Seven Deadly Sins,* performed 1585?; Gower in Shakespeare's *Pericles,* performed 1606- 1608; Homer in Heywood's *Ages* plays, performed 1609-1613), and whose provenance, though not traced satisfactorily, seems to be English rather than classical.[36] In turn, the contemporary use of authorial presenters may have had some influence on the use of single choric figures in plays like *Locrine,* Rowley

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[33] Silvia Bigliazzi, 'Chorus and Chorality in Early Modern English Drama,' *Skenè: Journal of Theatre and Drama Studies* 1:1 (2015), pp.101-133.

[34] Including several records that might indicate performance(s) of Senecan or Senencan-influenced plays, there were forty-seven of these between 1474 and 1640, with approximately eighteen of these in England (for Senecan and Senecan-influenced performances in England, see appendix B, entries 114, 131, 134, 152, 153, 155, 156, 171, 185, 189, 210, 215, 223, 229, 233, 235, 244, and 251).

[35] See Jessica Winston, 'Seneca in Early Elizabethan England,' *Renaissance Quarterly* 59:1 (2006), pp.29-58, who argues that 'the Elizabethan reception of Seneca occurred in two distinct phases': the first in the 1560s, when students and fellows at the universities and the Inns of Court were most occupied with translating and performing Seneca's plays; the second in the 1580s and 1590s, when dramatists began adapting Senecan elements for their plays following the publication of Newton's Senecan anthology *Tenne Tragedies* (1581) (p.30). According to Winston, the distinction between the two phases is that 'while playwrights in the second phase wanted their Seneca in parts—his sentences, rhetoric, devices, and structures—the ones in the first wanted their Seneca whole in the form of complete translations and extensive imitations' (p.31).

[36] Walter F. Eggers, 'Shakespeare's Gower and the Role of the Authorial Presenter,' *Philological Quarterly* 54:2 (1975), pp.434-443 (pp.435, 442). Eggers cites several critics who argue that authorial presenters have precedents in the *poeta* of the miracle or Saints' plays (Baker, Hoeniger, Felperin), the court masque (Welsford), and in civic pageantry and shows (Mehl) (p.442).

and Wilkins' *The Travels of the Three English Brothers,* and Shakespeare's *Henry V* and *Romeo and Juliet.* Bigliazzi sees this shift in emphasis from 'choral plurality of classical ascendancy into a new oxymoronic idea of choric singularity' as an innovation that rests squarely with the Renaissance playwrights, not their classical sources.[37] When we combine this observation with the frequent associations between (increasingly single) choric figures with prologue and epilogue speakers, which Stern sees as often constituting extra-dramatic material that could be adapted or discarded from performance to performance,[38] it is clear that in Jonson's period the chorus had undergone some notable changes from their ancient forms.

This overview prompts one to ask whether the Aristophanic chorus had much influence on Jonson's plays at all. The dominant classical model for the chorus was Senecan—as highlighted by the introduction and appendix B, extant records indicate that Aristophanes' plays had an even slighter performance history than Seneca's, especially in England, and although Aristophanes' texts were available in translations and bilingual Greek-Latin editions direct familiarity with the Old Comic seems to have been exceptional rather than the norm; perhaps as a result of one or both of these facts, there is little evidence of a 'neo-Aristophanic' trend in the plays of Jonson's contemporaries.[39] Aside from the greater attention given to Seneca rather than Aristophanes during the period, it is also worth considering that Jonson could have found precedent for the 'para-' quality of the Aristophanic chorus from more contemporary sources; as Eggers' points out, the authorial presenter of the native tradition fulfilled a didactic and reflective function in their plays,[40] similar to that fulfilled by the Greek chorus in the *parabasis.* If one were to rely on early modern theatrical fashion to infer what sources Jonson drew upon for his choruses, there is therefore persuasive evidence that he could have found more readily available and popular precedents for many of the key dramaturgical elements that section II had associated with the Aristophanic chorus in sources *other* than Aristophanes.

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[37] Bigliazzi, p.104.

[38] Tiffany Stern, *Documents of Performance in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), p.109; and ''A Small-Beer Health to His Second Day:' Playwrights, Prologues, and First Performances in the Early Modern Theatre,' *Studies in Philology* 101: 2 (2004), pp. 172-199.

[39] Miola ('Aristophanes in England,' in *Ancient Comedy and Reception,* ed. by Olson) sees Jonson as the English playwright who most consistently engages with and adapts Aristophanes (pp.495-500); after him, the next English play to carry a specifically Aristophanic flavour is *Hey for Honesty, Down with Knavery* by Thomas Randolph (who was, notably, a 'son of Ben') in 1651 (p.493).

[40] Eggers, p.436.

These points do indeed problematise Aristophanic influence on Jonson's plays, but there are several reasons for not allowing them to undermine my argument. Firstly, the presence of several sources of influence does not mean that Jonson would have followed one to the exclusion of others; as the examples below will illustrate, there are in fact plenty of instances of Jonsonian choruses where non-Aristophanic elements sit alongside Aristophanic ones, and there is reason to suppose that Jonson, whose artistry always tended towards accumulation of imagery, stage action, and sources,[41] would have seen the dramatic appeal in allowing such elements to contaminate one another. Secondly, and perhaps more obviously, is the fact that Jonson was never one for following the crowd; as indicated in the Introduction, there is plenty of evidence from within Jonson's work and in the testimonies of his contemporaries to suggest that the playwright was both familiar with and identified with his Old Comic predecessor. Indeed it is this kinship, specifically in the two playwrights' recognition of the moral duties of the public poet, that make the presence in Jonson's work of dramaturgical elements specifically associated with the Aristophanic chorus most likely, as it was through this group that the Old Comic was able to communicate some of his sharpest satire. And satire is precisely the end to which Jonson put those dramaturgical qualities most associated with the chorus; as the following examples will demonstrate, the playwright never used all of them in relation to one choric group, and frequently deployed them in a variety of combinations, but the satiric impulse that underlined these dramaturgical elements gave the early modern playwright his strongest connection to his Athenian forbear.

Bigliazzi argues that one of the most distinctive features of early modern English dramaturgy was its 'relocation of the lost collectiveness and artificial drive of the old chorus to different dramatic positions characterised by an equivalent degree of artificiality.'[42] This is indeed apparent in Jonson's work, and the effects of the playwright's redistribution of dramaturgical elements associated with the chorus can be glimpsed in Happé's article on Jonson's onstage audiences. Happé groups these onstage audiences into three categories, the first of which refers to the 'largely choric' groups, consisting of the Grex in *Every Man Out of His Humour,* the Gossips in *The Staple of News,* and the gentlemen Damplay and Probee of *The Magnetic Lady.* Together they constitute what

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[41] Womack, *Ben Jonson,* pp.4-5; Anne Barton, *Ben Jonson, Dramatist* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1984), p.219.
[42] Bigliazzi, p.104.

Savage calls the 'formal choruses' of Jonsonian comedy,[43] as they provide a clear framework around their plays' acts, and their comments help to articulate concepts and to explicate plot and/or character elements for the audience's benefit.[44] In some respects, these groups are the closest imitations of the Aristophanic chorus to be found in Jonson's work. Firstly, they sit onstage for the duration of their plays, thereby achieving a similar dominance of the space that Aristophanes' chorus enjoy after their entry, with the difference being that they take their positions in their plays' inductive sections before any other character has appeared. Secondly, like their Aristophanic counterparts, they are representative of Jonson's real audience: the Gossips are the sort of 'persons of quality' (*Staple,* Ind.7) and Probee and Damplay a 'pair of public persons' (*Mag. Lady,* Ind.14) who might be expected to attend Jonson's Blackfriars venue, and Mitis and Cordatus often seem to sit at opposing ends of a scale of intelligence that the playwright obviously thought most of his audience also occupied.[45] Thirdly, the differences between his characters' intellects and their aesthetic prejudices allow Jonson to present 'a dialectic between different attitudes' that his genuine audience may hold about his art,[46] a quality that recalls not only the artistic defences that are central to so many Aristophanic *parabaseis* but also the chorus' process of resistance to and acceptance of the protagonists' Great Ideas. Finally, their detachment from the play's action gives them a liminal relationship to the play's main action, imbuing their pronouncements with the 'stepping aside' quality of the Aristophanic *parabaseis.*

Ironically though, the liminality of these groups also raises an obvious difference between the formal Jonsonian choruses and their Aristophanic counterparts. With the partial exception of the Grex of *Every Man Out*—an exception that will be explored more fully in chapter 3—their separation from the main action is total: similar to the popular Senecan model, Jonson's formal choruses are spectators of, not participants in, their plays' action, and they therefore lose the close integration enjoyed by the Aristophanic chorus in the plots of their comedies. But if Aristophanic integration between chorus

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[43] J.E. Savage, 'The Formal Choruses in the Comedies of Ben Jonson,' *University of Mississippi Studies in English* 11 (1971), pp.11-21.

[44] Peter Happé, 'Jonson's On-Stage Audiences: *Spectaret Populum Ludis Attentius Ipsis*,' *Ben Jonson Journal* 10 (2003), pp. 23-41 (p.24).

[45] This difference of intelligence is confirmed in the Theophrastan character sketch that precedes the printed text of *Every Man Out:* Cordatus is described as possessing 'a discreet and understanding judgement', whereas Mitis is a 'person of no action, and therefore we have reason to afford him no character' (*EMO,* Characters. 107, 110-111). Jonson's verdict is endorsed by Maus, who views Cordatus as 'critically penetrating,' whereas Mitis is rather dim (p.149).

[46] Happé, 'On-Stage Audiences,' p.24.

and character is lost in the Jonsonian formal chorus, Happé finds another outlet for this quality in his next two categories, and it is in these that one sees Bigliazzi's idea about the relocation of the 'lost collectiveness and artificial drive of the old chorus' most clearly. The second group covers onstage audiences of plays-within-plays, including those spectators who watch Littlewit's puppet show in *Bartholomew Fair* (V.iv-v), *Volpone*'s mountebank scene (II.ii), the masques of *Cynthia's Revels* (Folio version, V.vii, ix, x), and Medley's farcical 'masque' that concludes *A Tale of a Tub* (V.x). These are examples of consciously dramatic performances by Jonson's characters, but Happé's third and final category offers a wider selection of 'dramatic' moments, as it refers to 'paradramatic' episodes—including Virgil's reading of sections of the *Aeneid* in *Poetaster* (V.ii.56-97), Cicero's denunciation of the eponymous anti-hero of *Catiline* (IV.ii), or the games of vapours and jeering that can be found in *Bartholomew Fair* (II.v; IV.iv) and *The Staple of News* (IV.i)— that arecharacterised by 'watching, observing and commentating by on-stage audiences.'[47] These two categories move from instances where there is a clear divide between onstage audiences and performers, and where there is a sense that the performance is consciously 'theatrical' (the second), to one where the audience-performer divide is either more unclear or completely absent (the third). However, what connects these two groupings of onstage audiences, and in turn what connects them to the Aristophanic chorus, is their integration within the play's action, with their inter-discursive qualities (as shown through characters commenting among themselves on the performances and fellow audience members they are watching) and their metatheatrical resonances (the attendant reminder to the real audience of their own position as spectators) giving them a mediatory function between stage and audience that is at least similar to that held by the Old Comic choruses.

In balance, although the formal choruses of the first category initially seem to hold more promise, it is perhaps in the qualities shared across these two groups that one can most clearly discern Jonson's Aristophanic impulse. Between them these three categories offer a wide range of examples from across Jonson's dramatic output—so wide, in fact, that Happé claims that the use of onstage audiences is a key element of Jonsonian dramaturgy. Onstage audiences are of course not identical with choruses, but Happé's choice of a Horatian quotation in his title ('*spectaret populum ludis attentius ipsis*': 'he would watch

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[47] Happé, 'On-Stage Audiences,' p.25.

the people more closely than the games themselves')[48] reflects the fact that his article's chief concern is precisely with that same interplay between real audiences and their fictive counterparts, and the epistemological revelations that stem from this, that form the basis of the Aristophanic chorus' dramatic impact.

Happé's focus is on those characters who are conscious of either their role as audience members or of their participation in some sort of informal performance or act (a game, a speech, a poetic reading) that is distinct from normal social interaction. What is interesting though is that Jonson appears to have applied the notion of onstage spectatorship even more broadly than Happé's categories will allow, to the point where one can claim that even in dramatic episodes that stage what one might call 'non-performative' actions one can still discern the stage dynamic of watching and commenting that is used to great effect by the classical (and in particular the Aristophanic) chorus. This is Jonsonian chorality at its most fluid, and similar phenomena have been commented on by previous critics, although rarely in direct relation to the chorus. Cave claims that Jonson's plays 'abound in situations where one group of characters closely observes another group who are quite unconscious of being under surveillance,' with the playwright repeatedly using this technique as 'a method of self-discovery' for his audience, the constantly shifting power play of optical privilege providing 'a lesson about the subjective nature of perception.'[49] As an example of this Jonsonian brand of inter-character surveillance, Cave cites the opening moments of *Sejanus*, in which the factionalism and paranoia of Tiberian Rome is laid bare through the movements and commentary of the Germanican and Sejanan factions, whose entrances and exits consist of an elaborate dance in which each group takes turns to observe and comment upon the other, and the scene's hierarchies of power constantly shift as the audience is faced with the private observances of those who, temporarily, enjoy the voyeuristic privilege of looking on their adversaries' activities.[50]

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[48] The quotation, from Horace, *Epist.* II.i, belongs to a larger section (II.i.194-200) included on the title page to *Bartholomew Fair*. Appropriately enough, the focus in Horace's poem is on the degradation of modern theatre to the level of crowd-pleasing spectacle: '*si foret in terris, rideret Democritus, seu / diversum confusa genus panthera camelo / sive elephans albus volgi converteret ora; / spectaret populum ludis attentius ipsis / ut sibi praebentem nimio spectacula plura: / scriptores autem narrare putaret asello / fabellam surdo*' ('If he were on earth, Democritus would laugh, whether / The people would be turned by a beast, a confusion of the panther and the camel, / Or if a white elephant might convert the mouths of the vulgar; / He would watch the people more closely than the games themselves, / As they would offer more spectacles to him. / Moreover, he might think writers tell their story / To a deaf donkey.' Translation mine.)

[49] Cave, 'Visualising Jonson's Text,' in *Ben Jonson and Theatre,* ed. by Cave, Schafer, and Woolland, p.34.

It is worth pausing over this opening episode of *Sejanus*, as an overview of its action helps illustrate Cave's argument and also gives an example of what I have referred to as Jonson's fluid chorality at work. The notion of sight dominates the discourse of both factions: the Germanican Silius draws his companion's attention (and by extension, the audience's) to Sejanus' allies 'yonder' (*Sej.,* I.20), and he acknowledges that this gaze is returned, and that 'our looks are called into question' by those in the opposing faction (I.67); and upon the entry of Sejanus he invites his companions to 'observe the stoops, /The bendings, and the falls' of his flatterers (I.175-176). The privileged gaze is not confined to the Germanicans though: Sejanus assures his companions that he watches his adversaries too ('I note 'em well,' I.176), and there is foreboding in Sabinus' terse '[y]ou're observed, Arruntius' following the consul's angry denunciation of Sejanus (I.252-258), with the simplicity of the statement standing in ironic counterpoint to the terrible consequences that will follow his friend's rash outburst. A vignette of the complex power politics conveyed through the act of observation can be found in an episode towards the end of the Act when Drusus, Tiberius' adopted son and heir apparent, confronts Sejanus and strikes him for his impudence:

> DRUSUS: [*To Sejanus*] Nay, come, approach. [*Draws his sword.*]
> What? Stand you off? At gaze?
> It looks too full of death for thy cold spirits.
> Avoid mine eye, dull camel […]
> (*Sej.,* I.566-568)

In this moment the privilege of viewing is intimately bound up with the power struggle between the two men. Drusus' dominance is signalled through imperatives ('come,' 'approach,' 'avoid'), and is enforced optically through his demand that Sejanus '[a]void mine eye' while he himself retains the privilege of interpreting Sejanus' expression ('It looks too full of death'); in turn, Sejanus is described as having a 'gaze,' a word that connotes a more passive form of viewing to Drusus' unflinching stare. In essence, the optical states of these two characters is a miniature of the complex interplay between

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[50] Cave, 'Visualising Jonson's Text,' in *Ben Jonson and Theatre,* ed. by Cave, Schafer, and Woolland, pp.35-36. Cave cites this opening episode of *Sejanus* as one such example, but also includes numerous examples from *Every Man In His Humour, Catiline, Poetaster, Epicene, The Devil Is An Ass,* and *A Tale of A Tub* (pp.33-34)*.

sight and power that runs through not only the first Act but also the play: those who are able to see and not be seen in turn are those who retain power, while the subjects of their observance are frequently the victims.

# IV

Cave remarks that Jonson's constant splitting of focus in the opening episode of *Sejanus* imbues the real audience's act of watching with a moralising edge, the focus of their attention implicitly making them decide whether they were 'siding with an establishment [the Sejanans] that is evidently corrupt or joining league with a dwindling band of threatened rebels [the Germanicans];'[51] through this process, the playwright forces the audience to confront the issue of political power in a manner that is 'experiential rather than simply presented.'[52] I argue that such a dramaturgical strategy is not far from that used by Aristophanes, who explores *polis*-oriented issues in his comedies through a similar use of space in relation to the chorus. In this section I will demonstrate this dynamic in action in the Collegiate of *Epicene,* a chorus-like grouping whose dramaturgical function is highly ambivalent. Like the Aristophanic chorus, their reputation and their behaviour exert a shaping force on their play's action, and there are further similarities in their aggressive attitude, their collective identity, and their movement around the stage. As these characters represent the same leisured middle- and upper-class women who patronised (or matronised?) the very theatre that first hosted Jonson's play, they also hold an (artificial) identification with at least some of their audience members that bears some resemblance to the personal identification between Aristophanes' chorus and his audience. In accordance with Jonson's fluid use of choral groupings they are not, though, the only group in *Epicene* who share features with the Aristophanic chorus. An equally interesting group is the three gallants, Dauphine, Truewit, and Clerimont, who share key choral features with the Collegiate in their frequent role as commenting audiences to the actions of their fellow characters (see, for example, their private exchanges in II.iii; IV.i; IV.ii; and V.iii), and during the gulling of Daw and La-Foole in IV.v Truewit even burlesques the moralising function of neo-Senecan drama when he asks his fellows to be 'the chorus behind the arras, and whip out between the acts and speak' (IV.v.30), a duty that they eagerly fulfil (IV.v.117-136, 207-230). The gallants'

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[51] Cave, 'Visualising Jonson's Text,' in *Ben Jonson and Theatre,* ed. by Cave, Schafer, and Woolland, p.35.

[52] Cave, 'Visualising Jonson's Text,' in *Ben Jonson and Theatre,* ed. by Cave, Schafer, and Woolland, p.36.

stage presence and influence over the play's action will certainly take some of the focus for the rest of this chapter, but it will be seen that in many ways the Collegiates make more significant use of Aristophanic choric elements. Furthermore, I will argue that Jonson's deployment of this performance trope articulates a deep-seated fear within his society: a fear of the over-reaching, overly- powerful, mannish woman. Such a fear is expressed by the misogynistic drive of the play as a whole, but the Collegiate ladies are a personification of many of the social ills that are levelled against womankind in general, and it is in their status as characters of negative social commentary that makes them a more interesting resurfacing of those dramaturgical elements and social concerns that first coalesced in the Aristophanic chorus.

As in the earlier discussion of Aristophanes, though, one must consider the play's original performance context in order to appreciate the true impact of the Collegiate on the early modern stage. In 1610, almost two thousand years on from the festival performances at Athens, a much smaller and more select group of people gathered to watch a play in London's Whitefriars Theatre. As its name suggests, the theatre was built in the refectory of a former friary, and apparently similar in shape to the larger Blackfriars theatre (with a long and narrow auditorium facing a stage towards the end of the room), although its interior was much smaller and much less ostentatious.[53] In *The Staple* Gossip Mirth tells a Blackfriars audience that she and her fellow ladies have attended their play, 'to see and to be seen' (*Staple,* Ind.9),[54] and this motivation was not uncommon; Shapiro's analysis of audience interaction at hall playhouses during the period indicates that manifestations of 'self-dramatisation' among audience members regularly provided sideshow entertainments to the plays themselves, sometimes even to the point of causing significant disruption.[55] Such publicly-conscious behaviour:

> [P]robably attracted members of the upper classes who felt their social status to be precarious: either old-line aristocrats struggling to maintain their standing; or gentry, *nouveaux riches,* and young inns- of-court men striving for higher status.[56]

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[53] Wickham, Berry, and Ingram, pp.548-550.

[54] The sentiment comes from Ovid, *Ars Amatoria,* I.99: *'spectatum veniunt, veniunt spectentur ut ipsae'* ('they come to see as much as they come to be seen themselves.' Translation mine).

[55] Michael Shapiro, 'Audience vs. Dramatist in Jonson's *Epicoene* and Other Plays of the Children's Troupes,' *English Literary Renaissance* 3:3 (1973), pp. 400-417 (p.401).

[56] Shapiro, 'Audience vs. Dramatist,' p.401.

Before the play had even started, then, the Whitefriars may have been charged with an unusual energy as representatives of the rising middle- and the urbane upper-classes competed with each other for attention, a situation that can only have been exacerbated by the playhouse's size. Evidence concerning the dimension of the Whitefriars is slim, much less so than for the Blackfriars, but it appears that the stage and audience space, although similar in proportion, was much smaller.[57] As the audience members took their seats, the richer or more well-connected in the pew-like seats in front of the stage, even on the stage itself, 'on the very rushes where the comedy is to dance,'[58] their attention focused as much on their fellow audience members as the actors, they may have been entertained by musicians, playing an elegant, sophisticated arrangement of instruments such as might be found at court.[59] As indicated in chapter 1, such pre-dramatic niceties were common to the hall playhouses, as they helped promote these theatres as cultural spaces that catered to the privileged; and these courtly resonances extended also to the performers themselves, as the boys' companies still provided public performances under the tired but convenient pretext that they were rehearsals for appearances before King James and his aristocratic circle.[60] Additionally, the more attentive or well-connected audience member may have been aware that the playwright, Ben Jonson, was returning to the public theatre after a three-year hiatus, during which he had written a number of very successful court masques. By this point he was, to all intents and purposes, a 'part-time playwright,'[61] a man whose artistic ambitions were inclining him increasingly to private commissions and aristocratic patrons, and although *Epicene* marked Jonson's return to the 'public' stage (if one can include the hall playhouses in this phrase) the considerable rewards offered by such rarefied circles would continue to attract him away, and would culminate in his decade-long abstention from the 'loathéd stage' between 1616-1626. Taken together, both the venue and the playwright whose work the audience were about

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[57] The interior of the Whitefriars measured 85 feet by 35 feet, in comparison to the Blackfriars' 101 foot length and 46 foot width, and may have had a depth of 22 feet and a length of 35 feet (see chapter 1, section V). See Richard Dutton, 'Introduction [*Epicene*],' in Ben Jonson, *Epicene,* ed. by Richard Dutton, Revels (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003), pp. 1-108 (p.53); Jean MacIntyre, 'Production Resources at the Whitefriars Playhouse, 1609-1612,' *Early Modern Literary Studies* 2:3 (1996), pp. 1-35; Francis Teague, 'Ben Jonson's Stagecraft in *Epicoene*' *Renaissance Drama* 9 (1978), pp.175-192 (p.176).

[58] Dekker, *Gull's Hornbook,* in *Shakespeare's Theatre,* ed. by Pollard, p.208 (see chapter 1, p.65).

[59] Chan pp.15-21; Michael Shapiro, *Children of the Revels: The Boy Companies of Shakespeare's Time and Their Plays* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1977), p.26.

[60] Shapiro, *Children of the Revels,* pp.108-109; Andrew Gurr, *The Shakespearian Playing Companies,* rpt. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), p.46.

[61] Womack, *Ben Jonson,* p.18.

to see projected the sort of elitist notions that would have flattered the sort of self-dramatising audience that Shapiro has indicated would have been likely attendees at the Whitefriars performance.

To the culturally and politically aware audience member, however, Jonson's name would have also carried other, less salubrious, associations. One of his first theatrical successes, *Every Man Out of His Humour,* had proclaimed itself a 'comical satire,' following the literary vogue of the 1590s for satires based on Juvenalian example.[62] As will be made clearer in chapter 3, Jonson's terminology may have been commercially attractive, but it was also dangerous, as the Jacobean authorities took a much dimmer view of satire than their Greek forbears. Only a decade earlier, the Bishops' Ban on satire had put paid to the mockery of powerful figures in print, and the subsequent dissolution of the children's theatre companies, the regular performers at the hall playhouses who specialised in this comic mode, was a direct consequence of this suppression.[63] Jonson's 'comical satire' label in post-Ban London was therefore daring, even reckless, and his close brushes with the authorities for his contributions to presumed satirical references in *The Isle of Dogs* (1597) and *Eastward Ho!* (1605) attest to the fact that attacks on powerful individuals or interests were taken very seriously.

Despite the danger that satire carried though, the audience would have had certain expectations that what they were about to experience was in this satiric vein. Aside from Jonson's own reputation, the company he wrote *Epicene* for, the Children of Her Majesty's Revels, a troupe apparently formed in 1608 from the personnel of two separate children's companies, carried its own satirical pedigree.[64] The use of 'Children' in the company's title is misleading; Dutton points out that by 1609 many of this group were fully grown adults, so the maintenance of the boys' company facade suggests a marketing choice that deliberately harks back to the satiric material of the earlier companies, as well as taking commercial advantage of the well-known connection between the troupes and their royal patrons.[65] As Jonson's name carried similar associations, it is therefore tempting to think

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[62] Colin Burrow, 'Roman Satire in the Sixteenth Century,' in *The Cambridge Companion to Roman Satire,* ed. by Freudenburg, pp.243-260 (p.248).
[63] Shapiro, *Children of the Revels*; Dutton, 'Introduction [*Epicene*],' in Jonson, *Epicene,* ed. by Dutton, Revels, p.2.
[64] Dutton, 'Introduction [*Epicene*],' in Jonson, *Epicene,* ed. by Dutton, Revels, pp.2-3.
[65] Dutton, 'Introduction [*Epicene*],' in Jonson, *Epicene,* ed. by Dutton, Revels, p.6. However, see Gurr, *Shakespearean Stage,* p.71, who despite acknowledging that the company probably included a number

that the first audiences of *Epicene*, likely aware of the satiric credentials of both playwright and company, had an expectation that the performance they were about to watch had a *frisson* of danger about it.

Indeed, although Jonson had left behind the more overtly satirical material of his earlier phase, the performance witnessed by his Whitefriars audience was undoubtedly satire of a sort. *Epicene* is a deeply cynical play. Following the Jacobean vogue for city comedy, Jonson draws his characters—gentlemen, knights, and ladies of leisure—from the very social orders that thronged the private theatres, and he used the characteristic preoccupations of these orders—the desire for a good marriage, for social prestige, to be seen as one of the fashionable set—as the basis for his play's mockery. According to Chalfant, *Epicene* is also 'the first drama in which Jonson extensively used the adverse connotations and reputations of certain London regions for satiric purposes,'[66] with his characters' sexual promiscuity, material obsessions and personal neuroses all being connected in some way to the city's familiar landmarks and districts.[67] Class and city certainly take some of the play's mocking attention, but Jonson's main satiric focus is concentrated on women: firstly in the figure of Epicene, with the play's central joke resting on the apparently oxymoronic concept of a 'silent woman' and the fact that 'Epicene' turns out to be neither of these things; and secondly in the ladies Collegiate, the female-only group whose presence in Morose's home is a source of misery for its owner and of corruption for his new 'wife'. Truewit's Juvenalian pronouncements on women in II.ii— that they are inclined to lust; that they control their husbands' lives and inflict their own relatives on them; that they are acquisitive, jealous and garrulous—is an apt summary of female behaviour within the play at large; at its heart it is a deeply misogynistic satire, 'saturated with the fear of women who have moved or might move from their proper

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of performers with 'decades of acting behind them' also states that group 'may have had a larger proportion of boys than usual' for 'Children's companies' of the time.

[66] Fran C. Chalfant, *Ben Jonson's London: A Jacobean Placename Dictionary* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1978), p.11.

[67] Chalfant, pp.11-12, points out that Haughty's promiscuity is signalled by her trip to 'meet a friend' (*Epicene,* III.ii.72) at Ware, a coaching town on the outskirts of London renowned in the period as a rendezvous point for illicit liaisons; the Collegiate ladies' obsession with popular tourist and shopping spots like the New Exchange, the China Houses, and Bedlam also points to their 'acquisitive urge, materialism, and eccentricity;' and Morose's own aversion to the noises associated with some of London's most famous landmarks—'tower wharf […] London Bridge, Paris garden, Billingsgate' (IV.iv.14-16)—shows how manifestly unsuited he is to urban life.

place of subordination.'[68] As suggested by the mythological associations of Centaur, the name of one of these ladies, the Collegiate is a grotesque chimera, a mixture of urbane and profane,[69] and the most obvious manifestation of the discordance that lies at the heart of a play in which, as Partridge memorably pronounced, 'nearly everyone […] is epicene in some way.'[70]

It is with the Collegiate ladies that the play's satire on women is most concentrated, and it is through those theatregrams that I have identified with the Aristophanic chorus that the group's terrible qualities are actualised in performance. Even before their entrance, we are prepared to see them not as individual characters but as a collective; Truewit describes them disparagingly, but fearfully, as 'an order between courtiers and country madams that live from their husbands' and 'cry down or up what they like or dislike in a brain or a fashion with most *masculine, or rather hermaphroditical, authority*' (I.i.59-64, emphasis added). Later, he will also claim:

> [A]ll their actions are *governed by crude opinion*, without reason or
> cause. They know not why they do anything but as  they  are
> informed, believe, judge, praise, condemn, love, hate, and—in
> emulation of one another—*do all these things alike*.
> (*Epicene*, IV.vi.55-59, emphasis added)

The emphasis here on a unified, highly judgemental group, whose collective authority is even said to transgress into the realm of 'masculine' patriarchal power, holds echoes of the Aristophanic chorus, who often maintain a similarly prominent and judgemental position in their own plays. For example, in *Wasps* Bdelycleon, the long-suffering son of a 'compulsive juror' father (l.89), introduces the play's chorus of wasp-jurors using language that suggests that he holds a similar fear to Truewit:

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[68] David Bevington, 'Introduction [*Epicene*],' in *CWBJ*, III, pp.375-383 (p.381); Jean E. Howard, *The Stage and Social Struggle in Early Modern England* (London; New York: Routledge, 1994), p.106.

[69] See 'Centaurs,' in *The Oxford Classical Dictionary,* ed. by Hornblower and Spawforth, which highlights that these mythological creatures, a hybrid of horse and man, were highly temperamental, and were reputedly capable of acting with savagery and civility. The 'double-natured ambivalence' of these creatures makes them appropriate comparisons with the 'hermaphroditical authority' of the Collegiate; interestingly, the entry also notes that by the fifth century BC 'Centaurs (like Amazons) come to symbolise all those forces which opposed Greek male cultural and political dominance.' On a more prosaic level, one might also admit Mistress Otter into the Collegiate's company of 'double-natured ambivalence,' as her surname identifies her with a creature regarded at the time as 'neither fish nor flesh' (cf. *1H4,* III.iii.115), its biological ambiguity according well with the ladies' general refusal to conform to type (see *Epicene,* Persons.8n.).

[70] E.B. Partridge, *The Broken Compass: A Study of the Major Comedies of Ben Jonson* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1964) p.162.

> [...] if anyone angers that tribe
> of old men, it's just like a nest of wasps. They've even got a very
> sharp sting sticking out from their rumps, which they stab with, and
> they shout and jump about and strike you like sparks of fire.
> (*Wasps,* ll.224-227)

There are some striking similarities between the description of the Collegiate, who according to Truewit 'believe, judge, praise, condemn, love, hate' and 'do all these things alike'; and the wasp-jurors whose collective anger drives them to the equally powerful physical reactions of shouting, stabbing and jumping. I would also suggest that in both *Wasps* and *Epicene* the introduction of the as-yet-unseen group is a theatregram of design, as this device builds up a sense of anticipation for the groups' eventual arrival.

An interesting side point to this is that shortly before the ladies' entrance, Truewit administers one more turn of the screw to Morose by telling him that '[h]ere will be three or four fashionable ladies from the college to visit you presently, and their train of *minions and followers*' (III.v.22-23, emphasis added). The audience has been prepared for some time for the arrival of the Collegiate, but who are these 'minions and followers' who have also been announced? MacIntyre's analysis of plays performed by the King's and Queen's Revels, the two companies that occupied the Whitefriars, suggests that *Epicene* required fourteen actors to perform the speaking parts,[71] but Truewit's reference throws up the possibility that the Collegiate's physical presence onstage could have been supplemented by a number of non-speaking attendants, and indeed the references to 'pages', 'servants' and 'musicians' in the play's *dramatis personae* does indicate the presence of supernumeraries in the company. In reality there may not have been any of these anonymous extras: the Folio text does not support that any were attached to the ladies— the stage direction merely announces the appearance of '*DAW, HAUGHTY, CENTAUR, MAVIS, TRUSTY*'—and we should perhaps heed Dutton's opinion that the transmitted text is 'a report of a performance,' prepared for print after its initial production, with the stage directions consequently modified by the physical realities of performance upon the Whitefriars stage.[72] If we accept that the stage directions are reflective of the original Whitefriars staging the only 'minion' who appears is Jack Daw, a far cry from the large group anticipated by Truewit's words, and it is possible that these attendants are represented by Clerimont and his musicians, La Foole with his wedding banquet, and the two Otters. Even if the Collegiate are only accompanied by Daw on their first

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[71] MacIntyre. p.9.
[72] Dutton, 'Introduction [*Epicene*],' in Jonson, *Epicene,* ed. by Dutton, Revels, p.57.

appearance though, the fact remains that Truewit has given the *impression* that a large mass of people will soon descend on Morose's household, giving the audience both an exaggerated idea of the women's collective power and a subtle suggestion that the characters that follow are their satellites. Truewit's introduction, like that of Bdelycleon, has the effect of building these characters up to absurd, inhuman proportions, a level of exaggeration that is immediately complemented by Morose's apocalyptic language as he laments his 'torment' and 'plague above the plague' of marrying a garrulous wife who insists on a train of followers (III.v.40, 48-49).

When the Collegiate finally arrive in III.vi Truewit's preparatory words certainly do not disappoint, as we are immediately given an impression of the group's overbearing power:

> *[Enter] DAW, [conducting] HAUGHTY, CENTAUR, MAVIS, [and] TRUSTY.*
> DAW: This way, madam.
> MOROSE: Oh, the sea breaks in upon me! Another flood! An inundation! I shall be o'erwhelmed with noise. It beats already at my shores. I feel an earthquake in myself for't.
> DAW: *[Kissing Epicene]* Give you joy, mistress.
> MOROSE: Has she servants, too?
> DAW: *[To Epicene]* I have brought some ladies here to see and know you. *(She kisses them severally as he presents them.)* My Lady Haughty; this, my Lady Centaur; Mistress Doll Mavis; Mistress Trusty, my Lady Haughty's woman. Where's your husband? Let's see him. Can he endure no noise? Let me come to him.
> MOROSE: What nomenclator is this?
> TRUEWIT: Sir John Daw, sir, your wife's servant, this.
> MOROSE: A Daw, and her servant! Oh, 'tis decreed, 'tis decreed of me, an she have such servants. *[He starts to leave.]*
> TRUEWIT: Nay, sir, you must kiss the ladies; you must not go away now. They come toward you to seek you out.
> HAUGHTY: I'faith, Master Morose, would you steal a marriage thus, in the midst of so many friends, and not acquaint us? Well, I'll kiss you, notwithstanding the justice of my quarrel. *[To Epicene]* You shall give me leave, mistress, to use a becoming familiarity with your husband. *[She kisses Morose.]*
> (*Epicene,* III.vi.1-20)

By this point Morose has already had to contend with a suddenly talkative wife and the arrival of several uninvited wedding guests, but with the appearance of the Collegiates Jonson builds up the encroachment upon Morose's personal space to an unbearable intensity. We first hear of Morose living in a hermetically sealed environment, 'a room with double walls and treble ceilings, the windows close shut and

caulked' (I.i.146-147), his house a self-imposed cell, a womb-like sanctuary that validates his identity and protects him from the chaos of the outside world.[73] The stage directions are not particularly clear, but it seems to me that Morose's comparison of these new characters to a 'wave,' an 'inundation' is most effective if the four Collegiate ladies move onto the stage together. The following point can only be speculation, but if one assumes that the Collegiates' entrance was an important one, and therefore deserving of beginning from the central doors of the tiring house,[74] and that Epicene and Morose are standing separately, possibly on either side of the stage to emphasise their disharmony, the group of ladies would have to cover most of the stage space in order to greet the unhappy couple.[75] Irrespective of their precise point of entrance though, their arrival is a theatregram of design, similar to the dramatic entry of the Aristophanic chorus in the *parodos*; the playwright uses the choral group as a device to increase the chaotic events instigated by the gallants, and this effect is realised through their physical presence and movement through the space. Indeed, the chaos within Morose's home is brought to a literal crescendo in the next scene, where Clerimont instructs his musicians to perform a 'variety of noises' (III.vii.2) to bring Morose's misery to its peak. The sudden eruption of noise is a moment that, considering the small, enclosed space of the hall playhouse, must have been deafening, and perhaps led some of Jonson's audience to sympathise with the phonophobic Morose.[76] The appearance of the Collegiates therefore signals the complete rupture of Morose's solitary confinement and brings the misanthrope's discomfiture to its peak, and the idea of the ladies moving as one between different points on the stage certainly captures something of the unified movement of the Aristophanic chorus that I earlier identified as a theatregram of motion (see Fig. 2.1).

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[73] See Laura Levine, *Men in Women's Clothing: Anti-Theatricality and Effeminisation, 1579-1642* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp.73-88; Greene, 'Centred Self,' p.335.

[74] Gurr, *Shakespearean Stage,* p.183.

[75] Even if the characters did not enter through the discovery space, instead entering through one of the doors that flanked the central opening, this would not have negated the effect of their large size on the stage picture.

[76] Teague, p.176. Chan (p.30) also highlights that audiences watching the boy companies at the hall playhouses expected to hear fashionable music as well as to see a performance, so the sound of this discordant noise must have been particularly jarring.

Fig. 2.1. The Collegiate's entry, *Epicene,* III.vi.



**C = The Collegiate (Haughty, Centaur, Mavis, Trusty)**

**D = Jack Daw**

**T = Truewit**

**M = Morose**

**E = Epicene**
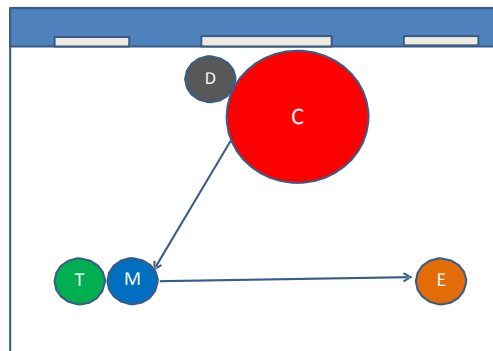
Compare this instance with a similar moment in *Acharnians*, where the eponymous chorus burst in on Dicaepolis and his family giving offerings in celebration of their privately-brokered peace:

> CHORUS: [*making a rush at the procession, all of whom except Dicaepolis flee indoors*]
> That's the man, that's the man!
> Pelt him, pelt him, pelt him, pelt him,
> strike him, strike the villain!
> Won't you stone him? Won't you stone him?
> DICAEPOLIS: Heracles, what's all this? You'll smash the pot.
> CHORUS: No, you accurséd creature, it's you we'll stone to death!
> (*Ach.,* ll.280-286)[77]

Fig. 2.2. The Acharnians confront Dicaepolis, *Ach.,* ll. 280-286.



**DF = Dicaepolis and Family**

**C = Chorus**

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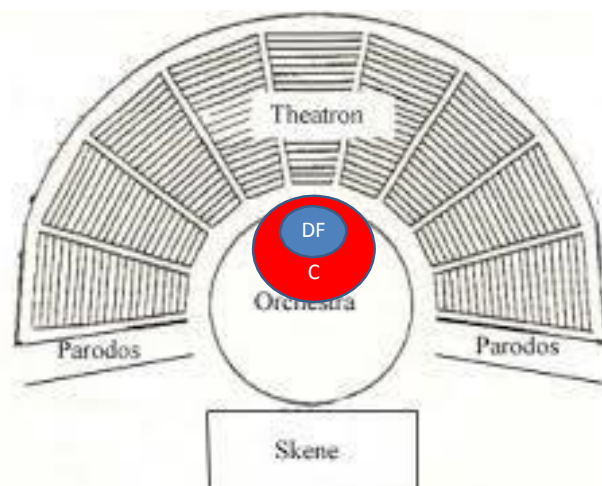
[77] Aristophanes, *Acharnians*, ed. and trans. by Alan H. Sommerstein (Oxford: Aris & Phillips, 1980).

As in *Epicene*, the choral unit is utilised as a disruptive element, breaking in on a comparatively calm scene and threatening the protagonist with physical violence. The chorus' forceful repetition of violently staccato phrases like 'pelt him' (*'βάλλε βάλλε βάλλε βάλλε'*: l.281) and 'stone him' (*'παῖε παῖε'*: l.282) provide a verbal complement to this aggressive movement, and this aural and visual impact was no doubt enhanced further by the large number of chorus members bearing down on Dicaepolis and his family (see Fig. 2.2 for a possible configuration). Although the original Greek text contained no stage directions, it seems clear from Dicaepolis' cry that the chorus will 'smash the pot' (*'τὴν χύτραν συντρίψετε'*) that the Acharnians are for the moment sharing the same performance space; Sommerstein indicates that this is the *orchestra*, an area normally occupied by the chorus but whose altar is currently being used by Dicaepolis' family. One detects a similar territorial encroachment in *Epicene* when the Collegiate and their associates enter Morose's home, although here it is the choral group who encroach on the principal character's personal space. Furthermore, if one considers the intense misanthropy of Jonson's Morose, the fact that Jonson has Haughty kiss him is a further violation of territory, representing an attenuated but nonetheless aggressive action that is comparable to the threatening chorus of *Acharnians*. The sight of a twenty-four strong chorus surrounding an isolated Dicaepolis must have been visually effective in the Theatre of Dionysos, and Jonson was not able to draw on such large numbers for *Epicene*, but it must be remembered that overall cast sizes were considerably smaller to those in the Greek theatre,[78] and that, regardless of how many performers Jonson used across the whole play, the fact remains that the Collegiates equal the number of characters onstage (Morose, Epicene, Daw, and Truewit). Therefore, although the Collegiates could not have maintained the same spatial dominance as the Aristophanic chorus their close proximity to each other (and to the much more tightly packed audience) must have made them more visually imposing than these other individual figures.

Furthermore, unlike the other groupings in this play—the three gallants, Daw and La-Foole, Morose and his wife—the Collegiates rarely break away from each other, instead providing a visually imposing centrepoint around which the other characters revolve. We even find that in later scenes other characters have been sucked into their orbit; in Act IV, following their decision to induct Epicene into their order, they begin to

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[78] Discounting supernumeries, there are only fifteen speaking parts, and the Folio only acknowledges six principal actors.

act with greater and greater authority, compelling other characters to follow them on and off the stage according to their whim. IV.iii begins with the stage direction '*[Enter] HAUGHTY, MISTRESS OTTER, MAVIS, DAW, LA FOOLE, CENTAURE, EPICENE. [TRUEWIT and CLERIMONT observe them.]* (IV.iii.0.SD.1-3). The entrance of the Collegiates must have been similar to that of III.vi, although the stage has been made busier still by the inclusion of the observers Truewit and Clerimont and Daw and La Foole (see Fig. 2.3).

Three of the original Collegiates have returned to the stage (minus their neophyte, Trusty), but the language of the scene is heavily suggestive that we should now view Mistress Otter and Epicene as new additions to their number. Mistress Otter, whose domestic dominance is a complete inversion of the patriarchal order of Jacobean society, stakes her claim to the Collegiate's 'hermaphroditical authority' when she tells them she has been 'chastising my subject' (IV.iii.6-7), the unfortunate Captain Otter. The Collegiate ladies' approval of Mistress Otter's behaviour is made clear by Haughty's exhortation that Epicene 'practise' (IV.iii.13) a similar control over her spouse, a claim that serves both as an endorsement of Mistress Otter's behaviour and as a sign of the group's increasing interest in inducting Epicene into their order. Daw and La Foole have entered with the group as well, but I think that the coterie mentality of the female characters keeps the pair of gulls separate, and in the interests of balancing the stage picture perhaps they stood aside in a distinct pair, opposing the gallants' grouping.

Fig. 2.3 The re-entry of the Collegiates, *Epicene,* IV.iii.



C = The Collegiates (Haughty, Centaur, Mavis)

E = Epicene

O = Mistress Otter

D = Jack Daw

LF = La Foole

T = Truewit

Cl = Clerimont
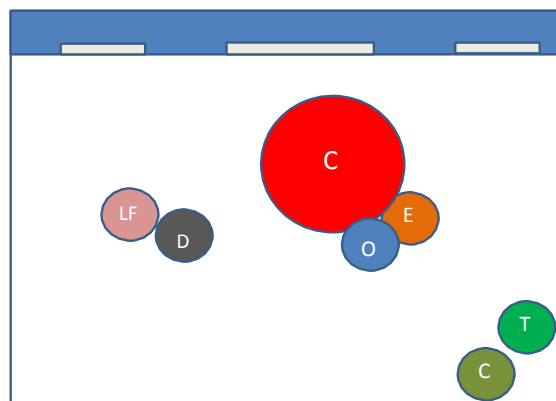
Again, the Collegiates and satellites outnumber the other characters on the stage, a situation made more pronounced by the fact that they appeared to have also increased in

number. As with their Aristophanic forbears, then, from their entrance the Collegiates maintain a strong visual presence on the stage, and the aggrandising attitude they adopt towards Epicene and other favourites means that they increasingly dominate the other characters in the stage picture through sheer weight of numbers.

*Epicene* IV.v gives an even clearer connection between the Collegiates and the Aristophanic chorus in its echo of the judgemental dynamic of the *agon,* in which the chorus would be enlisted to endorse the Great Idea of the protagonist(s). This dynamic is apparent in *Wasps,* where the lead character decides to 'make these men the judges of the question' ('*τούτοισί γ᾽ ἐπιτρέψαι ᾽θέλω*': l.521), and they ultimately decide in favour of the protagonist's viewpoint. *Epicene* provides a vestige of the chorus' involvement in the *agon* when the three gallants engage in a rather cruel prank against the two gulls of the play, Sir Amorous La Foole and John Daw, which is deliberately set up in full view of the Collegiates:

> TRUEWIT: Where's thine uncle?
> DAUPHINE: Run out o'doors in's nightcaps to talk with a casuist about his divorce. It works admirably.
> TRUEWIT: Thou wouldst ha' said so an thou hadst been here. The ladies have laughed at thee most comically since thou went'st, Dauphine.
> CLERIMONT: And asked if thou wert thine uncle's keeper.
> TRUEWIT: And the brace of baboons [Daw and La Foole] answered, 'Yes', and said thou wert a pitiful poor fellow and didst live upon posts, and hadst nothing but three suits of apparel and some few benevolences that lords ga' thee to fool to 'em and swagger.
> DAUPHINE: Let them not live, I'll beat them. I'll bind 'em both to grand madam's bedposts and have 'em baited with monkeys.
> TRUEWIT: Thou shalt not need; they shall be beaten to thy hand, Dauphine. I have an execution to serve upon 'em, I warrant thee, shall serve. Trust my plot.
> DAUPHINE: Ay, you have many plots! So you had one to make all the wenches in love with me.
> TRUEWIT: Why, if I do not yet afore night, as near as 'tis, and that they do not every one invite thee and be ready to scratch for thee, take the mortgage of my wit.
> (*Epicene,* IV.v.2-20)

Interestingly, the prank appears to be spurred on in part because Truewit claims 'the ladies have laughed at [Dauphine] most comically,' and Daw and La Foole were idiotic enough to join in. The gallants' indignant response, and Truewit's renewed bid to make all the ladies 'love' Dauphine, is a sign that even these most self-confident of characters are aware, and wary of, their reputation in the eyes of the Collegiates, a reaction that helps

confirm the women's status as representative of the wider community. The action in the scene that follows centres on the fooling of the two gulls, Jack Daw and Sir Amorous La Foole, who are tricked individually into thinking that the other intends to kill them in a duel, resulting in both of them agreeing to be blindfolded and beaten by someone whom they think is the 'other,' but who is in reality Truewit. A stage direction indicates that the Collegiates '*Enter, above,*' presumably from the gallery above the tiring house, silently watching the scene unfold (IV.v.218.SD.1-2).[79] MacIntyre suggests that the stage dimensions of the Whitefriars point to this upper stage area being particularly small; this is a point agreed upon by Dutton, who does not think that all six members of the Collegiate group could have been present in this space at the same time.[80] The dimensions of the Whitefriars upper stage area may have stopped the stage direction working exactly in that particular venue, but Dutton also wonders if the Collegiates 'appeared individually or in pairs, and mimed responses to what they saw below, saving their verbal scorn for the confrontation on the main stage in [IV.vi]. This would allow the actors some scope to spin out successive dumb shows of dismay and disbelief at what they see, and would forestall the expectation that they might intervene earlier, which would surely have built up had all six been present but wordless throughout.'[81] Dutton's suggestion provides a neat solution as to how the Collegiates could continue their dominance of the stage picture despite the restrictions of the Whitefriars stage, and one wonders if this rotation of characters in the upper gallery would have drawn the attention of the audience more than if they had all been there in silence throughout the scene. Regardless of how exactly this episode was managed in performance, the ladies' status as judges is therefore suggested visually by their privileged position above the gulls and their tormentors, a visual representation of the Aristophanic chorus' privileged status in the *agon* scenes (see Fig. 2.4.)*.*

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[79] It should be noted that this stage direction is a later editorial addition, but an original Folio stage direction from the following scene does emphasise that the Collegiate re-enter '*having discovered part of the past scene above*' (IV.vi.0.SD.3): see Ben Jonson, *The Silent Woman [Epicene],* in *The Workes of Beniamin Ionson* (London, 1616), p. 583, in *Early English Books Online* < http://eebo.chadwyck.com/search> [date accessed 10 February 2017]. See also Cave, 'Visualising Jonson's Text,' in *Ben Jonson and Theatre,* ed. by Cave, Schafer and Woolland, pp.33-34, who states that Jonson's dramaturgy did not rely heavily on upper levels, so the occasions on which he used them were particularly significant.

[80] MacIntyre, *passim*; Dutton, 'Introduction [*Epicene*],' in Jonson, *Epicene,* ed. by Dutton, Revels, p 56.

[81] Dutton, 'Introduction [*Epicene*],' in Jonson, *Epicene,* ed. by Dutton, Revels, p 56.

Fig. 2.4. The Collegiates witness the gulling of Daw and La Foole, *Epicene,* IV.v.



C = The Collegiates
(Haughty, Centaur,
Mavis, Trusty)

E = Epicene

D = Jack Daw

LF = La Foole

T = Truewit

Cl = Clerimont
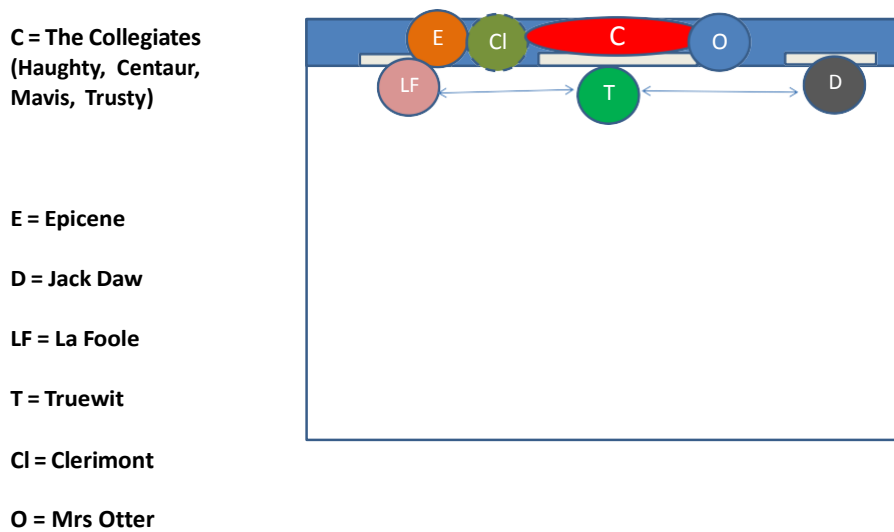
O = Mrs Otter

The ladies' important role in the gulling episode is further enforced in the following scene when Haughty declares Dauphine to be a 'very perfect gentleman' for his part in the device:

> *[Enter below] HAUGHTY, CENTAUR, MAVIS, MRS OTTER, EPICENE, [and] TRUSTY, [with CLERIMONT], having discovered part of the past scene above. [The ladies talk among themselves, apart from the gentlemen.]*
> HAUGHTY: Centaur, how our judgements were imposed on by these adulterate knights!
> CENTAUR: Nay, madam, Mavis was more deceived than we; 'twas her commendation uttered 'em in the college.
> MAVIS: I commended but their wits, madam, and their braveries. I never looked towards their valours.
> HAUGHTY: Sir Dauphine is valiant and a wit too, it seems.
> MAVIS: And a bravery, too.
> HAUGHTY: Was this his project?
> MRS OTTER: So Master Clerimont intimates, madam.
> HAUGHTY: *[To Epicene]* Good Morose, when you come to the college, will you bring him with you? He seems a very perfect gentleman.
> (*Epicene,* IV.vi.1-12)

There are parallels with here with the Aristophanic *agon* in the Collegiates' portrayal as arbiters of a conflict and through the design pattern of set up and the declaration of victory. Haughty reveals much about the ladies' status in the play when she complains of 'how our *judgements* were *imposed* on,' which expresses both her perception of the gallants' need of the Collegiates' condemnation of Daw and La Foole and of the fact that the chorus group is itself being manipulated by these young men. One might

interpret the Collegiates' viewing of the gulling as one of Happé's 'paradramatic' moments, with the ladies' scorn for Daw and La-Foole adding public disgrace to their private embarrassment, and the group's capacity for collective condemnation or approbation is certainly mirrored in the Aristophanic chorus. In *Wasps,* for example, Bdelycleon is similar to the gallants in both requiring the complicity of a chorus but then using this complicity to achieve his own personal agenda. He declares that 'I want to make these men,' the wasp-jurors, 'the judges of the question' (l.521), and the contributions made by this choral group at the middle and end of the debate shows their increasing inclination to approve of Bdelycleon's bid to cure his father of jurophilia. After Bdelycleon's first speech the chorus' antagonism has already cooled, as they already recognise that Philocleon needs to prove his point:

> CHORUS: Now the man from our gym
> must say something novel,
> so that you may be shown—
> […]
> —to be an abler speaker
> than this young man.
> (*Wasps,* ll.526-528, 532-533)

It soon becomes apparent that he cannot, however, which leads the chorus to side increasingly with his son:

> Never have we heard anyone
> who spoke so lucidly
> or with such intelligence.
> (*Wasps,* ll.631-632)

It seems to me that in Jonson's play the patterns of action and behaviour that hint at one group judging another form the sort of theatregram of design that can be detected in the Aristophanic chorus. This is foreground by the choral unit's capacity to arbitrate between conflicting characters, manifested on the Old Comic stage in the debate-like *agon* but in *Epicene* through the much more physically violent conflict between gullers and gulled.

The Collegiates' ability to pass comment on and judge their fellow characters seems clear enough, but I also offer one more important link to the Aristophanic chorus. Within the play-world the Collegiates are a powerful group, but there is also the possibility that Jonson used the specific context and conditions of the Whitefriars playhouse to allow his ladies to perform a more subtle form of judgement, this time against the audience members themselves. Shapiro believes that Jonson, aware of his audience's capacity to

steal focus from the performance through their games of social one-upmanship, subtly encouraged a more passive, reflective audience by rendering metaphorical the theatrical experience as a feast which would delight only those with 'cunning palates' (*Epicene,* Pro.10), subtly cajoling them into viewing the play with tolerance.[82] Jonson further flatters his audience by focusing the play on a trio of young gallants, of whom there must have been a number of real-life versions scattered about the Whitefriars playhouse, and their gulling of Morose, Daw and La Foole—representatives of a self-centred, unsubtle, unaware aristocratic 'other'—becomes a sort of collusion between fictive gallants and real spectators against these examples of incorrect behaviour.[83] Alongside this binary opposition of gallants and gulled are the Collegiate, whose behaviour is a criticism of the 'hermaphroditical authority' of transgressive women. The criticism may not be just gender-based, however, and one wonders if Truewit's description of them as 'an order between courtiers and country madams' was also meant to remind the Whitefriars audience of itself. The 'between' is key here, for if the work of theatre historians like Gurr is correct, the Whitefriars audience occupied a similarly liminal space in Jacobean high society: their status as spectators in one of the hall playhouses indicates a certain level of elitism and sophistication (more so than that found in their equivalents in the 'country'?), but the Whitefriars was still a comparatively minor venue, its newness and the notoriety of the area in which it was located meaning that it probably did not attract the same clientele as found at the Blackfriars, and perhaps its audience (male and female) saw something of themselves in the socially ambitious, but ultimately foolish and gauche, Collegiate ladies and gulled gentlemen. Like the patrons of the anatomical theatres, Jonson's original audience would have seen a dissection of sorts on the stage before them, and similarly to the thrill a medical audience might have experienced at seeing the inner workings of the human body on display, it could be significant that the Whitefriars audience saw a theatrical anatomisation of the same social bodies they saw gathered around them.

Aristophanes exploited the citizen status of the chorus to fulfil an explicitly mediatory role through the *parabaseis* and choral odes, which were used to help support the protagonist's aims as well as pass comment on real figures or situations within Athenian society. Jonson's use of the Collegiate is less direct, but is still geared towards the same

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[82] Shapiro, 'Audience vs. Dramatist,' pp.404-405.

[83] Shapiro, 'Audience vs. Dramatist,' pp.404-405. This notion of audiences viewing anti-exempla of 'incorrect behaviour' will be discussed further in chapters 3 and 4.

end: in their capacity as judges over the gulls the Whitefriars audience is presented with a mirror image of their own role as judges of *Epicene*, but they also serve as another model of improper behaviour that this same audience should avoid.

<div align="center">V</div>

So far my analysis has examined how the Collegiates imitate some of the physical and structural properties of the Aristophanic chorus, and analysis of individual scenes has allowed me to demonstrate how certain theatregrams are used to effect in specific moments in the play. However, I believe that in *Epicene* Jonson's Aristophanic *imitatio* runs deeper than these dramaturgical choices, and that cognate performance moments in the work of both playwrights betrays a similar preoccupation with a perceived social problem. I would like to conclude by highlighting that *Epicene* reveals its Aristophanic spirit by expressing a fear that frequently occupies the Athenian playwright, a fear of the erosion of traditional values, manifested in this instance by the encroachment of the female into patriarchal spheres of power. The first theme, a concern with traditional values, seems apparent in all of Aristophanes' extant work: MacDowell observes that these plays frequently contain old protagonists who eventually triumph over the young (*Acharnians, Wasps, Birds, Wealth*),[84] and that many—whether it be through the bucolic fantasies expressed by the farmers in *Peace* (ll.582-600), the conjuring of a primal avian order in *Birds* (ll.1058-1118), or the ridiculing of modern sophistic arguments in *Clouds* (ll.889-1113)—express a desire for a sentimentalised and arcadian old world.[85] The anxiety about female encroachment is more limited to three of his later works–*Lysistrata*, *Thesmophoriazusae* (both c.411 BC)*,* and *Ecclesiasuzae* (c.391 BC)*,* the so-called 'women plays'[86]–and an exploration of the role of the chorus in this triad, particularly in the *Thesmophoriazusae*¸ yields some intriguing thematic and contextual links with *Epicene.*

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[84] MacDowell, *Aristophanes and Athens,* pp.350-351.

[85] In referring to these societies as 'arcadian' rather than 'utopian' I follow Hubbard, who uses Auden's discussion of utopias as a starting point to argue that only two of Aristophanes' plays (*Ecclesiasuzae* and *Birds*) can be considered as utopian, as only they advocate a radically new world order that brings great benefits to the *polis*; in contrast, while the play worlds of the other nine comedies do offer benefits they are ideologically 'regressive, and are best described as 'arcadian.'' See Hubbard, 'Utopianism and the Sophistic City,' in *The City as Comedy,* ed. by Dobrov, p.24.

[86] Gonda Van Steen, 'Trying (On) Gender: Modern Greek Productions of Aristophanes' *Thesmophoriazusae,' American Journal of Philology* 123 (2000), pp.407-427 (p.409).

At first glance, male concerns about female dominance in Athenian power structures seem preposterous. The nucleus of fifth-century Athenian society was the *oikos* ('house/home'), which was bound to other *oikoi* through networks of marriage, trade and class to form the larger body of the *polis* ('the state').[87] Following a model that was still present in Jonson's society,[88] the domestic *oikos* was often represented as the female sphere, with male activity being located outside of it, either in the field, the Assembly, the law courts, or in the marketplace.[89] Such an arrangement weighed the scales of power almost entirely in men's favour: it was men who spoke at the Assembly, conducted large-scale business deals with fellow Athenians or foreigners, and contributed to the city's artistic and academic life, while the women were left to manage the home.[90] Athenian women were further marginalised by their society's depiction of the ideal female as chaste, silent, and obedient, an attitude that encouraged their isolation from those who did not belong to their *oikos*.[91]

With such economic, political, and social barriers against them, it is initially hard to see how Athenian women could have been viewed as such a serious threat to their menfolk's authority, but it seems that male anxiety credited their wives, daughters, mothers as possessing more dissembling abilities. And perhaps they did: Walton highlights that although the lives of Athenian women were heavily 'circumscribed' they still had 'parallel networks' of power and social discourse within which they operated.[92] The idea that all women were kept within the *oikos* under lock and key has undergone serious revision over the last few decades, as there is in fact substantial evidence to suggest that women, particularly older women, took part in smaller-scale trade activities or held public office for

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[87] Helene P. Foley, 'The "The Female Intruder" Reconsidered: Women in Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* and *Ecclesiazusae,' Classical Philology* 77 (1982), pp.1-21 (p 2). This point needs some qualification, however—see fn. 89 below.

[88] See Howard, *Stage and Social Struggle,* pp.103-104, for the observation that Protestant ideology depicted the female as the guiding force in the home.

[89] Foley, p.2ff. Foley's article is a response to an earlier one by Shaw (M. Shaw, "The Female Intruder": Women in Fifth-Century Drama,' *Classical Philology* 70 (1975), pp. 255-266), that outlines a clear divide between *oikos*:woman and *polis*:man. Foley insists that while this divide is broadly speaking accurate, the distinction should not be so strictly maintained, and that we are best to regard the oikos-polis as occupying a 'theoretical continuum,' with home and state each relying on each other for support and maintenance (p.6).

[90] Laura McClure, *Spoken Like a Woman: Speech and Gender in Athenian Drama* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999), p.5.

[91] McClure, p.25.

[92] J. Michael Walton, 'Outside Looking in: Subversive Choruses in Greek Tragedy,' unpublished manuscript, pp.1-12 (pp. 1-2).

the city's many religious duties—two roles that necessitated leaving the *oikos* and participating in the *polis* at large.[93] Indeed, one finds traces of female 'parallel networks' of power in the *polis* in several of Aristophanes' plays. His *Thesmophoriasuzae* ostensibly depicts one religious event that was completely dominated by women—the Thesmophoria, a fertility festival in honour of Demeter and Kore from which men were completely excluded, sometimes violently[94]—and there is a possibility that the eponymous heroine of *Lysistrata* was named after Lysimache, the contemporary priestess of Apollo, who held the highest public position available to women.[95] In general, Aristophanes' depiction of female agency is negative, and is presented as being dangerous and/or acquired through underhand means—in *Lysistrata,* power is momentarily wrested from men through a sex strike and occupation of the Acropolis; women obtain political dominance in *Ecclesiasuzae* only by the underhand method of casting votes while pretending to be men; and the *Thesmophoriazusae* claims to show the dangers posed to men (represented in the near-*sparagmos* of Inlaw) by collective female action. What is arresting is that even in the topsy-turvy world of Old Comedy women are not allowed to dominate for long, and the subversive actions of the protagonists in Aristophanes' 'women plays' either conclude with the re-instalment of patriarchy or provide a stark message that matriarchy leads to chaos: Lysistrata is careful to stress that the actions of herself and her fellow women are a temporary measure and that the *komos,* which sees her reunited with her husband, marks a 'return to the *status quo*';[96] the dominance of the women in *Thesmophoriazusae* is bounded both temporally and spatially within the confines of the

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[93] See Jeffrey Henderson, 'Older Women in Attic Old Comedy,' *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 117 (1987), pp. 105-129, who suggests that, while it was not considered proper, poorer women were forced by necessity to trade in the market place. Older women, especially mothers, appear to have enjoyed a greater degree of freedom than their younger or infertile equivalents– they were secure in their position as a married woman within their *oikos* or the *oikoi* of their children, and their loss of procreative ability removed at least one fear from their male relatives: the fear that their wife's infidelities would lead them to raising another man's child in their own home.

[94] Martha Habash, 'The Odd Thesmophoria of Aristophanes' *Thesmophoriazusae*,' *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 38 (1997), pp.19-40 (p. 24).

[95] Alan H. Sommerstein, 'Introductory Note,' in Aristophanes, *Lysistrata,* rpt, ed. and trans. by Alan H. Sommerstein (Warminster: Aris & Philips, 2007), pp.1-7 (p.5). Sommerstein actually doubts this personal connection, an attitude that conforms with Henderson's assertion that it was considered inappropriate to discuss or make mention of respectable Athenian women in public. Whether Lysistrata is meant to represent Lysimache or not, I follow Sommerstein in thinking that the name is important because it connects the heroine with civic duty, and that as a result it 'is more a matter of association and reminiscence, helping to link the heroine with the power and wisdom of Athena, the reverence and affection felt bay Athenians for their patron goddess, and with the oldest religious traditions of the city' (p.5). See also Henderson, 'Older Women,' p.106.

[96] Foley, p.5.

festival; and the frequently-criticised 'ugly' ending of *Ecclesiasuzae,* where the celebratory *komos* is appended to a scene where three old hags attempt to take sexual advantage of a young man (*Eccl.,* ll.976-1111), is an illustration that the new sexual hierarchy of Praxagora's new gynecocracy will only result in abuse and violence.[97]

The qualification of female power even in Old Comedy leads Tzanetou to insist that 'each play ends with an affirmation of women's traditional roles,'[98] a statement that is especially pertinent to the temporary rebellion of *Lysistrata* and the failed social-sexual experiment of *Ecclesiasuzae. Thesmophoriazusae* never lays claim to demonstrating a new social order, at best its expression of female agency in the persecution of Euripides is 'corrective rather than creative,'[99] but it does also offer a sort of voyeuristic sneak peek at a women-only ritual from which men were excluded. Nevertheless, this play is perhaps more problematic than the other two, and I will discuss below my reasons for thinking that this play raises the most questions about women, both in their theatrical representations and in the damaging effect they can have on men.

It is arguable that a similar preoccupation animates *Epicene.* Billing, drawing on male-authored polemical literature from around this period such as the infamous *Haec Vir/Hic Mulier* pamphlets, suggests that Jonson's society was suffering from a 'crisis of masculinity,' with women being seen to exercise more authority and independence than they had previously.[100] As was the case with Aristophanes' Athens, male concerns about female authority seem wildly exaggerated when compared to the economic and social advantages held by each gender. For example, Shepherd, citing the work of earlier social historians, highlights that lower-class women of the early modern era were much more dependent on males than their medieval ancestors, as although there was proportionately more female labour it was almost entirely organised through male economic channels.[101] Richer women by contrast, deprived of the financial imperative to

[97] Foley, pp.20-21.

[98] Angeliki Tzanetou, 'Something to Do with Demeter: Ritual and Performance in Aristophanes' Women at the Thesmophoria,' *American Journal of Philology* 123 (2002), pp.329-367 (p.336).

[99] Elizabeth Bobrick, 'The Tyranny of Roles: Playacting and Privilege in Aristophanes' *Thesmophoriazusae,*' in *City as Comedy*, ed. by Dobrov, pp. 177-197 (p.188).

[100] Christian M. Billing, *Masculinity, Corporality and the English Stage, 1580-1635* (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2008), p.102.

[101] Simon Shepherd, *Amazons and Warrior Women: Varieties of Feminism in Seventeenth-Century Drama* (New York: St Martin's Press, 1981), p.43ff. See also J.A. Sharpe, *Early Modern England: A Social History*, 2nd ed. (London: Arnold, 1997), pp.204, 209. However, the view that women lacked economic agency in the early modern period has been challenged in recent years: for counter-perspectives to Shepherd's, see Natasha Korda, *Shakespeare's Domestic Economies: Gender and Property in Early*

work, were further encouraged to live a life of 'expensive idleness,' their time filled, as it is with the Collegeiate ladies, enjoying the burgeoning commercial delights and entertainments of proto-capitalist London ('to Bedlam, to the china-houses, and to the Exchange': *Epicene,* IV.iv.22-23) through the purses of their male relatives.[102] Ironically, though, in London it was perhaps the gilded cages of this second, more elite, group of women that gave such a strong impression of increased female agency. Howard asserts that London offered women numerous opportunities to 'engage in urban pleasures such as going to the theatre or buying the commodities produced by English trade or manufacture,' which, regardless of the fact that they were frequently not spending their own money, made them much more conspicuous consumers than their predecessors had been.[103] It is hard not to see the Collegiate, who 'live from the husbands' in the city, as Jonson's interpretation of this new independent woman; and let us also not forget that one of these sites for 'urban pleasure' was the theatre, and it seems more than a little felicitous that the play that features its most vicious attack on the expensively idle woman should be located so close to the city's commercial and social centres, and was performed in the very sort of venue in which these sorts of ladies were thought to gather.[104]

I also wonder if it is more than coincidence that Jonson's 'misogynistic satire' was his first work for the professional theatre after a number of lucrative years writing masques for the court of King James, the specifics of which were often heavily influenced by the wishes of Queen Anne.[105] The masques that Jonson produced in this period—including *The Masque of Blackness* (1605)*, The Masque of Beauty* (1608), and *The Masque of Queens* (1609)—

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*Modern England* (Pennsylvania, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), esp. pp. 1-51; and *Women, Property, and the Letters of the Law in Early Modern England,* ed. by Nancy E. Wright, Margaret W. Ferguson, and A.R. Buck (Toronto; London: University of Toronto Press, 2004), which contains essays, amongst other topics, on how ownership or influence over property to argue that upper-class women were frequently able to subvert 'legal disabilities' (p.4) in order to gain a level of financial independence, and that poorer women frequently played an essential role in the commercial lives of their communities.

[102] Shepherd, p.43.

[103] Howard, *Stage and Social Struggle,* p.103.

[104] Dutton highlights that although the Whitefriars was located in a liberty, a 'sanctuary to thieves and prostitutes,' it was also very close to the commercial centres of The Strand and Fleet Street, as well as not being far from St Paul's and Westminster, the country's political and courtly heartland (Dutton, 'Introduction [*Epicene*],' in Jonson, *Epicene,* ed. by Dutton, Revels, p.11). For more on women at the theatre, and the dangers of moral and 'sexual incontinence' and the implicit challenge to patriarchal control that their presence there implied, see Jean E. Howard, 'Women as Spectators, Spectacles, and Paying Customers,' in *Staging the Renaissance: Reinterpretations of Elizabethan and Jacobean Drama,* ed. by David Scott Kastan and Peter Stallybrass (New York; London: Routledge, 1991), pp.68-74 (esp. pp.69-72).

[105] Stephen Orgel, *The Jonsonian Masque* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1965), pp.4, 65.

were all ostensibly paeans to the royal house, with Anne taking a controlling role in the conception and performance of each, and the overarching importance of her husband was emphasised spatially during the performance itself, his central positioning in the audience designed so that the visual, kinaesthetic, and ideological orientations of the masque converged upon his seated figure.[106] Jonson's increasingly acrimonious relationship with the masques' designer, Inigo Jones, is well documented, but one wonders if Queen Anne's influence over the content of the masques themselves and the people who would dance in them would also have grated against a man who prided himself as a 'servant, but not slave' (*Cynthia* (F), Dedication.14) to the whims of the court—certainly, if the Venetian ambassador's observation on *The Masque of Beauty* that Anne was the 'authoress of the whole' is reflective of the general opinion of the court rather than a private misinterpretation,[107] it is hard not to imagine Jonson finding these creative situations more than a little irksome.[108] Additionally, McManus believes that these masques and other artistic endeavours commissioned by Anne indicate the Queen's independence from her husband, that her central role in *The Masque of Blackness* had the effect of 'destabilising' the masque's intended purpose of praising the King,[109] and that as James' reign progressed the couple had claims to rival 'courts' that provided separate sites for patronage and artistic production.[110] Is it too much to suggest that Jonson, in looking around and finding that a woman had taken an increasingly important role in aristocratic social circles—to the point that a woman's desires were dictating the direction of his art, and that commercial London was becoming more and more filled with women participants and consumers—wrote *Epicene* because he felt that his male-dominated society was under threat? One does not need to be Freud to see phallic significance in Morose's ineffectual attempt to ward off invaders from his home '*with a long sword*' (IV.ii.99.SD.1), and indeed there could be an added relevance in the fact that its size makes it a crude

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[106] Orgel, *Jonsonian Masque,* pp.18, 66.

[107] See the Oxford editors' commentary to *The Masque of Beauty* (H&S, X, p.457).

[108] For a useful discussion of Jonson's general struggle to assert his creative independence within the parameters of courtly production, see Martin Butler, ''Servant, But Not Slave': Ben Jonson at the Jacobean Court,' *Proceedings of the British Academy* 90 (1996), pp.65-93. For discussion about Jonson's attempt 'to wrest domination of the masque [specifically, *The Masque of Queens*] from Anne and her ladies,' see Lesley Mickel, *Ben Jonson's Antimasques: A History of Growth and Decline* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999), p.57.

[109] Clare McManus, 'Defacing the Carcass': Anne of Denmark and Jonson's *The Masque of Blackness,'* in *Refashioning Ben Jonson*, ed. by Sanders, Chedgzoy, and Wiseman, pp.93-113.

[110] Clare McManus, 'The Queen's Court,' in *Women and Culture at the Courts of the Stuart Queens,* ed. by Clare McManus (London: Palgrave, 2003) pp.1-17 (p.7).

and unfit method for the purpose of removing guests in such confined quarters. Such a weapon may have great potency in the man's world of early modern London, but in the newly female-dominated space of Morose's house its failure to perform helps to signal that the representatives (or at least, *this* representative) of old-order patriarchy are (is) in crisis.

It is interesting that the dynamic has been reversed between *Epicene* and *Thesmophoriazusae:* in Aristophanes' play, the female chorus use the Thesmophoria as an outlet for their marginalised voices, allowing them to agree 'unanimously of opinion that [Euripides] is guilty' (*Thesm.,* ll.378-379) of traducing female reputation in his tragedies. Into this safe space comes Inlaw, whose intrusion is a physical enactment of the same male paranoia that the women believe dictates Euripides' depiction of women. Although the rest of the comedy is occupied with Inlaw's attempts to escape the clutches of the angry chorus, it is the original violation of a ritual enshrined in Athenian law that actually marks the female characters as the ones under attack. In *Epicene* it is Morose, the representative of patriarchy, who is on the retreat, and it is Jonson's chorus and their associates who are doing the invading, with such violence that Morose is led to cry that '[t]hey have rent my roof, walls, and all my windows asunder with their brazen throats' (IV.ii.106-107). Although surely a linguistic accident, it is curious that Morose describes the invasion of his home with the particularly violent verb 'rent', which carries with it particular associations of dismemberment and irreparable destruction that link it to the act of *sparagmos*, a ritual act particularly associated with Dionysiac cult that—in literary depictions at least, if not perhaps in reality—consisted of initiates ripping apart a sacrificial victim with their bare hands, and which receives its most famous dramatic enactment in the tearing apart of the godless Pentheus in Euripides' *Bacchae*.[111] Appropriately enough for a relative of Euripides, *sparagmos* is a major worry for Inlaw in *Thesmophoriazusae*, and Aristophanes presents us with a comic version of this, as his female persona is first threatened with depilation and then, upon discovery that he is male, his clothing is ripped away from him.[112] Furthermore, I believe that it is in Inlaw's personal journey through the play—from active, aggressive heterosexual male through to an effeminised, pathic

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[111] For more on *sparagmos,* see Richard Seaford, *Dionysos* (Oxford; New York: Routledge, 2006), pp.73-74, 85; and 'Dionysiac Drama and the Dionysiac Mysteries,' *The Classical Quarterly* 31:2 (1981), pp.252-275 (p.263).

[112] Aristophanes, *Thesmophoriazusae*, ed. and trans. by Alan H. Sommerstein (Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1994) l.574ff.

pseudo-homosexual—that we see the clearest instance of *Thesmophoriazusae*'s curious message, a message that will be repeated in the early modern era when Jonson comes to write *Epicene.* Both playwrights seem suspicious of femininity, in particular theatrical representations of femininity, and both use the corruption of theatrical signs of gender to signal a comparative degradation within their real societies.

Stehle believes that the *Thesmophoriazusae* is one of Aristophanes' most ideologically challenging works, as a great deal of its comic force is derived from a refutation of accepted theatrical representations of masculinity, and that '[u]niquely, the play calls repeated attention to the passive (or absent) phallus, always shadowed by the anus as its replacement.'[113] The phallus, as a symbol of masculinity and a visual representation of 'the same energy that leads to [the Aristophanic protagonist's] reshaping of the political world to his liking,'[114] is increasingly presented in the play as an empty theatrical sign, which the male characters either ignore or try to hide from others. The first outlet for this is shown in Agathon, a tragic poet satirised for pathic homosexuality, who is crucially portrayed without a phallus. Agathon's gendered indeterminacy is first mocked by Inlaw ('where's your prick? […] 'where are your tits?': 'ποῦ πέος […] 'ποῦ τὰ τιτθία,' *Thesm.,* ll.142-143), to which the poet replies:

> Old man, old man, I heard your jealous censure, but I did not feel the smart of it. I change my clothes according as I change my mentality. *A man who is a poet must adopt habits that match the plays he's committed to composing*. For example, if one is writing plays about women, one's body must participate in their habits.
> (*Thesm.,* ll.146-152, emphasis added)

By making such an admission, Agathon indicates the connection between gender indeterminacy and the flexibility that a poet needs to possess in order to write for both men and women. Aristophanes' depiction of Agathon is clearly meant to satirise over-literal critical opinions on how *mimesis* needs to inform dramatic composition, but in so doing he raises the point that theatrical representations of gender are constructed from elements (of costume, voice, gesture) that are independent of the living bodies of the actors that manipulate them. As a result, the section helps to underline the dissonance

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[113] Eva Stehle, 'The Body and Its Representations in Aristophanes' Thesmophoriazousai: Where Does the Costume End?' *American Journal of Philology* 123 (2002), pp. 369-406 (p.371).
[114] Stehle, p.376.

that lies between the real anatomies of the male actor and the removable costume-signs that help to communicate a character's gender to an audience.

The dislocation between theatrical sign and the corporeal reality of the actor's body is intensified when Inlaw agrees to disguise himself as a woman in order to infiltrate the Thesmophoria. Critylla, the Thesmophorian priestess, and Cleisthenes, another pathic homosexual, suspect that Inlaw is male and strip him naked, an act that reveals the body of not only the character but also the male actor beneath, thereby revealing the corporeal link between the reality of performance (represented by the actor himself) and the Aristophanic fiction:

> INLAW: *[struggling and protesting, as Cleisthenes, Critylla and Mica lay hold on him and begin to undress him] You mean to say you're going to strip a mother of nine children? [They unpin his saffron gown at the shoulder; but he clamps his hand desperately over the knot of the breastband.]*
> CLEISTHENES: Undo that breastband, right away, you shameless scoundrel. *[The breastband is untied and falls off.]*
> CRITYLLA: What a very sturdy and powerful person she looks! And, by Zeus, she's not got any tits like we have.
> INLAW: No, I'm a barren woman; I was never able to conceive.
> CRITYLLA: Only just now you were the mother of nine children!
> *[By now Cleisthenes in front of Inlaw, and Critylla and Mica behind him, have between them unbelted and removed the saffron gown. Inlaw bends over forward in a desperate attempt to conceal the final proof of his maleness.]*
> CLEISTHENES: Stand up straight! [He jerks Inlaw upright, before the latter has quite finished stuffing his phallus out of sight.] Where do you think you're shoving that prick of yours down there?
> CRITYLLA: *[Behind]* It's peeping out here – and such a lovely colour too, my dear!
> *[Cleisthenes runs back round to the front, and again sees nothing.]*
> CLEISTHENES: It certainly isn't here.
> CRITYLLA: No, it's come back round here again!
> CLEISTHENES: *[Staying put this time]* You've got an Isthmus Tramway running there, mate; you're shuttling your prick this way and that more incessantly than the Corinthians do!
> (*Thesm.,* ll.637-648)

In this context, Inlaw's costume phallus is no longer an advantageous signifier of his virility and maleness, but rather becomes a prop that forms the central element of the scene's physical comedy. Unlike most Aristophanic comedies, this episode makes the prop phallus a specific focus of attention, as the physical humour of the scene is activated by Inlaw swinging it back and forward to avoid detection. These unrealistic farcical movements

(suggested by Stehle, but also in Sommerstein's conjectured stage directions)[115] help to underline the fact that the phallus is a comic prop, which shifts its significance from a symbol of masculinity to a source of humour. Furthermore, the scene becomes a representation of Inlaw attempting to 'divest his body of a phallus'[116]—interestingly, Critylla's observation that 'she's not got any tits like we have' ('τιτθούς γ᾿ ὥσπερ ἡμεῖς οὐκ ἔχει') is an echo of Inlaw's earlier comments about Agathon. Attempting to hide the visual signifier of his masculinity, and treated with suspicion because he does not possess any physical indicators of femininity, Inlaw has taken a step towards gendered indeterminacy himself.

Stehle suggests that the final scene, where the captured Inlaw is locked in the stocks and subject to the mercy of the Archer, provides the conclusion to Inlaw's metamorphosis from virile to pathic male.[117] Inlaw, who asserts his dominance over Agathon at the beginning of the play by making repeated and contemptuous references to the other's pathic homosexuality, has by now been forced to renounce his claims to masculinity, first by disguising himself as a woman and then in his attempts to conceal his phallus from the suspicious festival-goers. Now, attached to the stocks, he is literally exposed, and his transformation to passivity is confirmed by the Archer's generous offer to Euripides: '[i[f you wan' all dat much bugger de ol' man, den bore a 'ole in de board an' fuck her from be'ind' ('εἰ σπόδρ᾿ ἐπιτυμεῖς τὴ γέροντο πύγισο, / τὴ σανίδο τρήσας ἐξόπιστο πρώκτισον,' *Thesm.*, ll.1123-1124).[118] The Archer's reference to the anus—which, as an anatomical feature shared by both males and females, is a 'non-gender-specific sexual site'[119]— draws attention both to Inlaw's new representation as either a pathic male or a woman. Considering that the play has repeatedly called the status of the prop phallus into question, the anus becomes the only shared 'sexual site' between male and female, actor and character, and helps to raise the issue of gender indeterminacy that lies at the heart of actors' impersonations in the theatre.[120]

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[115] Stehle, p.389.
[116] Stehle, p.389.
[117] Stehle, p.395.
[118] Inlaw's newfound indeterminate status is hinted at by the Archer's incorrect use of feminine pronouns in reference to his prisoner, a verbal slippage that Sommerstein states is consistent throughout this scene (See *Thesm.* 1109n).
[119] Stehle, p.377.
[120] Stehle, p.377.

Although the women of *Thesmophorizusae* are notionally triumphant by the end, the play can hardly be regarded as sympathetic to them—the authority the female characters possess is confined within the short time frame of the festival, and, unlike *Ecclesiazusae* and *Lysistrata*, there is no Great Idea that attempts to redefine Athenian society according to female-imposed rules. However, I think it is significant that by the end of the play Euripides, who within the context of the play serves as a mouthpiece for patriarchy within the theatre, is forced to make concessions as to how he will present women in his future plays, and that his relative, who at the beginning of the play is contemptuous of the pathic Agathon, and whose prominent phallus and hairy backside marks him as a particularly virile specimen of manhood,[121] is himself transformed into an unwilling pathic and is forced to flee back to his *oikos* for safety. At the heart of this play lies a real concern that patriarchy, and the masculine ideals it endorses, is under threat, and this is represented by Aristophanes showing that the accepted sign of *theatrical* masculinity, the phallus, is an empty symbol.

*Epicene* reveals a similar fascination with the slipperiness of theatrical signs, most famously in the concluding revelation of Epicene's masculinity, a moment that reveals that both characters and audience alike have been fooled into making incorrect assumptions about theatrical representations of gender. The revelation is a direct inversion of Inlaw's metamorphosis, as Dauphine draws attention to the 'real' phallus beneath the costume, providing the same sort of shock to the characters within the play world as that experienced by the theatre audience, who are given a parallel reminder of the real phallus of the male actor. But how does this moment connect with an uncertainty about patriarchy, similar to that found in the *Thesmophoriazusae*? I believe that the answer lies in a connection between this final moment and an earlier speech by Otter, who complains that his wife's vanity has led to an expensive over-reliance on cosmetics:

> […]she spends me forty pound
> a year in mercury and hogs' bones. All her teeth were
> made i' the Blackfriars, both her eyebrows I' the Strand,
> and her hair in Silver Street. Every part of the town owns
> a piece of her.
> […]
> She takes herself asunder still when she goes to bed,
> into some twenty boxes, and about next day noon is put

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[121] Henderson, quoted in Stehle p.385.

together again, like a great German clock.
(*Epicene,* IV.ii.87-91, 93-95)

Otter's unflattering comparison of his wife to a 'great German clock' points to a male suspicion, derived from Martial IX.xxxvii, that femininity is constructed through cosmetics and is fundamentally artificial—one is also reminded of Clerimont's discussion of Haughty as a 'pieced beauty' (I.i.67) whose looks are so reliant on her *toilette,* or of Truewit's point about society women in general that the artificiality of their perukes, false teeth, complexion, eyebrows, and nails (I.i.93-94) are representative of their dissembling natures. Aside from the passage's misogynistic tone, what I think is more important though is Otter's indication of where his wife's various components have been obtained— Blackfriars, the Strand, Silver Street—as all were commercial locations that in Jonson's period were enjoying greater female patronage than ever before.[122] Through Otter's speech Jonson creates a specific link between city consumerism and the construction of femininity, and Dauphine's final revelation (although in this instance serving masculine interests) shows what potential dangers such artificial constructs can present.

Dauphine's victory may give the impression that the interests of himself and his two male friends have triumphed, but it has not been achieved without the unwitting collusion of the Collegiates, the play's clearest representatives of the newly independent, consumerist woman.[123] The trick with Epicene has fooled everyone, including the audience, but Otter's condemnation of his wife also indicates that the 'real' women of the play are just as artificially constructed. As with the actors in Aristophanes' theatre, this artificiality is underlined by the reality of the male actor beneath the character, and with this player we might add an additional layer as these female characters are represented by male *child* actors, who in their assumption of adult roles are (after a fashion) adding another layer of artificiality in representing adult male performers representing female characters. The misreading of theatrical signs in this play points to a distrust in representation, but the words of Otter, Clerimont, and Truewit hint that the play's women are more accustomed to manipulating signifiers in the construction of their gendered selves. In the midst of the play's misogynistic sentiments the Collegiates stand as symbols for the type of woman, new to Jonson's society, who had both the financial means and social acumen to gain control over this form of representation—the

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[122] See Karen Newman, 'City Talk: Women and Commodification, *Epicene* (1609),' *Staging the Renaissance,* ed. by Kastan and Stallybrass, pp.181-195 (esp. pp.183-184).
[123] Womack, *Ben Jonson,* p.106.

ferociousness of Jonson's satire is a sign that he took this very seriously indeed.

# VI

In November 2016 the Actors Touring Company staged a production of Aeschylus' *Suppliant Women* at Northern Stage, Newcastle.[124] In a neat echo of the play's original performance context, a local dignitary was asked to introduce the show; to thank, as the festival announcers did in the Athenian theatres over two millennia ago, the public and private patrons who had contributed to the production; and to pour a libation in the acting area to consecrate the performance and to evoke the ritual, communal function of the ancient play. The professional company numbered only five performers: three actors to play Danaus, Pelasgus, and the Chorus Leader, and a pair of musicians who enhanced the play's insistent metrical rhythms through percussion and the reedy drone of an *aulos*-like instrument. The professionals' performances were good, but what was of greatest interest to me was the chorus, a group of young women who had been drawn from local amateur theatre companies, and whose local accents stood in arresting counterpoint to the unlocal 'otherness' of the professional performers. It was these women who provided the emotional heart of the play, with the power and sheer volume of their choral delivery and the tribal rhythms of their collective movement helping to signal the play's pronounced tonal shifts from sorrow, to hope, to anger. Right from the play's introduction the company deliberately played on the regional identity shared between audience and chorus, and as the performance progressed there was a sense that there were two lines of action running in tandem: one in which the chorus inhabited the Aeschylean fiction and represented those Egyptian women (immigrants, refugees) who sought help from the people of Argos; the second in which one saw these chorus as members of a different community, the very same community that had gathered to watch them in a Newcastle theatre on a Friday night. Through this strange performative duality the temporal distance between ancient Athens and modern England, and between Egyptian characters and English actors, was compressed so as to imply the shared humanity of all, and the effect of this was so great that the Chorus Leader's defiant reply to Pelasgus' request that they leave Argos—'we're not Greeks, that much is true, but that doesn't mean we don't belong

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[124] Aeschylus, *The Suppliant Women,* trans. by David Greig, dir. by Ramin Gray (4 Nov 2016).

here'—became no longer old lines from an old play but resonated with political and humanitarian situations surrounding war, migration, and the (mis)treatment of women that are all too distressingly modern.

I do not wish to draw out too many inferences from this production—Aeschylean tragedy is not Aristophanic comedy, and a performance in a modern English city is clearly different to one in an ancient Greek *polis*—but it did help impress on me the peculiar power a chorus can have in performance, as its members' dual status as performer-citizens and characters invest their play with a sense of immediacy, relevance, and shared experience that is often lost on the page. One sees fictive, author-controlled versions of these qualities in Jonson's formal chorus members, who by masquerading as real theatregoers are able to both voice and resolve potential criticisms against the playwright and provide an insistent reminder of the discursive nature of the theatrical event. As I have said, Jonson's conception of chorality was not limited to formal choral groupings, and in its own way, *Epicene* also evokes the communal context of Greek theatre in the intense locality of its setting and through its representation of the same social groups that sat in the Whitefriars auditorium. One might argue that the play serves as an anti-exemplum for its watching audience, reminding them that they must strive to act more like Jonson's master-wits than his master-fools. Like Aristophanes, Jonson evokes the shared nature of the theatrical experience in a Prologue that refigures the coming play as a 'public feast':

> The Poet prays you, then, with better thought
> To sit, and when his cates are all in brought,
> Though there be none far-fet, there will dear-bought
> Be fit for ladies; some for lords, knights, squires,
> Some for your waiting wench and city-wires [fashionable gentlewomen],
> Some for your men and daughters of Whitefriars.
> (*Epicene,* Pro.19-24)

This appears to be Jonson at his most accommodating: his stated intention 'not to please the cook's tastes, but the guests' (Pro.9) indicates that his play-feast has been devised with the aesthetic palates of his audience in mind, and the social spread of its guests—from ladies and lords to the more disreputable 'men and daughters of Whitefriars,' which may

well refer to prostitutes and their clients[125]—suggests that Jonson regards his role as public poet in its broadest, most Aristophanic, sense.

Aside from Jonson's ideological affinity with the Old Comic playwright, this chapter has suggested that *Epicene* reveals another Aristophanic debt in its depiction of the chorus-like Collegiates. The ladies' dominance over the plot (even before they have entered), their aggressive attitudes, their collective movement around and control of the playing space, and their role as spectators and arbitrators to the exposure of follies in others all hold echoes with the theatregrams of motion, association, and design that I have linked to the Aristophanic chorus. Furthermore, I see the Collegiate women providing an anti-exemplum that I have connected with the aggressive behaviour of the female choruses of Aristophanes' 'women' plays, and I have argued that *Epicene* shares an especially close affinity with the *Thesmophoriazusae* through its linked notions about the construction of gender and of the interpretive slipperiness of theatrical signs that are used to denote this in performance.

The Collegiate ladies are not one of Jonson's most easily identifiable choruses, but I have argued that when one combines their performative qualities with their dual function as a focus for social commentary and for audience identification one can begin to discern their special affinity with the Aristophanic prototype. I have acknowledged that not every dramaturgical element associated with the Aristophanic chorus can be found in the Collegiates, and indeed those points of similarity that are there are often deployed for different effects or are used only fitfully through the play, appearing and disappearing to suit Jonson's needs; an excellent example of Renaissance *imitatio*'s emphasis on creative repurposing. In order to reconcile Jonson's fluid creative practices with the more rigid concept of the theatregram I have suggested applying a 'continuum model' to the idea of the Aristophanic chorus, atomising the various dramaturgical elements that make up this character grouping in order to demonstrate how Jonson could have been selective in what he appropriated while still retaining some of the chorus' key features. This certainly reveals the theatregram's usefulness in performance-based over text-based readings, and one will see further examples of the continuum model in action in chapter 3, which takes a closer look at the strange case of the Aristophanic Grex of *Every Man Out.*

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[125] Chalfant, pp.198-199; cf. *Volpone,* where Lady Would-Be, thinking Peregrine to be a disguised Venetian courtesan, accuses him of being a member of the 'Whitefriars nation' (IV.ii.51).

Jonson's concern with female agency or with undeserved collective authority certainly did not end with the Collegiate of *Epicene*—there is more than an echo of Haughty and company in the genteel ladies who put the hapless Pug to such a stern interrogation in *The Devil Is An Ass* (IV.iv)*,* and the fanciful notion of a 'Canter's College' in *The Staple of News* (IV.iv) reintroduces the spectre of the sort of chaotic topsy-turvydom that could emerge in society if those with the biggest mouths and smallest ideas are given leave to realise their fantasies. But never again will these concerns emerge as insistently as they do in *Epicene,* or centre on as well-defined a group as the Collegiate women. In the *parabasis* to *Peace,* the chorus defend their poet's theatrical output by emphasising his originality: he banishes from the stage such clichés as 'those Heracleses who kneaded dough or went hungry' ('*τούς* […] *Ἡρακλέας τοὺς μάττοντας καὶ τοὺς πεινῶντας ἐκείνους,*' l.741), and those 'slaves who were always running away from someone'); instead, they claim Aristophanes elevates the Old Comic form to 'great art' ('*τέχνην μεγάλην,*' l.749), 'built up to towering dimensions with mighty words and ideas' ('*κἀπύργωσ᾽ οἰκοδομήσας ἔπεσιν μεγάλοις καὶ διανοίαις,*' ll.749-750), and which attacks the 'greatest monsters' that threaten Athenian society (including Cleon, the 'Jag-toothed one,' '*τῷ καρχαρόδοντι,*' l.754) rather than 'the little man or woman in private life.'[126] The Old Comic's artistic and didactic emphases all point to his status as a public poet, and there is an interesting irony in the fact that in *Epicene* the 'greatest monsters' and the 'little women' were one and the same, and that the Collegiate ladies— the focus and instigator of many of the play's satirical episodes—refocuses Jonson's Aristophanic lens away from the figures of high politics and towards those very audience members that had gathered to watch them.

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[126] Aristophanes, *Peace*, ed. and trans. by Alan H. Sommerstein (Oxford: Aris & Phillips, 1985).

# Chapter 3

# Jonson's *Spiegel Im Spiegel*: Satire in *Every Man Out of His Humour* and *Volpone*

## I

> I will scourge those apes,
> And to these courteous eyes oppose a mirror,
> As large as is the stage whereon we act;
> Where they shall see the time's deformity
> Anatomised in every nerve, and sinew,
> With constant courage and contempt of fear.
> (*EMO,* Ind.115-120)

These words are spoken by Asper, the satirist-character who sits at the heart of Jonson's first 'comical satire,' *Every Man Out of His Humour*. The play is Jonson's first sustained expression of his satirical programme, distinct from the two 'false starts' of *The Case Is Altered* and the Quarto *Every Man In His Humour*[1]—plays that, although demonstrating the playwright's increasing interest in humoral psychology, are perhaps too reliant on the Elizabethan interpretation of the 'cross-wooing' (*EMO,* III.i.410) of Roman romantic comedy, a mode with which Jonson was never particularly comfortable.[2] I have chosen this quotation because it is spoken by, according to the criteria laid down in chapter 2, another member of a Jonsonian chorus, and consequently helps to form an appropriate bridge between the Aristophanic choruses of the preceding chapter and this chapter's more specific focus on literary satire.[3] Asper's authorial claim that he will 'oppose a mirror' to his society's corruption is a crucial metaphor for this discussion, as his seemingly-straightforward statement that he will use the two hours' traffic of the stage to illustrate

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[1] James Loxley, *The Critical Guide to Ben Jonson* (London: Routledge, 2002), p.42.

[2] Barton, p.114; Maus, pp.59, 77.

[3] I agree with Moul that Jonson's greatest poetic inspiration was Horace, and I follow her argument that even when he writes in the mode of another poet 'he so often does so in juxtaposition, contention or conversation with an Horatian voice' (p.6). However, for this chapter I will mainly concentrate on how Jonson also pitched his 'Juvenalian voice' in contention with an Aristophanic one; I believe that this complements her thesis as it adds to the impression that Jonson's dramaturgy, aside from its undoubted debt to Horace, was also a combination of the voices from other Greek and Roman writers. For more on Jonson's connection to Horace, see Robert B. Pierce, "Ben Jonson's Horace and Horace's Ben Jonson," *Studies in Philology,* 81 (1981), pp.20-31.

'the time's deformity' to his audience glosses over the fact that the mirror invites us to peer into will not produce an unmodified reflection.

The connection of drama with reflection has a classical pedigree; it is most famously enshrined in the exhortation attributed to Cicero, that comedy be 'an imitation of life, a mirror of manners, and an image of truth,'[4] and is a sentiment that stretches back to the Aristotelian and Platonic concept of *mimesis* in art.[5] It only takes a short associative jump to connect the *mimesis/imitatio* mentioned by Plato, Aristotle and Cicero with the physical properties of the mirror; but Billing, drawing on Hamlet's advice that the players 'hold, as 'twere, the mirror up to nature' in their performance before Claudius (*Ham.,* III.ii.19-20), raises the point that the act of reflection is not devoid of interpretive problems. Due to technological advances in manufacturing processes, we are now accustomed to glass mirrors that are smooth and flat, making them reflective surfaces capable of recreating objects put before them in a manner that seems deceptively true to life. However, these modern manufacturing techniques were not refined by the early modern period, and the vast majority of mirrors were created using a process that produced a curved surface, and often from a material other than glass, which resulted in a 'distorted' reflected image.[6] This historical detail problematises the concept of 'reflection' and mirrors, as it suggests that the reflective surfaces that Hamlet and Asper refer to were not capable of recreating the 'perfect' duplicate image that we might assume; but it also follows that an early modern audience could have had held an expectation that any 'reflection' provided by the onstage 'mirrors' of Hamlet's actors or Asper's play would bear the same flaws and imperfections as the real thing. In fact, the mirror:theatre metaphor rapidly falls apart under closer inspection:

> Thinking about the proxemic and kinaesthetic relationships between actors and audiences [...] one immediately has to concede that the boundary between stage and spectator has to be a much more complex optical device than the conventional mirror for this metaphor to work. If the analogy is to go any distance at all, some kind of two-way apparatus is required; yet even this device would be

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[4] '*[I]mitatio vitae, speculum consuetudinis, imago veritatis*;' the quotation is attributed to Cicero by Donatus. Quoted in Andrews, *Scripts and Scenarios,* p.29. Cf. *Mag. Lady,* Chorus 2.29-31, which presents comedy as 'the glass of custom [...] so held up to me by the poet as I can therein view the daily examples of men's lives and images of truth in their manners.'

[5] Cf. Aristotle, *Poe.,* 1448b-1449b (vi); Plato, *Rep.,* ed. and trans. by Lee, p.92 (see Introduction, fn. 68)*.*

[6] Christian Billing, 'The Distorting Mirror: Theatrical Mimesis on the Early Modern Transvestite Stage,' in *Refiguring Mimesis,* ed. by Holmes and Streete (pp.137-159), pp.141-142.

> a strange contraption, given that its surface is required simultaneously to be reflective and transparent so as to allow spectators to observe what takes place on stage (looking through its surface) whilst also permitting them to see their own appearance (reflected back from it).[7]

In order for the mirror analogy to apply, then, one must accept that the stage picture provides a simultaneously transparent and reflective surface, allowing the audience member to interpret what they see as both a reflection of the characters and themselves, of fiction and reality. This hermeneutic paradox is bound up within the language of Asper's speech, but I would also like to suggest that the problem with the 'distorting mirror' is one not limited to theatrical satires but also raises interpretive problems in their literary counterparts.

Using the last chapter's focus on the Aristophanic/Jonsonian chorus as a starting point, I will explore how Jonson portrays the stage satirist and makes use of this figure's capacity for satirical reflection in *Every Man Out of His Humour*, as well as suggesting why this method of presentation proved to be too dangerous. I also contend that when Jonson came to write *Volpone* he had resolved his earlier problems with presenting the stage-satirist by transferring his mode of satiric imitation from the isolated figure of the individual satirist to the wider canvas of the play's Venetian setting, a technique that accords with aspects of Menippean satire. My suggestion is that both plays create their respective satirical characters and atmospheres from a process of *contaminatio*, a blending of Roman/Menippean satirical personae and attitudes with earlier Greek models. In *Every Man Out* this synthesis is only partly achieved—the conjunction of the Aristophanic chorus with the figure of the Roman satirist is structurally striking, but results in an overall effect that is too hectoring and didactic. In *Volpone,* however, the effect is much deeper and more profound, as Jonson suffuses the entire plot with a satirical tone that in its political impact is simultaneously worthy of Aristophanic Old Comedy, but bears all the subtlety of the Roman satirists whose reliance on free speech was much more circumscribed.

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[7] Billing, 'Distorting Mirror,' in *Refiguring Mimesis,* ed. by Holmes and Streete, p.138.

# II

It has become a critical commonplace to view *Every Man Out* and the two 'comical satires' that followed it (*Cynthia's Revels* and *Poetaster*) as theatrical experiments in which Jonson attempted to incorporate the voice of the Roman verse satirist into dramatic performance.[8] Verse satire had been heavily associated with Rome since the classical period,[9] with Lucilius—a Roman *eques* who wrote thirty books of particularly savage satires—being frequently regarded as one of its earliest exponents.[10] Lucilius' satires only remain in fragments, but the work of three of his followers—Horace, Persius, and Juvenal—survived, and it is with their texts that writers of the Renaissance principally associated this literary form.[11] As each satirist approached the form differently, the exact

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[8] See, for example, Alvin Kernan, *The Cankered Muse: Satire of the English Renaissance* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1959), p.142.

[9] The most famous connection between Rome and satire was made by Quintilian, who, when comparing his city's literary output to that of Greece, was able to claim 'satire at least is completely ours' (*Instit. Or.,* X.i.93); see also Diomedes, I.485, who states that satire is 'a poetic work belonging to the Romans [*apud Romanos*]'. Although these statements are an oversimplification, the association of verse satire to the Romans has generally been maintained. For discussions of the Quintilian quotation, see Kirk Freudenburg, 'Introduction' (pp.1-30 (pp.3-4)); and Burrow, 'Roman Satire,' (p.243) in *The Cambridge Companion to Roman Satire,* ed. by Freudenburg.

[10] Horace's *Satire* I.iv makes an explicit link between the outspoken criticism of Lucilian satire and that contained within the Old Comedies of Aristophanes, Eupolis, and Cratinus. See also Kirk Freudenburg, *Satires of Rome: Threatening Poses from Lucilius to Juvenal* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001) p.3, who argues that the extant verse satirists who followed Lucilius—Horace, Persius, and Juvenal—all construct their own brand of satire in relation to the Lucilian model, creating a literary dialogue that becomes increasingly complex for Persius and Juvenal as they are also obliged to contrast themselves with their more immediate predecessors (Horace for Persius, Horace and Persius for Juvenal).

[11] The fifteenth- and sixteenth-century publication history of all three satirists makes for interesting reading in itself. The *USTC* records 204 editions of Juvenal between 1469 (Rome) and 1556 (Lyon); these were often joined with the satires of Persius and appended with commentaries. The publications were predominantly in Latin, but there were also editions in Greek, Italian, and Spanish, and were produced in a number of countries on the Continent (France, Italy, Low Countries, Holy Roman Empire, Swiss Confederation, Poland, Spain), but, interestingly, not in England. Editions of Persius were slightly fewer—197 publications between 1470 (Rome) and 1599 (Salamanca)—but in the same range of languages and across the same geo-political areas as the Juvenalian texts. Horace dwarfs even the combined totals the other two—647 publications between 1471 (Venice) and 1600 (Leiden)—and aside from the four languages already connected to the Juvenalian and Persianic editions he was translated into French, Dutch, and English (notably, there are even four publications in England: 1565, 1566, 1567, and 1592). It must be stressed that the Horatian texts cover not only his *Satires* but also the *Epistles, Odes,* and *Ars Poetica*, but the huge number of publications from the late-fifteenth- through to late-sixteenth- centuries across all of western Europe attests to the poet's popularity. McPherson's annotated catalogue of Jonson's library tells us that Jonson owned four editions of Horatian texts and commentaries, one of which includes the *Satires* (Venice, 1584); three editions of Juvenal (one, a fifteenth-century manuscript, bound with Horace's *Ars Poetica*, the second containing the *Satires* with accompanying commentary (Augsburg, 1599), the third a scholarly edition of with Persius' *Satires* (Hanau, 1603)); he may also have owned an individual copy of Persius' *Satires* (Paris, 1605). These details about the verse satirists' publication history and Jonson's library are important for several

nature of Roman verse satire is difficult to pin down,[12] but it is useful to follow the generally agreed Renaissance opinion that Horace and Juvenal formed two ends of the satiric spectrum, the former reprimanding folly in a largely tolerant, amused tone, while the latter was full of scorn and vitriol, viewing his society as utterly corrupt and filled with unconscionable knaves.[13] Despite the idiosyncracies of each satirist, there were a number of elements that appear with enough consistency across their works for us to regard them as fundamental. The first, and most key, was a first person persona that depicted the speaker as both intimately acquainted with and detached from his subject matter. The satirist-speaker stands apart from the rest of humanity, wryly or savagely observing life from a near-omniscient perspective, giving him a greater moral distance from which to critique the behaviour of his fellow man—and, equally importantly, providing a convenient device that could be used to deflect accusations that the writer himself held any beliefs he expressed.[14] This attribute was joined by the tendency to focus on characters and scenes in an urban setting and an attendant distortion of these subjects in order to achieve a more visceral and repellent world-view.[15] The Lucilian fragment below nicely captures some of the form's key features in the description of the Roman rat race:

> But as it is, from dawn to dusk, on feast-days and work days,
> the whole community together, people and senate alike,
> mill about in the city square and never leave it.
> They all engage in one and the same craft and endeavour –
> to cheat with the maximum cunning, fight with the utmost guile,
> compete in charming words, pretending they're excellent fellows,
> and laying traps as if they were all each other's foes.[16]

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reasons: they tell us that i) all three poets, particularly Horace, had a long publication history on the Continent; ii) the publication dates of known items in Jonson's library show that Jonson could have been familiar at least with Horace and Juvenal before 1599, the year of *Every Man Out*; and iii) the presence of books of European origin in Jonson's possession indicate that the early modern book trade was transnational, so we should not be overly concerned about an apparent lack of English publications for Juvenal or Persius. See David McPherson, 'Ben Jonson's Library'; *USTC,* <usc.ac.uk> [accessed 14 July 2015].

[12] This categorical difficulty is perhaps reflected in these writings being labelled *saturae,* which one etymological tradition traces back to the meaning 'chock-full'—this is a derivation that is supported by Braund, who sees the wide-ranging and kaleidoscopic range of the Roman satirists as a poetic smorgasbord that enacts this very definition. See Susanna Morton Braund, 'Introduction,' in *Juvenal and Persius*, ed. and trans. by Susanna Morton Braund (Cambridge, MA; London: Harvard University Press, 2004), pp.1-39 (pp.7-8); Freudenburg, 'Introduction,' in *Cambridge Companion to Roman Satire,* ed. by Freudenburg, p.7. Raman Selden, *English Verse Satire, 1590-1765* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1978), p.11.

[13] Selden, pp.11-12. Persius was typically placed nearer to Juvenal on the continuum than Horace; see also Niall Rudd, *Themes in Roman Satire* (London: Duckworth, 1986), *passim.*

[14] Freudenburg, 'Introduction,' in *Cambridge Companion to Roman Satire*, ed. by Freudenburg.

[15] Kernan, pp.23-24.

[16] Lucilius, fr. 1145-51, trans. by Niall Rudd. In Rudd, p.6.

Lucilius' account that his subjects partake in their activities 'from dawn to dusk, on feast-days and work days' ('*a mani ad noctem festo atque profesto*') gives a sense of the persona's privileged position; the long-lens description of the crowd that fills this scene suggests a distance between describer and described that could be both literal and moral, imbuing the speaker with an omniscient, temporally distant quality. The persona's moral separation is hinted at through its description of its subjects–who, as 'people and senator' ('*populusque patresque*') represent a fairly comprehensive sweep of Rome's social strata, are all busy 'cheat[ing],' 'compet[ing],' 'pretending' ('*verba dare,' 'certare,' 'simulare*'), and 'laying traps' ('*insidias facere*') for one another. This sense of an acquaintance with Roman life is deepened in the work of Lucilius' successors, who frequently place their personae in the thick of the action—one of Horace's personae hurries through Rome's commercial centre in order to shake off a 'certain fellow' ('*quidam*'), but ends up embroiled in another's court case (*Sat.,* I.ix.3ff.); in Juvenal a client suffers the indignity of a sub-standard meal at a patron's home (V); and in Persius a hungover student refuses to allow philosophy to help him address his shortcomings in life (III). In the context of these poems' settings and socio-cultural emphases, Burrow states that '[w]hat unites Horace, Juvenal, and Persius as part of the same [satiric] project is the fact that they are all insistently, obtrusively *Roman*;'[17] the three satirists have abandoned the Lucilian high ground and have instead descended to street level, rubbing shoulders with the figures they satirise, and it is in these speakers' intimate association with their topics that one gains a sense that they too are morally compromised. Each satirist approaches his social commentary in different ways, but we could broadly summarise their common features as follows:

i.   A first person persona, whose capacity for moralising lay somewhere on a continuum between genial acceptance (typical of Horace) and savage indictment (typical of Juvenal);

ii.  frequent descriptions and criticism of characters in urban environments;

iii. a distorted vision of reality.

Despite satire's moralising tone the notion of 'distortion' is key, and it combines appropriately enough with the afore-mentioned mirror metaphor. Indeed, an explicit

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[17] Burrow, 'Roman Satire,' in *Cambridge Companion to Roman Satire,* ed. by Freudenburg, p.245.

connection between mirrors and satire is made in Juvenal's second satire, which presents a vignette of a group of pathic men:

> Another holds a mirror [*speculum*], the accoutrement of the pathic Otho, "spoils of Auruncan Actor," in which he used to admire himself when he'd put on his armour, while giving orders to advance into battle. It's a matter that deserves its mention in recent annals and modern history, that a mirror was part of the kit for civil warfare. It's the mark of the supreme general, I suppose, to slaughter Galba while pampering his skin, to aspire to the Palatine throne while plastering his face with a face mask of dough.
> (II.99-115)[18]

Otho was briefly made Emperor in 69 AD, the so-called Year of the Four Emperors, and is described as a 'pathic' ('*pathici*') here because of his supposed sexual relationship with Nero. This disrespectful epithet is enforced by the character's behaviour: in stark contrast to the scene of warfare and conquest in which the character is set—a scene which the martially-inclined Romans would have had only approval—Otho admires himself in a mirror while ordering others to advance in battle. The epic, warlike setting is nicely undercut both by Otho's unsoldierly behaviour—his narcissistic self-absorption, represented by the mirror, and complacency in allowing others to do his fighting for him— and is undermined further when he is compared to the mirror-gazing male pathic and the effeminised environment of the framing narrative. Rimell believes that this double act of mirror-gazing 'becomes the ultimate metaphor for the Juvenalian pose: the weapon which deflects criticism in satire's epic arena is also the tool for indulgent self-exposure.'[19] Here the unnamed pathic and Otho reveal something about their nature—the former behaves in a scandalously effeminate manner, surrounded by men who apply make-up, drink 'from a phallus-shaped glass' ('*vitreo bibit ille priapo*') and worship female goddesses (II.83-98), while the latter abandons his military responsibilities in order to indulge (quite literally) in an act of self-speculation. Crucially though, the reflective surfaces in this passage are complicit in the characters' misreading of themselves: the pathic male uses the mirror in a domestic environment that evokes a women-only party (II.83-107), a social context

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[18] Juvenal, *Juvenal and Persius,* ed. and trans. by Braund.

[19] Victoria Rimell, 'The Poor Man's Feast: Juvenal,' in *Cambridge Companion to Roman Satire,* ed. by Freudenburg, pp.81-94 (p.92). Rimell's reference to a 'weapon' is based on her belief that Otho gazes into the back of his shield in order to catch his reflection, however, the Latin clearly refers to a '*speculum*' ('mirror'). One could always argue that 'speculum' is here a metaphor for a shield, with its mislabelling indicating how far Otho is from the militaristic ideal, but the setting of this miniature scene allows Rimell's point to stand regardless: whether mirror or shield, our general is not behaving like a military man should.

suggestive of relaxation and enjoyment but one condemned as a travesty by the satirist-persona ('*Foedius hoc aliquid quandoque audebis amictu; / nemo repente fuit turpissimus*': II.82-83); in turn, Otho admires himself in his armour, but in so doing misinterprets his behaviour as soldierly.

If we accept Rimell's notion and see the mirror as a metaphor for Juvenalian satire, one could argue that the two characters' misreading of their reflections also represents the process experienced by the reader. We too gaze into the satire-surface, expecting it to reveal a recognisable and unbiased depiction of its subject, but instead we are given a perspective that has been manipulated and distorted by the satirist-persona.[20] Freudenburg provides several examples from Horace, Persius, and Juvenal where the persona suddenly shifts his stance, revealing his satire-surface to be a mirror that reflects back on the audience. Two particularly good instances illustrate his point: the first comes in Horace's first satire when, after providing comic instances of people who pursue base desires because they are dissatisfied with their lot in life, the persona asks: 'why laugh? Change but the name and the tale is told of you' ('*quid rides? mutato nomine de / te fabula narratur*': *Sat.,* I.i.69-70). Up to this point the satirist has lured his audience into a false sense of security: his opening lines are full of generalisations, a soldier wishes for a merchant's life, as does a lawyer for a farmer's, and so on (I.i.4-12), but any sense that the poem will be one that moralises abstractly on the follies of the world is exploded by the pronoun 'you' ('*te*'), abruptly indicating that the satirical spotlight has been turned on the reader themselves. The second of Freudenberg's examples is found following the death of Sejanus in Juvenal's tenth satire, when onlookers urge one another to 'get a move on and trample on Caesar's enemy while he's lying on the riverbank. But make sure our slaves see us, so they can't deny it' ('*curramus praecipites et, / dum iacet in ripa, calcemus Caesaris hostem. / sed videant servi, ne quis neget*': X.85-88).[21] Freudenburg argues that Juvenal's readers perform the same action as the self-aware citizens in this vignette: literally or figuratively, both groups give a socially-endorsed kicking to the prostrate Sejanus, enjoying the vicarious thrill of punishing a man who is no longer able to defend himself.[22] Similar to the Horatian example, both poets pull the rugs from under their audience's feet by showing the similarities in behaviour between themselves and the figures contained within

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[20] Freudenburg, *Satires of Rome, passim.*
[21] Jonson provides a close translation of this section in *Sejanus,* V.758-766.
[22] Freudenburg, *Satires of Rome,* pp. 11-12.

the satires. The text itself, up until this point a magnifying glass that the reader peers into to see the follies of mankind, has suddenly become a mirror, forcing them to confront the uncomfortable possibility that greed, corruption and hypocrisy might reside in themselves, too.[23]

<div align="center">

## III

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I suggest that Jonson surrounds *Every Man Out* and *Volpone* with two play-surfaces capable of changing their 'speculative' quality. At some points they appear transparent, offering a seemingly unbiased viewpoint; at others they are harsh reflections, forcing the audience to consider themselves as much as the characters they watch onstage, an experience intensified and complicated by Jonson's willingness to break his play-mirror into smaller pieces, creating a dramaturgical effect that becomes increasingly kaleidoscopic and confusing. Like the verse satirists before him, Jonson uses his mirrors to complicate his audience's privileged position, often requiring them to shift perspectives between different characters in a manner that unsettles any notion of their superiority, allowing the harsh focus of the plays' satirical comment to rebound on them. Furthermore, I believe that the satire of *Volpone* is more effective not only because of the unobtrusiveness of its satirical reflection but because it successfully combines this with a political comment that brings it more in line with the spirit of Old Comedy. As I argued in the previous chapter, the key to Jonson's dramaturgical skills lies in this ability to blend Greek and Roman elements together, creating a composite particularly suited to the aesthetic and philosophical requirements of the early modern stage.

In a development of this line of argument, I now intend to use the two Jonsonian plays as case studies in exploring the playwright's interest in dialectical drama, and the ways in which he modified his strategy of approaching this mode as he moved through his career. The word 'dialectic' has Latin and Greek roots,[24] and refers to '[l]ogic, reasoning; critical investigation of truth through reasoned argument, often *spec.* by means of dialogue or

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[23] Freudenburg, *Satires of Rome,* pp.7-14.

[24] The Latin *dialectia* ('art of reasoning, logic') stems from the ancient Greek ἡ διαλεκτική ('the art of discussion or debate'), 'dialectic,' n.1, in *OED Online,* 2nd ed., 1989 www.oed.com/view/Entry/51883?rskey=RntAjB&result=1#eid [accessed 10 July 2015].

discussion.'[25] The connection between dialectics and theatre is most famously associated in the modern age with Brecht, who regarded the dialectical process as a fundamental element of effective theatre.[26] Brecht used the term 'dialectic' throughout his career, but towards the end of his life seemed to make a decision to rename his dramaturgical strategy as 'dialectical theatre,' away from 'epic theatre,' a dramatic form that strove to create 'a theatre full of experts' by forcing the audience to engage with the ideological content of dramatic presentations that were open-ended, unresolved works whose self-conscious theatricality prevented spectators from a passive immersion in an imaginative world and instead reminded them of their status as artistic consumers.[27] I believe that Jonson aims for a similar effect in his works, and indeed there has already been much discussion about the playwright's interest in using the theatre in a proto-Brechtian manner, developing the moral and critical faculties of his audience by exposing theatrical and philosophical cliché in a way that demands they engage intellectually with the dramatic fare he offers.[28] The Brechtian analogy is a useful, if anachronous, approximation of Jonson's technique, but I would also like to stress that the dialectical method can be interpreted as one of the Jonson's most fundamental debts to the ancient Athenians, whose civic, cultural, intellectual and political processes were all bound up to this epistemological mode.

The *OED*'s definition of dialectic as 'reasoned argument' often achieved through 'dialogue or discussion' is telling, as it exposes the fact that this form of reasoning is grounded in

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[25] 'dialectic,' n.1.

[26] Brecht referred to 'dialectical drama' at the beginning of his career, but Willett notes that the term 'went into cold storage, to be taken out again in a somewhat different context at the end of [his] life'. See editorial note to Bertolt Brecht, 'The Literalisation of the Theatre: Notes to the *Threepenny Opera*,' in *Brecht on Theatre: The Development of an Aesthetic,* ed. and trans. by John Willett, 2nd ed. (London: Methuen, 1974), pp.43-47 (p.46).

[27] The *Vermfremdungseffeckt,* or A-effect, is the clearest example of the Brechtian resistance to the 'well-made' brand of theatre that insisted that 'the text must express everything within its own confines' and which 'subordinat[ed] everything to a single idea,' with a 'passion for propelling the spectator along a single track.' Bertolt Brecht, 'The Literalisation of the Theatre,' in *Brecht on Theatre,* ed. and trans. by Willett, p.44.

[28] For more on Jonson's proto-Brechtian links, see Womack, *Ben Jonson,* pp.29, 32; Jardine, 'Jonson as Shakespeare's Other,' (p.111), and Brian Woolland, 'Contradictions' (pp.116-124 (p.118)), in *Ben Jonson and Theatre,* ed. by Cave, Schafer and Woolland. For more on Jonson's conception of himself as an educator for his audience, see Robert Watson, *Ben Jonson's Parodic Strategy: Literary Imperialism in the Comedies* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1987), esp. pp.1-18; Gabriele Bernhard Jackson, *Vision and Judgement in Ben Jonson's Drama* (New York; London: Yale University Press, 1968), esp. pp.1-4.

oral dialogic exchange.[29] The word's etymological root is understandable if one considers that fifth-century Athenian society, while becoming increasingly literate, was still dominated by oral noetic processes that extended into every aspect of its structure.[30] Dialogic exchange between characters lay at the heart of tragedy and comedy from their earliest iterations,[31] and it is no coincidence that a key structural element in many plays is the *agon* ('contest'), a formal disputation between two characters whose outcome had a direct bearing on the play's conclusion.[32] The connection between theatre and 'contest' also has an extra-dramatic aspect: the festivals in which these plays were performed were themselves *agones*, in which the playwrights would compete with each other for first prize, and in this context the direct audience appeal of the Old Comic *parabasis* could be construed as the playwright's turn in an agonistic dialogue between himself and his judges.[33] Moreover, the agonistic element extended beyond the theatre, penetrating into other key parts of Athenian civic and intellectual life: it most obviously manifested itself in the law courts and in political speeches,[34] but other forms of poetry (including lyric poetry, and narrative and didactic epics) were recited in public, and '[s]ophists, physicians, historians of Herodotus's type, geographers, and other specialists performed their wisdom in public presentations as well, competing with each other and depending for their success

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[29] A further descent down the semantic rabbit hole reveals that 'dialogue' is formed from the Greek prefix *δια-* ('through') and *λογος* ('word'). 'dialogue,' *n.*, in *OED Online,* 2nd ed., 1989, <www.oed.com/view/Entry/51915?rskey=Lybblw&result=1#eid> [accessed 10 July 2015].

[30] Ong, p.24.

[31] Stehlíková, p.174.

[32] See Stehlíková, pp.111-112, who notes that key agonistic debates take place in over half of Aristophanes' extant plays (*Lysistrata, Wasps, Birds, Frogs, Knights, Clouds*), as well as in Aeschylus (*Prometheus Bound*), Sophocles (*Ajax, Antigone*), and Euripides (*Medea, Trojan Women*). The importance of this element to Western drama is enshrined semantically by the terms 'protagonist' and 'antagonist' (crudely speaking: 'for the agon' and 'against the agon').

[33] This agonistic element actually began before the scheduled performance days even started: scholia to Aristophanes' *Wasps* l.1109 (performed 422 BC) and Aeschines' *Against Ktesiphon* ll.66-67 (performed 330 BC) indicate that a *proagon* ('pre-contest') took place in the Odeon a few days before the festival began. The Aeschines scholion states that '[t]he actors entered [the Odeon] unmasked,' and the Aristophanes scholion adds that this was in order 'to announce the compositions.' While speaking the tragic playwright Agathon in Plato's *Symposium* 1194aff, Socrates also reveals that it was customary for the playwright to 'mount the platform' alongside his performers to announce their play in person. Quoted in Eric Csapo and William J. Slater, *The Context of Ancient Drama* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1994), pp.109-110. From his reading of Plato's account, Goldhill concludes that this custom 'might be thought of as something of an ordeal;' see Goldhill, 'The Great Dionysia,' in *Nothing to Do with Dionysos?*, ed. by Winkler and Zeitlin, p.100.

[34] David Rosenbloom, 'Staging Rhetoric in Athens,' *The Cambridge Companion to Ancient Rhetoric,* ed. by Erik Gunderson (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 194-211; Ober and Strauss, 'Drama, Political Rhetoric,' in *Nothing to Do with Dionysos?*, ed. by Winkler and Zeitlin p. 238ff, also point out that political orators frequently made explicit use of their audience's knowledge of the theatre in the content and structure of their speeches, and in turn dramatists were able to make the (mismanagement) of political rhetoric a central theme in their plays (Sophocles' *Antigone,* for example).

on the audience's positive reaction.'[35] The emphasis on public, oral presentation and the 'agonal streak of Greek culture'[36] made the dialectic process central to the smooth running of Athenian society: all of the examples mentioned are forms of 'argument' between one party (a poet, prosecutor, historian) and another (a judge, a jury, an audience), through whose (un)spoken dialogue a 'critical investigation of truth' could be achieved. In its most positive outcome, this investigation of truth would lead to a poet being awarded first prize, a defendant being acquitted or condemned, an intellectual argument being deemed valid, but these examples—drawn from the artistic, legal, and academic spheres—all help illustrate that agonistic exchanges were a central component to Athenian civic life.

Dialectical exchanges were therefore central to ancient Athenian society, and the dialectics of tragedy and comedy would seem to be the most direct route by which this noetic process was transmitted into Jonson's dramaturgy. The second—and easily most well established—route of transmission for dialectics to the Renaissance was that preserved in Socratic dialogues, the earliest extant examples being those produced by Socrates' pupils Xenophon (c.430-354BC) and Plato (c.429-347BC).[37] These philosophical dialogues lived up to their name, as they depicted a philosopher, often Socrates, engaged in debate with one or more interlocutors,[38] the principle being that the application of logic in conversation would allow both parties to gain a greater understanding of objective truth.[39] Dialectic, primarily taught in the form of the Aristotelian syllogism, was

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[35] Raaflaub, citing Thomas, in Kurt A. Raaflaub, 'Conceptualising and Theorising Peace in Ancient Greece,' *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 139 (2009), pp.225-250 (p.228). Emphasis added.

[36] Revermann,p.20.

[37] Plato's use of the form is so *sui generis* that his texts are frequently referred to interchangeably as Platonic dialogues. See Broadie, 'The Sophists and Socrates' (p.88), and Christopher Rowe, 'Plato' (pp.98-124 (p.98)), in *Cambridge Companion to Greek and Roman Philosophy,* ed. by Sedley.

[38] Broadie, 'The Sophists and Socrates' (pp.90-91), and Rowe (pp.99-103), in *The Cambridge Companion to Greek and Roman Philosophy,* ed. by Sedley, provide a useful summary of each of the extant texts, helping to establish that many of them were genuine dialogues between a speaker and a single interlocutor, and that Socrates was frequently the speaker.

[39] Rowe, in *Cambridge Companion to Greek and Roman Philosophy,* ed. by Sedley, p.114. This definition underwent some revision: Plato interprets '*διαλετικός*' as 'pursuant of serious enquiry,' in *Republic* VI and VII, where 'the goal of the dialectician's upward path is the cognition of the Form of the Good conceived as the source of all being and knowledge' (*Phdr.,* trans. by Hackforth, p.135). By the time he returned to the notion of dialectics in *Phaedrus* (which contains his most detailed explanation of the dialectical method) Hackforth argues that he had modified his approach and reduced the loftiness of his language concerning it, but with the same end intention: '[w]hat is now contemplated is a piecemeal approach to knowledge, consisting in mapping out of one field after another by a classification *per genera et species* which will have the effect of at once discriminating and relating these concepts or class-names which express not mere subjective generalisations but the actual structure of reality' (*Phdr.,*

fundamental to scholastic university learning through the medieval period and into the Renaissance,[40] and was in fact maintained, although joined by the increased emphasis on rhetoric,[41] in the pedagogic methods of the humanists.[42] Jonson, of course, did not attend university, and as the Introduction indicated the education he received at Westminster school was mainly in grammar and rhetoric,[43] so he missed out on formal training in the higher level educational skills, including dialectic, that were taught at Oxford and Cambridge. Nonetheless, the presence of dialectic techniques in the school texts produced by well-established humanists like Erasmus and Agricola means that one can say with some confidence that the playwright had some exposure to the method,[44] so we should not be surprised to see its intellectual implications extending into his dramatic practice.

It will be seen that dialogue, and the dialectic argumentation that stems from it, is also present in Jonson's satiric sources, and when combined with the links highlighted here between dialectic and the dramatic form, as well as humanist education, I hope to demonstrate that this noetic process was shot through the playwright's reading, intellectual training, and chosen art form. I suggest that Jonson presents the dialecticism of *Every Man Out* as a *fait accompli*, insisting that his audience agree with his dramaturgical choices by presenting them with an onstage audience of Mitis and Cordatus (the Grex), whose engagement with the play guides them to interpret the stage action in a certain way. This creates a sort of false dialectic, the audience being presented with the impression of a theatrical conversation but not being invited to join in with it directly, perhaps a sign that Jonson did not completely trust their critical faculties at this stage in his career. By the time he came to write *Volpone*, however, Jonson had begun to trust his spectators a little more, and by removing the dramaturgical training wheels of onstage audience figures we see in his earlier work, and by making the moral message of his play

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trans. by Hackforth, p.136). Cf. Plato, *Rep.*, ed. and trans. by Lee, VI, VII; Plato, *Phdr.,* ed. and trans. by R. Hackforth (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1952), XXI.264e-266b.

[40] See Alan Perreiah, 'Humanistic Critiques of Scholastic Dialectic,' *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 13:3 (1982), pp.3-22; Peter Mack, 'Humanist Rhetoric and Dialectic,' in *The Cambridge Companion to Renaissance Humanism,* ed. by Jill Kraye (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp.82-99 (p.83, 90); Kristeller, *Renaissance Thought and Its Sources,* ed. by Mooney, pp.32-49.

[41] Grafton and Jardine, *passim;* Perreiah, pp.6-7; Charles G. Nauert, 'Humanism as Method: Roots of Conflict with the Scholastics,' *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 29:2 (1998), pp.427-438.

[42] Mack, 'Humanist Rhetoric,' in *Cambridge Companion to Renaissance Humanism,* ed. by Kraye, pp.82-99, outlines the transmission of dialectical techniques in the writings of Valla, Melanchton, Erasmus, Ramus, and Harvey.

[43] Baldwin, *Small Latine,* I, p.76; Miola, *Shakespeare's Reading*, p.2.

[44] Grafton and Jardine, pp. 122, 136; Baldwin, *Small Latine,* I, pp 94-117; Green, p.21.

deliberately difficult to disentangle, Volpone takes on the quality of a truly dialectic drama, its 'truth' only being revealed through the audience's intellectual engagement (or dialogue) with the play. In addition, we will see that this shift from false to real dialecticism is directly related to Jonson's shift in satirical focus from verse to Menippean satirical forms.

# IV

Before we turn to *Every Man* Out, however, it would be useful to survey the influence of verse satire in Jonson's period, which will allow us to understand a little better how the play fits within the literary landscape of the late sixteenth century. From the 1540s onwards the extant Latin satirists had become increasingly popular in English literary circles, and the 1590s had seen a flurry of satirical works built upon a specifically Juvenalian model, so Jonson's attempt at a Juvenalian 'comical satire' was in keeping with artistic fashion.[45] The Juvenalian influence manifested itself in visions of 'corrupted cityscapes,'[46] and a *saeva indignatio* ('savage indignation') that peppered the language of poets like Hall, Marston, Donne and Nashe, whose violent fantasies involved a literal castigation of society with 'the whip, the scalpel, the strappado, the emetic, the burning acid.'[47] Indeed, it is either a sign of Juvenal's general influence, or an indication of underlying cultural attitudes that led to his popularity, that there was a proliferation of texts produced in this period that referred specifically to flagellation or corporal punishment, as well as a number that bore the suffix '-*mastix,*' a particle that 'form[s] nouns designating a person violently hostile to an idea, institution, etc.', but has a specific

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[45] Selden sees the re-emergence of classical satire beginning with Thomas Wyatt, who wrote three Horatian-inspired poems in the 1540s which would be published posthumously in *Totell's Miscelleny* (1557). Wyatt's Horatian poems were in competition with the native English satirical tradition of the Complaint, whose homiletic tone had more in common with Juvenal's declamatory style—which may explain why the latter's influence became increasingly dominant until its heyday in the 1590s. The literary preference for Juvenal was joined by the critical approval of the two notable scholars Scaliger and Minturno; this critical dominance would remain until Isaac Casaubon's study of satire in 1605, after which European intellectuals like Heinsius and Vossius raised Horace to the position of esteem that he was to enjoy through the neoclassical period. See Selden, pp. 45-51; Burrow, 'Roman Satire' (p.248), and Charles Martinfale, 'The Horatian and Juvenalesque in English Letters' (pp.284-298), in *Cambridge Companion to Roman Satire,* ed. by Freudenburg.

[46] Burrow, in *Cambridge Companion to Roman Satire,* ed. by Freudenburg, p. 249.

[47] Kernan, p.26.

association with whipping.[48] Burrow believes that satirists from the 1590s onwards were fascinated with Juvenal because, following the brief 'period of perfection' that Spenser and Sidney had brought to the poetic scene (a period that, to many subsequent writers, had echoes of Horace's Augustan age) the Elizabethan satirists saw themselves belonging to a 'new phase of literary history [...] decadent and post-classical' that held closer parallels with the paranoid, violent and chauvinistic world of Juvenal's Imperial Rome.[49] In fact, the Elizabethan satirists may have been more justified than most in seeing these parallels. The England of the late 1590s was one wracked internally by growing disquiet of rule by an ageing, childless queen, and externally by the danger posed by Catholic Europe, particularly from Spain, whose threat had not dissipated after the Armada of 1588.[50] Juvenal's creative output appears to have been during the comparatively benevolent reigns of the emperors Trajan (98-117 AD) and Hadrian (117-138 AD);[51] but his post-lapsarian vision of Rome often looked back to the oppressive city of the recent past, under the rule of Domitian (81-96 AD).[52] Both the real world of the Elizabethan satirists and the poetic world of Juvenal were therefore sites of tension and anxiety, and it is unsurprising that the satirists of Jonson's time chose to side with a writer whose literary output evoked a *milieu* that they could discern as being so close to their own.

Despite this, Elizabethan writers were acutely aware of the limits their society imposed on the sort of mocking commentary that was the province of the satirist, particularly when it came to politics. Indeed, Jonson was bold to produce a play in late 1599 that labelled itself

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[48] "-mastix," and "*mastix*, n." in *OED Online,* 2nd ed., 1989 < www.oed.com> [accessed 13 December 2014]. Theatrical works were represented by Dekker's *Satiromastix* ('the satirist whipped') and Marston's *Histriomastix* ('the player whipped'); in poetry there was Hall's *Virgidemiarum Sixe Bookes* (*'Six Books of Rods,'* 1597-98), Marston's *The Scourge of Villanie* (1598), John Weever's *Whipping of the Satire* (1601), and George Wither's *Abuses Stript and Whipt* (1613); and in prose the suffix was applied to topics as reliably passion-inducing as Christian doctrine (*Limbo-mastix,* 1604), papists (*Papisto-mastix,* 1606), atheists (*Atheo-mastix,* 1622), and, most notoriously, actors (another *Histrio-mastix,* this time by William Prynne in 1633). See *EEBO,* <http://eebo.chadwyck.com/search> [date accessed 15 April 2015]. The search parameters were limited to between 1500 and 1625, but a reference to a *Tobacco-mastix* of 1677 indicates that the interest in whipping society's ills endured beyond the Elizabethan period.

[49] Burrow, in *Cambridge Companion to Roman Satire,* ed. by Freudenburg, pp.250-251.

[50] Loxley, *Critical Guide,* p.21.

[51] Precise biographical information about Juvenal is virtually non-existent; see Braund, (Introduction [*Juvenal and Persius*], p. 20), who rejects most of the biographical material favoured by Highet in *Juvenal the Satirist* and Green's Penguin edition of the *Satires*. She does, however, agree with Symes that the sixteen satires appear to have been written between 100-130 AD, during the reigns of Trajan and Hadrian.

[52] See, for example, *Satire* IV, a mock-epic that narrates the injustices caused by Domitian, 'the bald Nero,' and his hangers-on (IV.38). The centrepiece of this poem is Domitian's discussion with his train of sycophants about what they should do with a giant turbot, a vignette that nicely captures the corruption, greed and frivolousness that Juvenal perceived at the heart of that Emperor's reign.

a 'comical satire' when in June of that year the Bishops' Ban had ordered the destruction of printed satirical works on the grounds that they were morally (and potentially politically) dangerous.[53] Moreover, Jonson had already had his fingers burned in the *Isle of Dogs* scandal of 1597, which because of that play's supposedly 'seditious and slanderous matter' had seen him imprisoned.[54] Therefore Jonson, who by now was known to the authorities for overstepping the mark, and who was writing in a mode that had been officially condemned, had to tread carefully, and he could not afford to make the indiscretions he seems to have made two years earlier by making direct reference to any powerful figures.[55]

Luckily, the Roman satirists provided exemplars of how even in febrile times there was scope for political comment by pointedly *not* being political.[56] Persius provides the subtlest example of this technique, and, considering his *floruit* was produced under Nero's rule (54-68 AD), this subtlety is possibly one of the greatest reasons why he was able to achieve the minor miracle of dying a natural death when many of his friends and relatives were either exiled or executed.[57] It is generally agreed that Persius' work takes a more introspective turn than his predecessors Lucilius or Horace, avoiding the naming of individuals and drawing instead on Stoic philosophy to create poems that are primarily concerned with exploring the darker recesses of the satirist-speaker's soul.[58] Rudd maintains that there was still enough in the extant work to damn their author–*Satire* I is particularly controversial, as it features a mocking portrait of the sort of poetic recitation that Nero was so fond, and that consequently he must be regarded as 'a courageous and highly

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[53] Ostovich, 'Introduction [*Every Man Out of His Humour*],' in Jonson, *Every Man Out,* ed. by Ostovich, Revels, pp.11-12;  Donaldson, *Ben Jonson,* p.153.

[54] The quotation is from a transcript of the court record when Jonson and the actors Robert Shaw and Gabriel Spencer were examined by the Privy Council on 15 August 1597, in Ian Donaldson, '*The Isle of Dogs,* (Lost Play),' in *CWBJ,* I, pp.101-109 (p.103).

[55] *The Isle of Dogs* playtext is lost, but Donaldson speculates that Jonson must have made satirical reference to important political figures (Donaldson, '*The Isle of Dogs,*' *CWBJ,* I, p. 106); this view is supported by a letter Jonson writes to Cecil in 1605, probably for support in the new trouble he had found himself in following *Eastward Ho!* (1605), when the playwright claims that after his 'first error [...] I have so attempered my style that I have given no cause to any good man of grief; and, if to any ill, by touching at any general vice, it hath always been with a regard, and *sparing of particular persons*.' Ben Jonson, 'Letter 3, to Robert Cecil, first Earl of Salisbury,' in *CWBJ,* II, ll.21-25. Emphasis added.

[56] Selden, p.53.

[57] See Rudd*,* pp.62-65 for a summary of Persius' social circle and the frequently unpleasant fates that befell its members.

[58] See, for example, Freudenburg, *Satires of Rome,* p.188.

imprudent young man' for writing such a vignette.[59] That first poem is apparently a programmatic statement in defence of the satirical form; it chooses contemporary poetic taste as its target and disparages the Roman public's lack of critical faculty that had led to satire's decline in popularity. The satirist-persona shifts focus between various examples of artistic corruption: from the near-pornographic miniature of a preening epic poet performing with 'orgasmic eye' ('*patranti* [...] *ocello': I.18)—suggesting a state of literary arousal that transfers to his audience when his words 'enter their backsides and their innermost parts are tickled by verse vibrations' ('*cum carmina lumbum / intrant et tremulo scalpantur ubi intima versu*': I.20-21)—to a snapshot of contemporary poets, all style over substance, whose only interest is that their poetry 'flows with a smooth rhythm, so that critical fingers glide smoothly over the joins' ('*numero fluere, ut per leve severos / effundat iunctura unguis*': I.64-65); and finally to a curt dismissal of the general public, who are more content to enjoy populist forms of entertainment than read anything by the 'Mighty Old Man' ('*audaci* [...] *sene*': I.123-124) Aristophanes or his Old Comic rivals like Cratinus or Eupolis (I.124-131). This attack on contemporary poetics seems at first to be fairly conventional, a reiteration of the time-honoured motif that culturally 'things aren't what they used to be,' and the speaker suggests that his audience needs to develop their self-criticality:

> If muddled Rome disparages something, don't step in to correct the faulty balance in those scales and don't search outside yourself. The reason? Is there anyone at Rome who doesn't—oh, if only I could say it. (I.5-8)

Persius' apparent message is that people need to stop searching 'outside' themselves and instead reflect on the problems that reside within their own natures, an outlook that is in keeping with the Stoic tendency to meet the travails of the world with patient acceptance. One might read this as a philosophical throwing up of hands, a pragmatic recourse to introspection born from the dangerous realities of Nero's Rome; nonetheless, when we probe a little deeper we begin to see that the satirist-persona advocates more than worldly detachment. Consider the extract above alongside a section towards the end of the poem:

> Am I forbidden a mutter? Not even in secret? Not even in a hole? Nowhere? Never mind: I'll dig a hole for it here. I have seen it, yes, I

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[59] Rudd, p.69.

have seen it for myself, little book: is there anyone who does not
have donkey's ears? (I.119-121)

There is a long scholarly tradition that this section was a potentially dangerous one for Persius, as the question 'is there anyone who does not have donkey's ears?' ('*auriculas asini quis non habet?*': I.121) completes the hastily cut off question of I.8, 'Is there anyone at Rome who doesn't—' ('*nam Romae quis non—*': I.7), providing a subtle connection between the legend of King Midas and foolish contemporary attitudes to poetry.[60] The scope of Persius' indiscretion is widened if one considers that Nero, who as *Emperor* was Rome's nearest equivalent to *King* Midas, had poetic aspirations himself, and was known to perform in contexts very similar to Persius' epic poet with the 'orgasmic eye.'[61] In fact, Freudenburg believes that the speaker's original coyness in breaking off the question with 'if only I could say it' betrays a false hesitation, as the opening syllables in the original Latin ('*a, si* fas dicere') actually goes most of the way to pronouncing the '*asi*nus' that appears in the later reference to donkey's ears ('auriculas *asini* quis non habet?').[62] It is no coincidence that these lines, foregrounded by a strong sibilance that connotes the speaker's contemptuous disapproval for the asinine public, make an appearance at the beginning and the end of the poem, as their repeated appearance hints at darker currents that flow beneath the text's comparatively calm surface. Despite first impressions, Persius' criticism extends further than the aesthetics of contemporary poetry, as his (half)spoken reference brings in associations with the Emperor himself. For the initiated, the clues are there: the speaker's reference to his poem as a 'hole' ('*scrobe*': I.119) into which he pours his misgivings about society alludes to the legend of Midas' barber, who similarly tried to hide the secret of his master's ears by whispering it into a hole in the ground. The story was well known at Rome,[63] so Persius' audience would have been aware of the outcome: that the barber's words became common knowledge after they were spread by the whisperings of a nearby reed bed. In similar fashion, the subtle references to Nero, lightly carried through the poem like words on the breeze, give the poem a hidden political edge, as they include even the supposedly unassailable figure of the Emperor within its satire.

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[60] See, for example, Rudd, p.68, who notes that this reading was known to the ancient scholiasts and the author of the *Life* of Persius.

[61] See Tacitus, *The Annals of Imperial Rome,* trans. by Michael Grant, rev. ed (London: Penguin, 1996), XV.35.20,23,33-45, where the writer uses Nero's taste for performing in public as indicative of his moral depravity and unfitness to rule.

[62] Freudenburg, *Satires of Rome,* p.180.

[63] Rudd, p.122. A particularly well-known version of the story can be found in Ovid, *Metamorphoses,* XI.172-193.

Persius' first poem therefore provides an excellent model for covert political satire, as he uses the more acceptable critique of modern aesthetics as a decoy to a more subversive political comment, and it is precisely this sort of half spoken mockery that Jonson was to use in *Every Man Out.*

In Kernan's view, however, Jonson's attempt to create an onstage embodiment of the satirical spirit was not wholly successful, in part due to a fundamental problem with the figure of the satirist himself. In verse satire the satirist-persona is our only guide, the lens/mirror through/in which we see their vision of the world, a vision that has been distorted to accord with the speaker's view. In contrast, the stage-satirist is one character among many, and no matter how much they bluster (or how much Jonson tries to bolster their importance by proclaiming their omniscient qualities or by placing them as peripheral commentators on the plot) they are no longer the only conduit for their writer's poetic vision. States says that theatre is peculiar among other art forms in that it has 'no privileged voice;'[64] a dramatic *text* may initially be the creation of one person, but the moment it is turned to a dramatic *event,* embodied and interpreted by actors, the 'privileged' position of the author is compromised: the audience-actor connection becomes more pronounced than that between author and audience. This is a dynamic with which the literary satirist—whose words were the only connection between their ideas and their audience—did not have to contend. In fact, one might argue that the polyphonic nature of drama is inherently inimical to the satiric voice. The three Roman satirists derive their didactic and moralising power from the fact that they are able to fashion their world in their own distorted image, and their rhetorical impact would have been reduced if their grotesque depictions were actually embodied.[65]

Nevertheless, if the embodiment required by performance goes some way to reducing the stature of the stage satirist, Jonson compensates for this by not allowing all of his play's satirical drive to reside within the body of a single actor. In fact, the layering of satiric

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[64] States, p.132.

[65] Indeed, the diminishment of the stage satirist in comparison to his literary counterpart was impressed on me at a staged reading of *Every Man Out,* dir. by Colin Ellwood at Sam Wanamaker Theatre, London (17 Jul 2016). The performance really highlighted how Asper, whose invective appears so titanically censorious on the page, seems petulant and vain when embodied by an actor's performance, which reduces his language in proportion in his relative smallness in the theatrical space—so much so that Mitis' wearily familiar '[f]orbear, good Asper. Be not like your name' (Ind.35) sounded less, as it reads on the page, like a paltry effort to quell the other's elemental rage, and more like the interjection of one wishing to silence a bore from his favourite topic.

perspectives within *Every Man Out* fragments Jonson's authorial voice, subsuming it within multiple characters to give the suggestion of polyphony in the Bakhtinian sense that the characters represent 'a plurality of independent and unmerged voices,'[66] an impression that is intensified by the inherently polyphonic nature of theatrical presentation. The consequence, of stage polyphony, however, is that the satirist-persona diminishes from his literary counterpart. The literary satirist's words and choice of focus give him an unassailable authority over the subject of his attacks and his audience's perception of these subjects; by contrast, the stage-satirist's voice, channelled through an actor's body, must compete with the voices of other characters that share his stage.[67] Kernan's view is that the probity of the stage satirist suffers because the persona is no longer masked by the monological authority of the literary text, which results in his words and attitudes being subjected to greater scrutiny:

> The satirist's various contradictions, confusions, and tensions are realised dramatically, and the dramatic perspective reveals them unambiguously. Not only are the outlines of the figure clarified, but we escape the control of his headlong rhetoric, for the scene comes to life, the characters speak for themselves; and while they may damn themselves from their own mouths, they nevertheless make some claim on our sympathies, for they are now human beings, not mere collections of loathsomeness.[68]

Setting aside Kernan's rather surprising assumption that theatrical characters are 'human beings' rather than an embodiment of a creative construct,[69] his view on the problem of

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[66] M.M. Bakhtin, *Problems of Dostoevsky's Poetics,* ed. and trans. by Caryl Emerson (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984), p.6.

[67] The effect is particularly pronounced in Jonson, as the playwright had a preference for crowding his scenes with multiple points of focus (cf. The Paul's Walk scene of *Every Man Out* (III.i); the opening scenes of *Sejanus*, where factions representing the titular character and his enemies pass over and gather on the stage (see chapter 2, section IV); and, most noticeably, the kaleidoscopic crowd scenes of *Bartholomew Fair*). For discussions of this aspect of Jonson's dramaturgy, see Ostovich, 'Introduction [*Every Man Out of His Humour*],' in Jonson, *Every Man Out*, ed. by Ostovich, Revels, p.42ff., and Cave, 'Visualising Jonson's Text,' in *Ben Jonson and Theatre,* ed. by Cave, Schafer and Woolland, p.34.

[68] Kernan*,* p.143.

[69] This theoretical ramifications concerning the combination of artistic construct with human performer in the performative moment has been most fully articulated by the Prague School Structuralists. See, in particular, Otakar Zich, who speaks of the onstage character as a 'dramatic person' that fuses together the playwright's creation (the character) with a human body (the actor), and that it is this second figure's spatial, temporal and corporeal reality that provides the 'sensorial perception' of performance to an audience member. From a Zichian perspective, Kernan's idea on the 'humanness' of any character is wrong-headed; the playwright's character remains an idea, not a real human being, but it is through the agency of a human interpreter that we are given the *impression* that a character exists before us. These ideas are most fully articulated in Otakar Zich, *Aesthetics of Dramatic Art* (forthcoming, see Introduction, fn. 99)*,* but see 'Principles of Theoretical Dramaturgy,' which uses similar language in

staging the satirist's vicious nature seems correct. On the page, one might be prepared to tolerate a verse-satirist's persona, but by actualising the violent potential of the poet's invective on the stage—revealing, for example, the stage-satirist's direct involvement in the unpleasant act of sealing up a raconteur's mouth with wax (*EMO*, V.iii), or a foolish knight's dog being kicked and poisoned in order to ruin a wager (V.i)—we begin to see the problems the satirist may have with maintaining the moral high ground. Jonson tries to reduce the damage brought to the moral reputation of his stage-satirist by making a careful distinction between Asper, the satirist-author who inhabits the framing Induction and Epilogue—'the frank, open, indignant [...] good man who is capable of being the good poet'—and Macilente, the pathologically vicious character that Asper assumes when he enters the play world of the *Insula Fortunata*.[70] The playwright insulates himself further by allowing his satirical commentary to reside in the mouths of more than one character, creating a series of refracting and contradictory satiric reflections that prevent the audience member from identifying any specific viewpoint entirely with Jonson.[71]

This fragmentation is also seen in Jonson's dispersal of choric characteristics beyond the Grex, as by structuring his play around concentric frames of choral figures he extends the spectatorial privilege associated with this grouping.[72] This dramaturgical choice is most obviously illustrated in the Paul's Walk scene of III.i, which shows most of the play's characters moving up and down the central aisle of St Paul's Cathedral in a carefully choreographed series of movements whose dance-like rhythms are indicated by the stage directions (*'they shift', 'Fastidius mixes with Puntavarlo,' 'four couple'*: III.i.246.SD.1-4). The overall result is that separate and grouped characters can observe the behaviour of others and to be seen in turn (see Fig. 3.1).

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stating that 'the *dramatic character is the sum of the acting and speech* of the actor representing that character (p.44, emphasis in original).
[70] Jackson, pp.43-44.
[71] See Watson, pp.53-54, who claims that this splitting of the satiric voice is seen most clearly in four characters, each of whom represent satirical characteristics on a declining 'moral scale': at the top is 1) Asper, 'the forthright raillery, a figure of grand moral indignation'; then 2) Macilente, 'an envious conniver, a version of the melancholic scholar'; then 3) Buffone, a 'scurrilous epigrammist, a carelessly abusive social parasite'; and, finally, 4) Shift, who 'may qualify as a satiric coney-catcher'.
[72] Ostovich, 'Introduction [*Every Man Out of His Humour*],' in Jonson, *Every Man Out*, ed. by Ostovich, Revels, pp.51-59.

Fig. 3.1. Diagram of choric privilege in *EMO,* III.i.

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┌─────────────────────────────────────────────────┐
│                 Globe Audience                    │
│  ┌─────────────────────────────────────────────┐ │
│  │             Cordatus, Mitis                   │ │
│  │ ┌─────────────────────────────────────────┐  │ │
│  │ │     Carlo Buffone, Macilente (Asper)      │  │ │
│  │ │ ┌─────────────────────────────────────┐  │  │ │
│  │ │ │        Puntavarlo, Delirio           │  │  │ │
│  │ │ │ ┌─────────────────────────────────┐ │  │  │ │
│  │ │ │ │  Shift, Sogliardo, Brisk, Fungoso│ │  │  │ │
│  │ │ │ │ ┌─────────────────────────────┐ │ │  │  │ │
│  │ │ │ │ │       Clove, Orange          │ │ │  │  │ │
│  │ │ │ │ └─────────────────────────────┘ │ │  │  │ │
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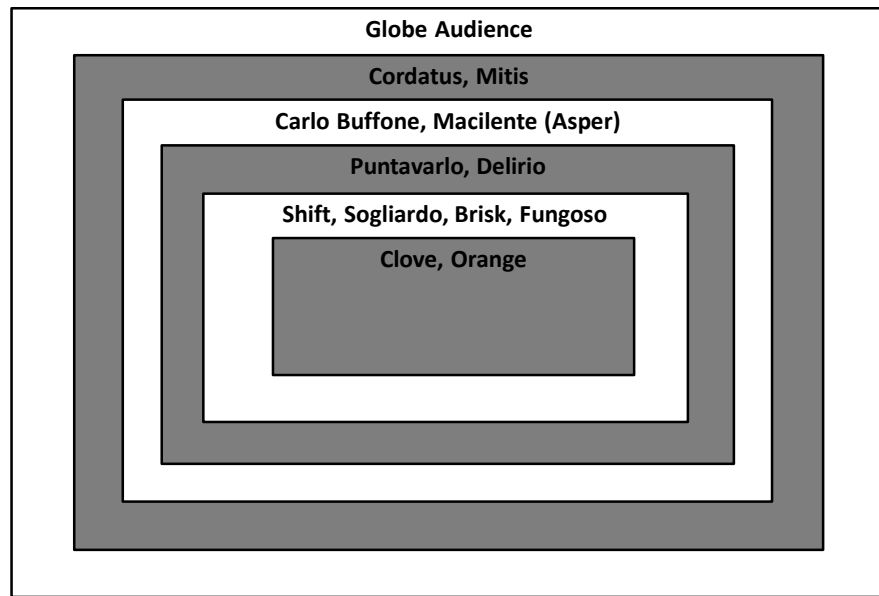
The scene is essentially a dramatic representation of what Fitzgerald calls the 'infinitely regressive position of the [literary] satirist,'[73] as it places the audience at the outer frame of a spectatorial chain that depicts the scene's action being viewed, and commented on, by various characters whose increasingly reduced ability for self-awareness correlates directly to their position on this 'Great Chain of Seeing'. Although the real audience is notionally placed on the outer frame, Jonson's Russian-doll-like structure actually offers a bewildering array of view points from which an audience can join in with the mockery of one onstage group against another (a dramaturgical technique that will be explored further in chapter 4). In so doing, Jonson compromises his audience's sense of spectatorial privilege, the belief that they are the final, unassailable frame that surrounds the play world, and in possession of a greater overall awareness than the characters within it.[74] The constant shifting of perspectives from one group to another, and the impression that there is always someone observing and commenting on the follies of others, has an insidious effect, inviting the audience to ask the Juvenalian question: who watches the watchers? And, of course, the audience's question could be followed by another: who is watching them?

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[73] William Fitzgerald, *Slavery and the Roman Literary Imagination* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000) p.21.
[74] Ostovich, 'Introduction [*Every Man Out of His Humour*],' in Jonson, *Every Man Out*, ed. by Ostovich, Revels, p.58.

The fragmentation of satiric perspectives is a debt to the verse satirists, but Jonson found a useful container for them in the form of the Aristophanic chorus. Indeed, it is strangely appropriate to Jonson's contaminated dramaturgy that this play, tonally the most Juvenalian of all his works, should also be one of his most Aristophanic. Jonson's Aristophanic debt can most clearly be seen in the structuring of his play, which lacks any real plot-line but instead progresses episodically, showing the audience a sequence of vignettes in the 'Aristophanic mode' that focus on a variety of humorous characters who are either shocked out of their personality defects or punished for them.[75] The play's dominant concern is therefore of satire over narrative, a similar emphasis which can be traced back to Aristophanes, whose work typically centres on an individual's desire to 'purge' his or her society of its defects, and who along the way encounters a number of characters or situations that, while offering no effective resistance to the protagonist's aims, provide modulations on the main satiric theme.[76] Jonson points to this link himself when he claims that the play is 'somewhat like *Vetus Comedia*' (Ind.228),[77] a comment placed in the mouth of Cordatus, who along with Mitis (and, to begin with, Asper) is a member of the 'Grex,' a Latin term Jonson connects explicitly to the Greek chorus (Ind.233).[78] Jonson's choice of names points to his emphasis on the ambiguous roles of this group, and the etymological roots of each name yield some interesting points. 'Asper' is an appropriately combative name for a character who presents himself as the scourge of society's vices,[79] and the milder meanings of *wise* 'Cordatus' and *soft* 'Mitis,' associated

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[75] Ostovich, 'Introduction [*Every Man Out of His Humour*],' in Jonson, *Every Man Out*, ed. by Ostovich, Revels, p.18ff.

[76] Miola, *Shakespeare and Classical Comedy,* p.87.

[77] Barton points out (p.113) that in Jonson's time *Vetus Comedia* also equated to English morality plays, the country's own version of 'old comedy.' Jonson makes the link between *Vetus Comedy* and the morality play in *The Devil Is An Ass*, a play patently based on this tradition (at least in part—see chapter V), but it seems clear that he is referring to Greek comedy in *Every Man Out*. For the counter-view that the phrase refers to the English native tradition of the morality rather than Greek Old Comedy, see Baskervill, pp.212-213.

[78] The word 'Grex' is used occasionally in Plautus, such as *Cistellaria* (V.ii.782-787), *Epidicus* (V.iii.732-733), *Persa* (V.ii.858), and *Poenulus* (V.ii.1422), to refer to the troupe, who appeal for the traditional *plaudite*. Interestingly, some MS versions of these plays assign the *plaudite* to Poeta ('Playwright'). Waith, *Patterns and Perspectives,* p.67.

[79] Lewis and Short tell us that Asper (from the adj. *asper, aspĕra, aspĕrum*) is possibly connected to the Greek 'ἀσπαίρω', to struggle, to resist' and can refer to sensory roughness (touch: 'rough', 'uneven'; taste: 'harsh', 'sour', 'bitter', 'acrid', 'pungent'; sound: 'harsh', 'grating') but also refers to animals ('wild', 'savage', 'fierce') and to things (*'rough', 'harsh,' 'troublesome', 'adverse', 'calamitous', 'cruel'*, emphasis added). What is most compelling about the last category is that this usage is most frequently employed by the poets; Lewis and Short cite, amongst others, Horace's *Epist.* II.i.7 and I.ii.21. Asper's name, therefore, aside from the association with 'roughness', which applies to any of the adjective's definitions, also takes on a specifically Horatian association, and indeed when we view the character from this perspective we see a strong congruity between his violent rhetoric and the cruelty and

but subtly nuanced, encapsulate the idea that these characters serve as moderating foils to Asper and, to a lesser extent, each other.[80] All three names therefore seem to reflect the conflicting voices found within their Greek ancestors, and his choice of 'Grex' to describe the trio (originally a term referring to animals, derived from the Greek 'ἀγείρω, ἀγορά, 'a flock, herd, drove, swarm'', but also translated as 'company,' in either a good or bad sense)[81] suggests a group of ambiguous zoological and moral status, whose capacity as commentators could consequently be regarded, with a similar ambiguity, as worthy or brutish.

A final philological point might be made about Asper's alter-ego of 'Macilente,' the satirist-scholar who enters the inner frame of the play world and who is consumed with an 'envious apoplexy' (Characters.9) against the unworthy characters he encounters. The name is of Italian provenance—John Florio's Italian-English dictionary defines it as 'lean, meagre, gaunt, barren, thin'[82]—and the same set of definitions can be found in the adjective's Latin root (*macilentus, -a, -um*). As with the other choric members, the name's meaning is apparently reflected by the character's physicality, he is 'a lean mongrel' (I.ii.167), '[a] lank raw-boned anatomy' that 'walks up and down like a charged musket' (IV.iii.109-110). If one assume that Macilente is another example of Jonson's tendency to use names as an index for his characters' physical and personal traits, we might initially be surprised at the connection between satire and leanness, considering that one suggested

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calamity that the word suggests in Horace. (As a footnote to a footnote, Lewis and Short observe that Asper was the cognomen of L. Trebonius, 'a Latin grammarian, two of whose treatises have come down to us;' and Steggle identifies another Asper, who was an early commentator on Terence's plays (intriguingly, another Terentian commentator was named Cordatus). We might therefore join Steggle in reading the allusions to past critics in Asper and Cordatus as constituting a 'stage equivalent of a marginal gloss' in the style of Donatus' Terentian commentaries (*Every Man Out,* Names of the Characters.2n); I think it at least noteworthy that Jonson's Asper desires to reassert moral and aesthetic standards by expunging the careless and 'impious' acts of his contemporary literary world, an act that is similar to a grammarian's desire for linguistic order. See Matthew Steggle, 'Jonson's *Every Man Out* and Commentators on Terence,' *Notes and Queries* 242, pp.525-526.)

[80] Like their leader, Cordatus and Mitis also show signs of nominative determinism: the former (from the adjective *cordatus, -a, -um*) is defined as 'wise, prudent, judicious, sagacious'; whereas the latter (from the adjective *mitis, -e*) is associated with soil ('mild', 'mellow', 'mature', 'ripe'), and rivers ('calm', 'gentle', 'placid'). As with Asper, 'Mitis' holds a further association of 'made softer, made mellow with beating,' which is again derived from comedy (Plautus' *Mil.* l.1424; Terence's *Ad.* l.276). This final meaning of the word certainly accords with the character's function as a misinterpreting, blundering foil to the much more alert and sagacious Cordatus, and is hinted at in Jonson's 'Character of the Persons': whereas Cordatus is 'a mainly acquainted with the scope and drift of [the author's] plot; of a discreet and understanding judgement', his companion is 'a person of no action, and therefore we afford him no character' (*Every Man Out,* Characters.86-87, 90).

[81] 'grex', n., in LSJ.

[82] Quoted in Jonson, *Every Man Out,* ed. by Ostovich, Characters.6n.

etymology of the word 'satire' is to the Roman *lanx satura* ('stuffed plate') that is replicated in literary form by the verse satirists cramming a vast array of allusions and narrative perspectives into the relatively small frame of their poems.[83] Macilente's thinness is pathological, the satirist-scholar's bitterness burning him away from within, an idea voiced by Carlo Buffone:

> BUFFONE: I'll not meddle with him, the pure element of fire, all spirit, extraction [....] A scholar, Macilente; do you not know him? A lank raw-boned anatomy, he walks up and down like a charged musket, no man dares encounter him. (*EMO,* IV.iii.106-107,109-110)

Buffone's words confirm to us that Macilente is a satirist in the Elizabethan-Juvenalian vein: all fire and brimstone, consumed by anger and full of violent invective. The reference to leanness may also refer to the tendency of Horace and Juvenal to go pointedly against the genre-defining, stuffed plates that typified the satires of aristocratic Lucilius, instead presenting their poems as more humble fare. Horace frequently shows his personae as the poorer, more constrained cousins of their Lucilian forbears, content to draw from a 'small pile' ('*ex parvo*': *Sat.,* I.i.52) rather than succumb to greed.[84] Similarly the Juvenalian persona is content to move among the commoner sort, joining the clients who attend their patrons' dinner parties only to 'wait there in silence, brandishing [their] bread at the ready, untouched' ('*inde parato / intactoque* [...] *et stricto pane tacetis*': V.168-169), their hunger pangs barely assuaged by the paltry meal they are served. In moving from the 'rough' Asper to the emaciated Macilente Jonson therefore imparts to us on a lexical level that by transferring Asper from the more Aristophanic Grex and into the play-world proper the character also moves from the satirical function of Old Comedy to that of the verse satirists, charging Macilente with the biting content particularly suited to Juvenalian precedent.

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[83] See fn. 12 above for a fuller discussion of the possible sources of *satura.*

[84] The phrase refers specifically to the speaker's contentment with a modest lifestyle, but the contrast between 'small' and 'big' piles can also be read as a covert statement that the Horatian persona will not be offering the 'stuffed plates' of Lucilian satire but would instead offer a more modestly-sized dish in proportion to his reduced circumstances. In addition, Freudenburg cites numerous examples where Horace highlights that, while he and Lucilius''s position as *equites* meant that they technically shared the same social status, his humble beginnings and reliance on patronage meant that they were in reality leagues apart. Playing on the idea that an *eques* had the option of mounted travel, Horace's speaker, instead of riding astride a Lucilian steed, is always depicted on a mule, 'a symbol more apt for his particular brand of satire because it takes us down several notches on the 'generic' scale of the Roman self, to the parodic, asinine level of who Horace is, a horseman at the bottom of his class, poorly bred, and hopelessly out of place in the world that Lucilius knew and expressed as his 'satire''. See Freudenburg, *Satires of Rome,* p.59; also and Emily Gowers, 'The Restless Companion: Horace, *Satires* 1 and 2,' in *The Cambridge Companion to Roman Satire,* ed. by Freudenburg, pp.48-61 (esp. pp.48-50).

In his choice of character names, Jonson signals his willingness to blend Greek and Roman elements together; indeed, his use of the collective term 'Grex' might lead us to suspect that we will find a clearer example of the choral unit than we do in the unacknowledged female chorus of *Epicene,* and there are indeed several points of comparison with this dramaturgical type. Firstly, Jonson enforces a structural and spatial distinction between the Grex and his protagonist characters, a dramaturgical decision that echoes the chorus' mediatory function between characters and audience in Aristophanes' plays. At the end of the Induction, Asper departs to assume the role of Macilente, but he specifically requests that his companions 'sit' to watch the performance 'as censors', leaving them onstage in full view of the audience (Ind.150-151).[85] The Grex, like the Aristophanic chorus occupying the orchestra, therefore maintain a constant presence during the play, similar to Happé's first grouping or Savage's most 'formal' of choruses (see chapter 2), and their frequent asides and discussions of their playwright's choice of character and dramatic decorum does much to help explain the progression of plot and anticipate audience response (see Fig. 3.2).[86]

Interestingly, though, Jonson's deployment of this structural technique is as much a departure as a similarity; the Grex may maintain the mediatory function held by the Aristophanic chorus, but unlike Asper-Macilente they remain firmly detached from the play's action, a dramaturgical choice that seems more akin to the Jonsonian choruses outlined in chapter 2 that prove to be a *contaminatio* of choric elements drawn from native drama, Senecan tragedy, and Aristophanic comedy. In addition to those sources already noted in the previous chapter, I also wonder if the Grex owe a specific debt to the characters 'A' and 'B' in Medwall's *Fulgens and Lucres*, the first play in English to be published (c.1510-1516) and consequently a text that Jonson may have known on account

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[85] There is a similar ambiguity of staging with Christopher Sly in Shakespeare's *The Taming of the Shrew*. A stage direction to Induction 2 indicates that Sly watches the actors who have arrived in Induction 1 'aloft,' which would suggest the gallery above the stage; however Howard, the plays Norton editor, admits that this positioning is 'open to question' and the character could have sat to the side of the stage, visible but inobtrusive. With both Sly and the Grex I think their visibility to the audience is of greater importance than where they actually sat. See William Shakespeare, *The Taming of the Shrew,* in *The Norton Shakespeare: Based on the Oxford Edition,* ed. by Stephen Greenblatt, Walter Cohen, Jean E. Howard, and Katherine Eisamann Maus, 2nd ed. (New York; London: Norton, 2005), unless otherwise acknowledged, all subsequent Shakespearean references will be to this edition.

[86] Asides from the Grex appear as follows: I.i.33-36; I.ii.1-5, 28-32, 78; I.iii.139-169; II.i.1-9, 55-58, 81-83; II.ii-114-116, 181-184. 314-335; II.iii.167-168, 326-355; III.i.1-15, 29-31, 34-42, 404-419; III.ii.7-10. 112-135; III.iii.126-133; IV.ii.8-11; IV.iii.369-374; IV.iv.23-26, 44-45, 65-68; IV.v.121-145; V.i.76-78; V.ii.182-183; V.iii.32-33, 39, 54-55, 64-65, 122-125, 285; V.iv.64-66; V..vi.3-4.

of its literary novelty. Medwall's play signals its debt to emerging humanist discourse and courtly themes through its title characters (who were popular figures from medieval romances and classical legend), and in its ostensible aim to debate whether virtue is decided by birth or by innate qualities.

Fig. 3.2. Possible positions for the Grex throughout *EMO*. Note that the positioning of the Grex around the stage places them in Weimann's *platea* position, an 'unlocalised' or 'neutral space' that allowed performers to eschew any sense of stage verisimilitude in favour of rapport with the audience (at least in the theatre's lower sections).[87]

**G = Grex (Mitis, Cordatus)**
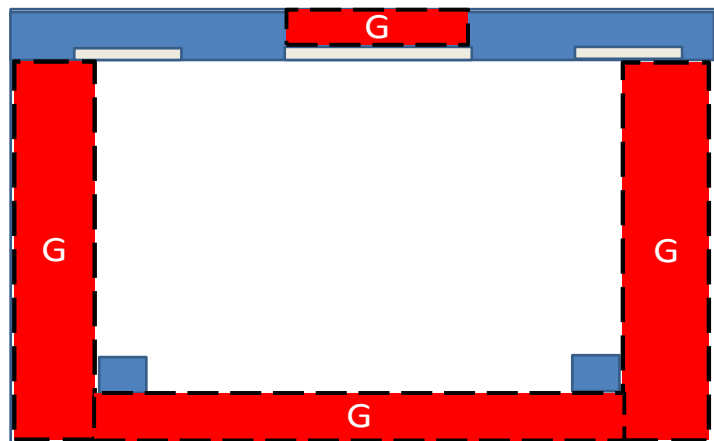


The play's central debate concerns whether Lucres (the famed daughter of the Roman senator Fulgens) should marry Publius Cornelius (a nobleman) or Gaius Flaminius (a man of lower origins but higher virtue). The plot thus laid out therefore appears to presage a rather sober and virtuous meditation on the given theme, but this 'narrative proper' (if one can call it that) is consistently disrupted by the interloping 'A' and 'B,' whose lack of names may indicate that they were in fact servants at the noble house at which the play was first (or at least intended to be) performed, and therefore already well-known to their audience. This comic pairing perform a similar function to Jonson's Grex in providing a long prologue (ll.1-201), during which they acknowledge the performance context directly ('Shall here be a play?': l.37), and make some suggestions on artistic improvements ('I wyll advyse them to change that conclusion': l.129); as well as involving the audience directly by repeatedly addressing them ('Here is a gentilman that wolde truste me / For as moche

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[87] Robert Weimann, *Shakespeare and the Popular Tradition in the Theatre: Studies in the Social Dimension of Dramatic Form and Function,* ed. by Robert Schwartz (Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins University Press, 1978), pp.74-76.

gode as he hase': ll.626-627); they even take a similar role to Macilente in the narrative proper by opting to enter as servants to the opposing suitors (A at l.575f.; B at l.700f.), and in their own attempt at wooing the maid Joan in scenes that recast the ideals of courtly love in highly sexualised and scatological terms (l.1000ff.). *Fulgens and Lucres* should by rights be called *A and B,* for these characters consistently outweigh the other characters in their entertainment value and their presence onstage (out of the play's 2351 lines, there are only two small sections (ll.202-361; ll.1835-2217) where one or both of them is not involved in the stage action in some way), and Jonson could certainly have found in this text an English theatrical model for unruly audience members who hijack their play in a manner that would not be encountered again until Beaumont's *The Knight of the Burning Pestle.* As indicated in chapter 2, Jonson certainly had other native influences that he could have brought to bear on the creation of his Grex, and the characteristics and actions of the choric figures in *Fulgens and Lucres* suggest that Medwall's play could have been another source of inspiration. If this is the case though, one must note that the merry chaos of A and B had been severely circumscribed in Jonson's play: Mitis and Cordatus are limited to side commentary on matters of  artistry  and audience reception, and even Macilente is forced out of his humour at the play's close, bowing to the pressure of regal authority in a manner that Medwall does not allow for his own characters.

Jonson's liminal positioning of the chorus can therefore be seen as a product of his own age's reception and contamination of classical and native texts, and aside from its original moral uses perhaps the popularity of this tradition probably stems from the socio-political constraints of early modern England. Similar to the eras of Menander, Plautus, Terence, and Seneca, Jonson wrote at a time in which free speech was heavily circumscribed by law,[88] so it is unsurprising that the Grex does not indulge in the personal attacks associated with Aristophanic comedy. Nonetheless, elements of this tendency remain: the

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[88] See Timothy B. Hofmeister, 'Polis and *Oikoumene* in Menander,' in *City as Comedy,* ed. by Dobrov, pp.289-342 (p. 289), for an example of the view that the domestic focus of Menandrean New Comedy was a consequence of Athens huge loss of influence in the outside world, which was accompanied by an attendant realisation that outspoken political commentary was no longer desired by audiences or socially acceptable (see also chapter 1 pp.55-56). In turn, the Rome of Plautus and Terence was policed by strict censorship laws that were enshrined within the Twelve Tables, the cornerstone of the Republican legal system, which allowed Roman dramatists nowhere near the freedoms of expression that seem to have been allowed to the Greek Old Comics. Segal also points out that, as dramatic performances were just one of many *ludi* put on for entertainment during public holidays, their social and cultural status was much inferior to the Greek comedies that were so fundamental to the civic and religious celebrations of the City Dionysia and the Lenaia. See Segal, pp.9-10, and chapter 4.

sharp criticism of Asper in the Induction does hark back to Old Comic invective, and he even provides us with one of the play's most obtrusive forms of mockery when he turns his satirical mirror directly onto the audience:

> ASPER: [*to Mitis and Cordatus*] I leave you two as censors to sit here,
> Observe what I present, and liberally
> Speak your opinions upon every scene,
> As it shall pass the view of these spectators.
> [...]
> And, Mitis, note me if in all this front
> You can espy a gallant of this mark
> Who (to be thought one of the judicious)
> Sits with his arms thus wreathed, his hat pulled here,
> Cries mew, and nods, then shakes his empty head,
> Will show more several motions in his face
> Than the new London, Rome, or Nineveh,
> And now and then breaks a dry biscuit jest,
> Which, that it may more easily be chewed,
> He steeps in his own laughter.
> [...]
> CORDATUS: [...] but why should we observe 'em, Asper?
> ASPER: O. I would know 'em, for in such assemblies
> They're more infectious than the pestilence,
> And therefore would I give them pills to purge,
> And make 'em fit for fair societies.
> How monstrous and detested is 't to see
> A fellow that has neither art nor brain
> Sit like an Aristarchus, or stark ass,
> Taking men's lines with a tobacco face,
> In snuff, still spitting, using his wried looks,
> In nature of a vice, to wrest and turn
> The good aspect of those who shall sit near him
> From what they do behold!
> (*EMO*, Ind.152-166, 171-183)

Jonson here avoids the personal attack of named individuals found so frequently in Aristophanic comedy, of which a good example is provided by the following extract from *Clouds*, which contains references to four real Athenians, not to mention a satirical characterisation of Socrates—who, according to a famous anecdote, was present at the play's first performance.[89] The exchange is in response to Strepsiades' question about why the cloud chorus look like women:

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[89] The account, over a hundred years after the first performance of *Clouds* (423BC), comes from Aelian's *Varia Historia* II.xiii (c.late-second- to early-third century BC). Aelian states that, after a number of foreign audience members began asking after the identity of the 'Socrates' that the play was mocking, the real Socrates 'made a point of sitting in a good section of the theatre—in order to relieve the

> SOCRATES: They take any form they like; so if they see a long-haired savage, like the son of Xenophantus [referring to Hieronymus, a politician and general], they make fun of his passions by making themselves look like centaurs.
>
> STREPSIADES: And what if they see a plunderer of the public purse like Simon [a politician], what do they do?
>
> SOCRATES: They expose him for what he is by at once turning into wolves.
>
> STREPSIADES: So that's why they turned into deer yesterday—that's why, because they saw Cleonymus the shield-dropper [a politician who Aristophanes frequently portrayed as cowardly] and recognised him for a great coward.
>
> SOCRATES: And this time, because they've seen Cleisthenes [a beardless man], do you see, that's made them turn into women.
> (*Clouds,* ll.348-355)

Unlike Aristophanes, Jonson does not name names, but the *Every Man Out* extract reveals a similar tendency to critique anti-social behaviour, although here in the form of more generalised character types. The deictical markers in Asper's request that Mitis look out for a gallant who '[s]its with his arms *thus* wreathed, his hat pulled *here'*, or in the lively description of another sitting like 'Aristarchus' (a renowned scholar from antiquity),[90] critiquing the play 'with a tobacco face,' are all invitations for the actor to mimic physically a particular type of problem audience member that was a menace to Jonson's contemporary theatre.[91] The Asper-actor literally gives his audience an onstage mirror image of themselves, but the 'complex optical device' that Billing mentioned becomes apparent when Jonson adds some Juvenalian doubling by implying that his targets simultaneously reflect a degraded version of the theatrical spectacle. The description of the gallant's face showing 'several *motions*'—which aside from its usual association with movement could also refer to 'puppets' or 'a puppet-show'[92]—is joined by the description of him crying 'mew, and nod[ding], then shak[ing] his empty head' to create an image that both represents his intellectual vacuity and implies that his private performance is a

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foreigners of their perplexity, he stood up and remained visible standing for the duration of the comedy. So great was Socrates' contempt for comedy and the Athenians.' Quoted in Csapo and Slater, pp.290-291.

[90] Aristarchus' reputation for honest and perspicacious criticism is also alluded to in Horace, *Ars P.* ll.445-450 (ll.633-630 in Jonson's translation).

[91] Aside from the evidence supplied by Dekker's *Gull Hornbook* (see chapter 1, p.65), Gurr also mentions that tobacco a typical smell in hall playhouses *(Playgoing,* p.39).

[92] 'motion', n., 8a, 'A show, an entertainment; *spec.* a puppet-show' (with *EMO* II.iii.146 included in the examples) ; 8b. 'A puppet. Also used *derisively* of a person,' in *OED Online,* 2nd ed., 1989 <www.oed.com> [accessed 2 July 2015]. See also Drábek, 'English Comedy,' in *Transnational Mobilities,* ed. by Henke and Nicholson, p.178.

debased version of the professional actors' performance. As in Aristophanes, this moment's comic impact would have been intensified if the real audience members could identify the genuine versions of Asper's imitation standing or sitting around them, and the curious effect of the Juvenalian double mirror—the satiric mirror shuttling from Asper's onstage imitation of the gallant, to the gallant's offstage imitation of the stage action— adds to the play's general effect of unsettling its audience's feelings of superiority, and provides an interesting example of how Jonson's combination of Aristophanic and Juvenalian satirical techniques produced new theatrical effects.

Asper can therefore be seen enacting a form of Aristophanic personal criticism mingled with the more generalised attack of the Roman satirists, and further theatregrams associated with the Aristophanic chorus are shared out among the other members of the Grex. Macilente's involvement in the narrative proper has an echo of the chorus' immersion in Old Comedy, and Mitis and Cordatus' role as 'censors' evokes the choral unit's tendency to mediate between the fictive and real worlds of character and audience. Despite Asper's opening request that the Mitis and Cordatus 'observe' the audience as much as the stage action, however, the pair are much more introspective, occupying themselves with the wrongs conducted by the onstage characters and anticipating and deflecting criticisms the audience might have of their writer's artistic abilities. The play's inwardly focused criticism implies a containment of vice within the play world—we are given no instances similar to Old Comedy in which characters or chorus members single out real figures complicit in the vices being exposed[93]—and I would add that by using the chorus as a frame to the narrative, Jonson's message to his audience is made all the more clear: that they should look at his examples of corruption and idiocy and, ably guided by his discerning Grex, laugh at them along with him. In essence, Jonson has taken the Aristophanic chorus, drained it of the personal abuse that might have led him into serious trouble, and placed it in a context that corresponds to the structural position of the (Menandrean) New Comic chorus or Senecan tragic chorus. The satiric voice that remains, privileged in its position outside of the action and in its capacity to mould audience interpretation, takes on the tone of the Roman verse satirist, whose perspective is the reader's only point of access into their literary world. In the theatre, by contrast, the

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[93] To give just a few examples, real Athenians targeted by Aristophanes included the following politicians: Cleonymus (*Ach.* l.88*; Knights* ll.958, 1290-9; *Clouds* ll.353-4; *Wasps* ll.19-21; *Birds* ll.1473-81); Hyperbolus (*Knights* l.1363*; Clouds* ll.551-558; *Wasps* l.1007; *Peace* ll.921, 1319); Cleon (satirised extensively in every Aristophanes' play until his death in 422BC).

physical embodiment of multiple characters onstage makes a sense of dialogism much more apparent, which goes some way to reducing the domineering impact of the Roman satirist's voice, but there is no escaping the fact that the audience is being guided towards certain ways of viewing the narrative. Any sense of the subjective interpretation of dialogism or of dialectical processes are thus in Jonson's purposeful use of the Grex firmly suppressed in favour of an overt didacticism, which is most clearly articulated by this choral group when they provide aesthetic and moral commentary on the play's composition and characters.

I think Jonson's refiguring of the choral unit in this manner is due to a difference in attitude to Aristophanes; Jonson seems distrustful of his audience's critical faculties, and consequently uses the mediating effect of the Grex to anticipate and dismiss the objections he worries will be levelled against his play. The Induction contains a careful repudiation of the 'too nice observations' of the 'laws' of comedy, instead arguing that, like their classical counterparts, early modern playwrights should:

> enjoy the same *licentia*, or free power, to illustrate and heighten our invention as they did, and not be tied to those strict and regular forms which the niceness of a few—who are nothing but form— would thrust upon us. (*EMO,* Ind.253-255)

As well as defending artistic licence, the Grex continue to justify Jonson's dramaturgical choices in the play itself through discussions and explanations for decorum in characterisation (I.iii, IV.iv), stage action (III.ii, V.i), scene division (I.iii, II.i, IV.v, and V.iii), and personal satire (II.ii, III.i, IV.iv., V.iii). Ostovich believes that Jonson accommodates the design theatregram of the *parabasis* within the established Elizabethan convention of the Induction, but in so doing, created his own unique variant on this structural unit.[94] I do not agree entirely with Ostovich's emphasis on the dominance of Aristophanic influence in the Induction—after all, the 'polemical' prologues of Terence (which often focused on defending their writer's compositional choices and advocated a discerning, attentive spectator) are an equally likely source of influence[95]—but the three Grex members

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[94] Ostovich, 'Introduction [*Every Man Out of His Humour*],' in Jonson, *Every Man Out*, ed. by Ostovich, Revels, p.20.

[95] A.J. Brothers, 'Introduction,' in Terence, *The Self-Tormentor* [*Heauton Timorumenos*]*,* ed. and trans. by A.J. Brothers (Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1988), pp.1-34 (p.30). The prologue from the play is typical: 'I want to ask you all not to let the talk of the prejudiced have more effect on you than the words of the fair-minded. Make sure you're fair, and, when people give you a chance to see new plays which are free from faults, give them a chance to get on' (ll. 16-30, trans. by Brothers). It could be argued that Terence

certainly capture the satiric impulse of their Greek forbears. The direct address of the Aristophanic *parabasis* 'includes the audience in the play both as objects of satiric attack and as sharers of an in-joke on society at large [...] by cutting across theatrical illusion, it operates like a Brechtian alienation effect, ridiculing the conventions of the theatre.'[96] These characteristics identify the choral addresses as theatregrams of design, as the plot punctuation and distancing they provide helps to create the 'patterns of meaning' mentioned by Clubb in relation to that dramaturgical element. Jonson's appropriation of the theatregram places more emphasis on guiding audience interpretation; Mitis and Cordatus serve as reminders to the audience that they need to be discerning 'censors,' but the thoroughness of their defence betrays a distrust that the audience could realise this on their own.

Nevertheless Asper, as leader of the Grex, does tap into the *parabasis'* other function of attacking vices within society when he promises to use the stage as a 'mirror' wherein the audience 'shall see the time's deformity' (Ind.116-118):

> [...] My soul
> Was never ground in such oily colours
> To flatter vice and daub iniquity,
>  But with an armèd and resolvèd hand
> I'll strip the ragged follies of the time
> Naked as at their birth -
> [...]
> [ ...] and with a whip of steel
>  Print wounding lashes in their iron ribs.
>  I fear no mood, stamped in a private brow,
>  When I am pleased t'unmask a public vice.
> (*EMO,* Ind.11-16, 18-20)

The vicious image of an 'armed' Asper attacking social vice 'with a whip of steel' evokes the vitriolic language of Juvenal (cf. *Sat.*, I.30-31; II.19-21). Asper is certainly a Juvenalian figure to begin with: his doom-laden pronouncements in the Induction conjure an image of the

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himself had taken inspiration for his polemical prologues from the example of Old Comedy, which, considering his clear influence in Greek models, could well be true—see Radd K. Ehrman, 'Terentian Prologues and the Parabases of Old Comedy,' *Latomus* 44:2 (1985), pp.370-376. However, I think that in isolating his prologue as an independent unit, entirely divorced from the main action of the play, and by devoting a large proportion of these addresses to matters concerned with literary decorum and audience reception, Terence has changed the DNA of his possibly-Aristophanic model enough to claim it as a new dramaturgical unit.

[96] Ostovich, 'Introduction [*Every Man Out of His Humour*],' in Jonson, *Every Man Out*, ed. by Ostovich, Revels, p.20.

'corrupted cityscapes' that Burrow sees as characteristic of Juvenal and his Elizabethan imitators,[97] and Moul argues that the character's development through the play charts a movement from a vicious, combative Juvenalian stance to a more distant and tolerant Horatian one.[98] From this perspective, the play shows its debt to the specifically Roman interpretation of satire, but one can also detect in Asper's determination 't'unmask a public vice' a sense of civic responsibility that is perhaps not found as directly in Juvenal's raillery, but which can be discovered in Aristophanes. Consider the chorus' leader's address in the parabasis to *Peace*, which outlines its author's moral inclinations*:*

> Nor has he satirised the little man or woman in private life; rather, with a spirit like that of Heracles, he tackled the greatest monsters, striding through terrible smells of leather and the menaces of a muckraker's rage. And first of all these I fought with the Jag-toothed One himself, from whose eyes shone terrible rays like those of the Bitch-star, while all around his head licked serpent-like a hundred head of accursed flatterers; he had the voice of a torrent in destructive spate, the smell of a seal, the unwashed balls of a Lamia, and the arse of a camel. On seeing such a monstrosity I did not take fright; no, I stood my ground all the time, fighting for you and also for the islands. (*Peace,* ll.750-762)

It is interesting that, similar to Asper's 'armèd and resolvèd hand,' Aristophanes connects his satire with martial valour, and even goes as far as comparing himself with the hero Heracles. Cleon, Aristophanes' favourite figure of attack in his earlier plays, is rendered as the 'Jag-toothed One' ('τῷ καρχαρόδοντι': l.754), a monstrous chimera whose grotesque body is surrounded by a 'hundred head of accursed flatterers' ('ἑκατὸν [...] κύκλῳ κεφαλαὶ κολάκων': l.757), and the Chorus Leader is careful to stipulate that it is this creature whom Aristophanes attacked rather than the 'little man or woman in private life' ('οὐκ ἰδιώτας ἀνθρωπίσκους κωμῳδῶν οὐδὲ γυναῖκας': l.751). What seems to make Asper's speech more Aristophanic is his active desire to 'give [...] pills to purge' society's ills (Ind.174), an attitude at odds with the Stoically-influenced Roman moralists, who aimed to show their own spiritual excellence through a comparative lack of emotional engagement with the trivia and ephemera of the wider world.[99] Rather daringly, Jonson shows Asper's commitment to expose the follies of others by allowing him to 'turn an actor and humorist' (Ind.212), renouncing his role as choric commentator and enter the play world proper. In

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[97] Burrow, 'Roman Satire,' in *Cambridge Companion to Roman Satire,* ed. by Freudenburg, p.249.

[98] Moul, p.101.

[99] Maus, p.33; Mulryan, 'Jonson's Classicism,' in *Cambridge Companion to Ben Jonson,* ed. by Harp and Stewart, p.164.

essence, the split between Cordatus and Mitis and Asper-Macilente also fragments the theatregrams that make up the Aristophanic choral unit: Cordatus and Mitis—the latter serving as an unsophisticated yin to the former's critically-alert yang—retain their privileged structural role as mediators between the worlds of the play and the audience, but it is Macilente alone who retains the Aristophanic chorus' ability to move about the fictive space and engage with its characters. This fragmentation is, I think, the point at which the Grex becomes less Aristophanic than the Collegiates in *Epicene*; their roles have become too diffuse to cohere in a meaningful sense as a chorus, and although Asper eventually throws off the mantle of his assumed character, he spends most of the play disengaged from his role as choric commentator. The Grex of *Every Man Out* therefore appropriate some of the design theatregrams that are present in the Aristophanic choral unit, but the ironic distance these theatregrams achieve also prevents them from being as integrated as the Collegiate in *Epicene.*

So far we have seen Jonson's Grex enacting the role of Juvenalian satirists within the frame of an Aristophanic chorus, giving the group opportunity to direct the majority of their criticism at the play's characters. The largely inward focus of their satire helped keep Jonson's play away from the personal offence that may have caused trouble for him; nonetheless, I would like to conclude by examining an instance where Jonson's use of one of his choric members came a little too close to direct satirical attack.

Criticism of authority was a very dangerous game, a game with which Jonson was intimately acquainted: in 1597 he had avoided a severe punishment for the *Isle of Dogs* scandal only by the narrowest of margins, and in 1603 he would be called before the Privy Council to answer charges of 'popery and treason' on account of *Sejanus* (*Informations,* I.252),[100] and would be imprisoned in 1605 for the extremely imprudent political allusions to King James' court in *Eastward Ho!* Despite the obvious dangers, however, Jonson teetered on the tightrope with the ending of *Every Man Out*, which featured an appearance by Queen Elizabeth, played by a boy actor (at least for the public performance), and perhaps substituted by the Queen herself when the play was shown at court, and which, the playwright admitted himself, 'many seemed not to

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[100] See H&S, I, p.37, who point out that the charges may have been prompted by genuine concerns regarding the content of *Sejanus*, but may equally have been a convenient excuse for the Earl of Northampton, who disliked Jonson, to drag the playwright over the coals.

relish' when it was first performed in the latter context.[101] The offending section (*EMO*, V.vi.77ff.) was obviously a cause for embarrassment for Jonson, who offered no less than four variations when the play was published.[102] There are several interpretations as to why the Elizabeth section received such censure. The first is the perceived indecorum of associating the Queen—whether the role was represented (in the public playhouse) by a boy actor, or (at court) by the watching Elizabeth herself—with the 'unrestrained malice' of Macilente, no matter how briefly, and despite the apparently complimentary presentation of her as the only one capable of banishing envy from this most bitter of characters, '[l]ike as the sun doth darkness from the world' (V.v.87). This indecorum could only have been increased by the representation of monarchy on the public stage, an act that Clare perceives as 'dismantling the carefully maintained aura of monarchical power by rendering it accessible and reproducible,'[103] and in a courtly setting the indecency of potentially involving the monarch herself in such a play needs no further explanation. The second might have stemmed from a recent (alleged) attempt by Elizabeth's own physician, Doctor Roderigo Lopez, to poison her, an event which may have been uncomfortably echoed in Macilente's violence against Puntavarlo's Dog.[104]

These reasons may be accurate, but I would like to offer another possibility for the section's poor reception. The play's multiple points of focus and choric figures who constantly unsettle notions of the audience's position of superiority must have been a particularly uncomfortable phenomenological experience for the royal court, accustomed as it was to the conventions of pageantry and the court masque, artistic forms that frequently placed the monarch at the ideological centre of performances and constantly

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[101] Jonson, *Every Man Out of His Humour,* 'Appendix A: Jonson's Defence of the Original 1599 Ending,' in *CWBJ,* I.

[102] Two separate versions of this section were printed in both the Quarto and Folio editions; the text in the latter volume was also appended with a carefully justified defence.

[103] Janet Clare, 'Jonson's 'Comical Satires' and the Art of Courtly Compliment,' in *Refashioning Ben Jonson,* ed. by Sanders, Chedgzoy, and Wiseman, pp.28-47 (p.35).

[104] Randall Martin, 'Introduction [*Every Man Out of His Humour*],' in *CWBJ,* I, pp. 235-247 (pp. 243-244), and Randall Martin, 'Stepping into Risky Business: Jonson's Canine Ventures in *Every Man Out of His Humour,' Ben Jonson Journal* 12 (2005), pp.3-4, 13-14. On the (alleged) poisoning attempt see Stephen Alford, *The Watchers: A Secret History of the Reign of Elizabeth I* (London: Penguin, 2013), especially pp.298-314, which emphasises that the 1590s was a particularly febrile time for plots against Elizabeth's life, three were uncovered in quick succession by the Earl of Essex and Lord Burghley in 1594 alone. Considered alongside the much more substantial Throckmorton and Babbington plots of the previous decade, the conspiracies of the 1590s at least demonstrates that, imagined or not, assassination was an ongoing concern for the Queen and her court, and may justify the apparently adverse reaction to Jonson's scene.

reiterated their superhuman qualities.[105] Such an uncomfortable feeling could only have been intensified by Macilente's sudden contemplation of an onstage simulacrum of the Queen. Ostovich notes that the episode brings an unusual moment of calm, its 'stasis and abrupt reversal' contrasting markedly with the chaotic and crowded stage pictures of preceding scenes, and that in this we see the germ of the Jonsonian masque which would resurface in *Cynthia's Revels* and reach its high point in the masques proper that he would compose a few years later.[106] Perhaps, considering that the comedy had up to this point been wide-ranging in the characters, *mores*, and hackneyed artistic forms it was willing to satirise, the aristocratic audience did not 'relish' this moment because its potential satirising of the masque, the artistic medium in which the sovereign was especially central, implicated Elizabeth herself as another of Jonson's targets.[107] We might pardon Jonson's potentially outrageous action by viewing the scene as an artistic indiscretion, a well-meaning but crude attempt by a relatively new playwright to inveigle himself into his Queen's affections, but I agree with Ostovich that it would be odd that a play that is so self-aware of its own dramatic structure, and so condemning of the 'intellectual complacency' at work in the theatrical cliché of other playwrights, should conclude with such a tonally jarring episode without good reason.[108] Instead, I believe that for the briefest of moments Jonson allows the shifting perspectives of the satirical gaze to settle on a representation of monarchy, implying that it is not just the myopic and foolish characters within the play world of *Every Man Out* who are the foci of his comic mirror; with Persianic subtlety, he signals his willingness to speak truth to power by implicating the Queen herself in his grotesque humoral world.

Perhaps here is a prime reason why Jonson had such trouble with the creation of stage-satire, as it shared a problem also felt acutely by Roman verse satire in general: its focus was too harsh, and in the satirist's tendency to shift perspective and focus scorn upon people from all levels of the social strata, the likelihood of causing offence that could bring harm to the author was too great. *Every Man Out* is a great experiment in how to dramatise the Roman satirical voice, but it is telling that its high point, which hovers on the

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[105] Helen M. Ostovich, '"So Sudden and Strange a Cure": A Rudimentary Masque in *Every Man Out of His Humour*,' *English Literary Renaissance* 22:3 (1992), pp. 315-332 (pp.316-317); Stephen Orgel, *The Jonsonian Masque* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1965), pp.19-36.
[106] Ostovich, '"So Sudden and Strange,' pp.316-318.
[107] Ostovich, 'So Sudden and Strange,' pp.329, 332; Martin, 'Stepping into Risky Business,' p.3.
[108] Ostovich, 'So Sudden and Strange,' p.318.

edge of a dangerous focus on the monarch, never releases its satiric payload: surely Jonson must have realised to go any further carried too many dangers. In fact, the transformative power of the Queen-character is the most obvious signifier that the play, despite appearances, is not truly dialectical. At the appearance of the Queen Macilente announces that 'All my malicious powers have lost their stings. / Envy is fled my soul at sight of her' (*EMO,* V.iv.7-8); he has been cured of his own consumptive humour with a speed that seems embarrassingly cursory. However, Macilente's conversion does make sense if we apply to the scene the logic of the masque, which associated its courtly participants with allegories of beauty and virtue, and which portrays these participants as antithetical counterparts to the grotesque characters of the antimasque.[109] The problem is that in the masque the courtly audience, specifically the monarch, is given a disproportionate amount of attention and ideological value; they are the pivot on which the masque turns, as the performance's entire allegorical importance rests on the virtues that the masque writers assign to them. The concluding *Every Man Out* scene shows that the real audience is not given the chance to be 'a theatre full of experts' in the Brechtian sense; the Queen is a representative of the monologising forces that animate Jonson's play and a not-so-subtle indication to its non-royal audience members that direct engagement with the play's action is only available to the few. The playwright might dangle the prospect of dialectical exchange before us in the form of Mitis and Cordatus—who, in their role as onstage commentators, enact precisely the sort of intellectual engagement with and criticism of the play that Brecht promotes in his theorising—but this is a sham. Macilente's Damascene conversion is a sign that ultimately no one is free of the monologising authorial voice, and ironically the choric commentators are also complicit in this project, as their seemingly independent discussion of the play is another dramaturgical conceit designed to anticipate and guide audience reaction.

I would like to make one more observation. The Queen's appearance and curing of Macilente's humour seems remarkably similar to the *deus ex machina* of Greek tragedy, a dramatic device that allowed divine intervention to resolve apparently unsolveable elements within a play and thereby lead its narrative to a speedy conclusion. The use of the device is frequently connected to Euripidean theatre (cf. *Medea, Alcestis, Orestes*), with Aristotle and Horace popularising the view that it was often an inelegant way of

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[109] Ostovich, 'So Sudden and Strange,' p.321.

concluding a play's action, a sign that the dramatist had developed a plot so complex that it could only be disentangled by divine intervention.[110] Arrowsmith cites a particularly notorious example in *Orestes* where following the matricide committed by the titular character—a 'horrible deed, done at [Apollo's] command' ('*ἐχθίστων θεόθεν ἐργμάτων*')[111]—and his subsequent murder of Helen and the hostage-taking of her daughter Hermione, Apollo appears and resolves the play's action in a manner that seems acceptable to all parties: Helen does not die but is deified; her husband Menelaus is to yield Argos to Orestes while keeping Sparta as his 'lost wife's dowry;' Orestes, Pylades, and Electra are all to live and Orestes is, incredibly, to marry Hermione, the woman whom he has just threatened to kill.[112] The appearance of the god to prophesy on the fate of characters that have hitherto been presented in a non-mythological, psychologically plausible manner provides a pronounced moment of dramatic dissonance, but Arrowsmith suggests that this is exactly Euripides' intention: '[t]hrough this device the play becomes problematic: the spectator is literally compelled, it seems, to choose between his own experience of the play and Apollo's closing words, between *ergon* [experienced reality] and *logos* [received reality], behaviour and myth.'[113] Rather than a sign that Euripides is unable to think of a plausible way of concluding the tragedy, this jarring episode in fact forces his audience to compare the pronouncements of Apollo, representative of the mythic world (the appropriate environment for tragedy) with the uncomfortable but more realistic behaviour of the human characters that preceded him. In contrast to the human suffering that has dominated the majority of the play, the god's appearance and prophesying seems trite and unbelievable, a hangover from a more naive age; instead, Euripides '*confront*[s] his audience with the necessity of choosing between apparently antithetical realities or positions.'[114]

I should say at this point that if this Euripidean brand of cognitive dissonance was Jonson's intention, it was not entirely successful: the opportunity for dialectical engagement is far outweighed by the hectoring interventions of the Grex throughout the play and Asper's

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[110] Cf. Aristotle, *Poe.*, 1454b, trans. by Heath: 'Clearly, therefore, the resolution of plots should also come about from the play itself, and not by means of a theatrical device ['*ἀπὸ μηχανῆς*,' lit. 'from the *mekhane*']'; Horace, *Ars. P*, ll.191-192: '*nec deus intersit, nisi dignus vindice nodus / inciderit*' ('let no god intervene, unless a knot come worthy of such a deliverer').

[111] Euripides, *Orestes*, in *Orestes and Other Plays,* trans. by Philip Vellacott (London: Penguin, 1972), l.160.

[112] Euripides, *Orest.,* l.1625ff..

[113] William Arrowsmith, 'Greek Theatre of Ideas,' p.45.

[114] Arrowsmith, 'Greek Theatre of Ideas,' p.45. Emphasis in original.

finger-wagging in the Induction. If the narratologically convenient but dramatically unsatisfying appearance of Elizabeth as *dea ex machina* was meant to provoke discussion within the audience I think that this failed too: the appearance of the Queen was too tied up with political and socially sensitive issues for it to prompt effective questions. Nonetheless, I think it noteworthy that at least the possibility of this reading is there; *Every Man Out* is not Jonson's greatest venture in dialectical drama, but perhaps in this unexpectedly Euripidean ending we catch the a faint glimmer of the sort of open-ended questioning that the playwright was to employ in the greater comedies of his middle period.

# V

Jonson continued experimenting with the stage satirist in his characterisation of Criticus/Crites in *Cynthia's Revels* and Horace in *Poetaster*, but it is clear that he did not feel he had resolved the issues inherent in dramatising this figure. Neither of these plays appear to have been completely well received in performance, at least at court,[115] and the 'Apologetical Dialogue' to *Poetaster* spells out Jonson's disappointment with his audience's reaction, which apparently resulted in his decision to write the tragedy *Sejanus*, 'since the comic muse / Hath proved so ominous to me' (*Poet.,* AD.209-210). The 'Dialogue' is actually an interesting example of Jonsonian *contaminatio* in itself: the scene's two interlocutors, Polyposus and Nasutus, are derived from an epigram by Martial (XII.xxxvii),[116] and the figure of the Author, which could have been performed by Jonson himself,[117] delivers an artistic defence that recalls the Aristophanic *parabasis*.[118] Ironically,

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[115] Dekker's claim that Jonson's plays, probably his comical satires in particular, were 'misliked at court' (*Satiromastix* V.ii.325) might seem biased evidence on its own, but when we add Jonson's own efforts in rewriting the end of *Every Man Out,* a dismissive epigraph from Martial about audience appreciation at the end of *Cynthia's Revels,* and the paranoid tone of *Poetaster's* 'Apologetical Dialogue,' it seems that Dekker's opinion was probably not far from the truth. See Eric Rasmussen and Matthew Steggle, 'Introduction [*Cynthia's Revels (Q)*], in *CWBJ,* II., pp.231-238 (p.431).

[116] Interestingly, the etymology of these two names, Polyposus ('dull of perception'), and Nasutus ('sagacious, witty') suggest that these two speakers are intellectual equivalents to Mitis and Cordatus—the parallels between 'Dialogue' group and the Grex of *Every Man Out* are drawn even closer if we consider that both Asper and Author represent Jonson. See *Poet.,* Apologetical Dialogue.0.1-2n.

[117] See *Poet.,* Apologetical Dialogue.0.3n, where the editor notes that Jonson could have performed the Author's speech himself, possibly without the presence of the two interlocutors. Evidence for this is taken from the collation of *Poetaster's* 'To the Reader,' which defends the inclusion of the Apologetical Dialogue so that Jonson's audience 'maist heare him speake what hee hath written,' and from a reference in Dekker's *Satiromastix* V.ii.303-307.

the dominance of the Author's parabatic voice in a supposedly dialogic scene highlights the sort of problem Jonson had encountered with his previous work—the 'Dialogue,' despite the notional appearance of two interlocutors, is not a dialogue at all, but has the same monologic tone as his three comical satires, in which their writer imposed his opinions on his audience and chided, flattered, or bullied them into agreeing with him, leaving no other room for engagement. Jonson clearly took the poet's role as an instructor in the best way of living very seriously—for him there was 'an impossibility of / any man's being a good poet, without first being a good man' (*Volp.,* Epist.22-23). Consequently, he saw satire as a prime tool for curing his society's ills, but his renunciation of comical satire in favour of tragedy was a result of his work not being understood or appreciated by his audience.

When Jonson returned to comedy with *Volpone* he had managed to resolve the conflict between the morally upright but unpopular stage satirist of his earlier comedies (and the didactic benefits that this figure bestowed) by writing in the more detached mode of Menippean satire, which by allowing his dramaturgy to move from the monologic to the dialogic mode was the first of his plays we can call truly dialectical. Menippean satire, influenced by Cynical philosophy and the writings of the Greek Menippus and his followers, provided a rival satirical model at Rome to that of the verse satirists, albeit one that was tainted with the reputation of being a 'foreign' form imported from the Greeks.[119] As might be expected from a form associated with the Cynic movement,[120]

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[118] Jonson, *Poet.,* Apologetical Dialogue.0.3n.

[119] The term 'Menippean satire' will be used here as this branch of satire has several qualitative differences to the verse satires already mentioned. However Relihan's point should be noted that the generic term 'Menippean satire' cannot be found to predate 1581, when Lipsius' *Somnium* assigned Seneca's *Apocolocyntosis* to the Varronian-Menippean tradition, and that 'antiquity does not acknowledge the genre which modern literary acumen has uncovered and named on its own;' see Joel C. Relihan, 'On the Origin of "Menippean Satire" as the Name of a Literary Genre,' *Classical Philology* 79:3 (1984), pp.226-229 (p.227). Today, classical figures and authors typically associated with the 'Menippean' satirical style include Bion of Borysthenes (Greek philosopher, c.325-250BC), Menippus of Gadara (Cynic satirist, third century BC) Varro (Roman poet, c.116-27BC), Seneca the Younger (Roman philosopher and author, c.4BC-65AD), Petronius (Roman poet and aristocrat, c.27-66AD), Apuleius (Latin satirist, c.125-180AD) , Lucian of Samosata (Greek-language satirist, c.125-180AD), and Julian (Roman Emperor and philosopher, 330-363AD); see Howard D. Weinbrot, *Menippean Satire Reconsidered: From Antiquity to the Eighteenth Century* (Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins University Press, 2005), pp.1-19.

[120] The history of Cynic philosophy is long and convoluted, but it is worthwhile pointing out a few key features of the movement and the figures frequently identified with it. The most important philosophers associated with Cynicism are its disputed 'founder' Antisthenes (c.445-365BC), Diogenes of Sinope (c.412-323BC), his pupil Crates (c.365-285BC), and Menippus (third century BC), who collectively established the image of the Cynic as an outsider who scoffed at the world as Vanity Fair (Dudley, p.ix). Their anti-social stance was often represented by the image of the barking dog (Kinney, p.295), and they

Menippean satire seems more pessimistic than its Roman cousin; some of its primary classical texts—including many of Lucian's dialogues (c. third century BC), Petronius' *Satyricon* (c. late first century AD) and Seneca's *Apocolocyntosis* (c. mid first century AD)—offer, respectively, bleak pictures of the transitory and futile pursuit of worldly desires, the corruption of the Imperial court and the gods' capricious involvement in the lives of men that provide no philosophical or theological consolation for the unfairness of existence.

Lucian's 'Menippus, or the Descent into Hades' (Greek: *Μένιππος ἢ Νεκυομαντεία;* Latin: *Necyomantia*), which is part of a larger dialogue between Menippus and an interlocutor, who asks him why he has returned to earth from Hades, is representative of the sub-genre's cynicism. Menippus, after explaining that he had been confused as a young man by the disparity between earthly morality (which condemned actions like assault, rape, adultery and theft) and the gods' behaviour (which, as depicted by the poets, showed that they clearly did not obey such niceties themselves ('Menippus,' III)), and finding no answers in the contradictions and hypocrisies of the philosophers (III-VI), resolves to journey to Hades to find out 'what the best life was' from the soothsayer Teiresias ('*τίς ἐστιν ὁ ἄριστος βίος*': VI).[121] He observes the court of the dead in which the deceased, with their own shadows appearing as star witnesses for the prosecution, are 'punished in

were frequently described as beggars in appearance, the wallet and staff being the Cynic's typical accoutrements, which emphasised their studied disdain for materialism and worldly concerns (Dudley, p.7). Their philosophical outlook is typically associated with attacks on established social values; cf. Diogenes Laertius' famous anecdote that Diogenes would travel round with a lamp by day looking for 'an honest man'—the story is perhaps a fabrication, but at least reveals the sort of myths that built up around the Cynics (Dudley, p.31). The Cynics' attitudes are also manifested through their two main contributions to literature: the comic dialogue (a burlesque of the form associated with Socrates and Plato, see Duncan, pp.10-11) and the diatribe, an aggressive literary form that would later resurface in Roman verse satire (Freudenburg, *The Walking Muse,* pp.1-14). Cynicism itself was not regarded as a formal philosophical institution (Long, p.184), but links are frequently made between the 'lifestyle or pose of unseriousness' often associated with Socratism (Kinney, p. 298) and to the later Stoics, who placed similar value on life lived in accordance with nature and with seeing virtue as the only true good (Sellars, pp.2-3). By the Renaissance, Cynicism was most frequently associated with Lucian, who made ample use of the dialogue and diatribe forms, as well as including within his work frequent appearances from Diogenes and Menippus, another figure who was intimately associated with the sect (Duncan, pp.16-17). See Donald R. Dudley, *A History of Cynicism: From Diogenes to the Sixth Century AD* (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1967); Douglas Duncan, *Ben Jonson and the Lucianic Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979); D. Kinney, 'Heirs of the Dog: Cynic Selfhood in Medieval and Renaissance Culture,' in *The Cynics: The Cynic Movement in Antiquity and its Legacy,* ed. by R. Bracht and Marie-Odile Goulet-Cazé (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1996) pp.294-328; Kirk Freudenburg, *The Walking Muse: Horace on the Theory of Satire* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993); A.A. Long, 'Roman Philosophy,' in *Cambridge Companion to Greek and Roman Philosophy,* ed. by Sedley, pp.184-210; John Sellars, *Stoicism* (Berkeley; Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 2006).

[121] Lucian, 'Menippus, or The Descent into Hades,' in *Works,* 8 vols., ed. and trans. A.M. Harmon, rpt. (Cambridge, MA; London: Harvard University Press, 1961), IV.

proportion to their crimes' ('δίκην ὑφέξοντα κατ᾽ ἀξίαν τῶν τετολμημένων': XII), which begins with the 'stripping of all their quondam splendour–wealth […] lineage and sovereignty,' ('οἳ δὲ ἀποδυσάμενοι τὰ λαμπρὰ ἐκεῖνα πάντα, πλούτους […] καὶ γένη καὶ δυναστείας': XII) and leaves them completely 'naked' ('γυμνοί': XII). Lucian's Hades sees rich and poor, wise and foolish, all rubbing shoulders together, their skeletal forms and loss of worldly goods finally providing a social levelling never achieved in life. Even the great philosophers and epic heroes are miserable; Socrates' legs are 'still puffed up and swollen from his draught of poison' ('ἔτι […] ἐπεφύσητο αὐτῷ καὶ διῳδήκει ἐκ τῆς φαρμακοποσίας τὰ σκέλη': XVIII), Palamedes, Nestor and Odysseus are little more than 'talkative corpses' ('λάλος νεκρός': XVIII)—the only figure who seems to enjoy himself is Diogenes, who in typically antagonistic fashion spends his time with the shades of rich men, 'both laugh[ing] and rejoic[ing]' at their misery ('γελᾷ τε καὶ τέρπεται': XIX). Menippus' vision of the afterlife is a stark one, and leads him to meditate on the triteness of earthly ambition in a manner that evokes the *theatrum mundi*:

> So as I looked at them it seemed to me that human life is like a long pageant, and that all its trappings are supplied and distributed by Fortune, who arrays the participants in various costumes of many colours […] I suppose you have often seen these stage-folk who act in tragedies, and according to the demands of the plays become at one moment Creons, and again Priams or Agamemnons; the very one, it may be, who a short time ago assumed with great dignity the part of Cecrops or of Erectheus soon appears as a servant at the bidding of the poet. And when at the length the play comes to an end, each of them strips off his gold-bespangled robe, lays aside his mask, steps out of his buskins, and goes about in poverty and humility, no longer styled Agamemnon, son of Atreus, or Creon, son of Menoeceus, but Polus, son of Charicles, of Sunium, or Satyrus, son of Theogiton, of Marathon [both famous actors]. That is what human affairs are like, it seemed to me as I looked. ('Menippus', XVI).[122]

The satirical streak that runs through this dialogue can be discerned in many more of Lucian's texts, which regularly mock mankind's worldly pretensions.[123] This sort of

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[122] Interestingly, Jonson expresses a similar sentiment in *Discoveries*, where he reflects that 'our whole life is like a play;' this statement, and the rest of the passage (ll.784-788) is taken from John of Salisbury's *Policratus* III.viii, and has its origins in Christian philosophy from 1 Corinthians and Job, but is also echoed in the classical authors, such as Plato, *Laws*, I.644; Horace, *Sat.*, II.vii.82; and Seneca, *Ep.*, LXXX.vii.

mockery is present in the Roman verse satirists, too, but Weinbrot believes that the that group 'implicitly created norms of public or private behaviour,' often by supplying the negative standard, whether that be the misers and self-serving characters of Horace *Satire* I.i, the hypocrises of the Stoics in Persius V, or the bloated, turbot-eating tyrant of Juvenal IV—against which the unspoken but morally superior alternatives could be measured.[124] From this perspective, verse satire can lay claim to its moralising status, and the efforts of its proponents imply a hope that a better way of living can be achieved if only the foolish public would take heed to their advice. In contrast, the Menippeans' outlook is much bleaker; the most we are given in the Lucianic dialogue is Teiresias' advice that Menippus should give up on serious philosophical enquiry and that, while '[t]he life of the common sort is best' ('ὁ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν ἄριστος βίος': XXI), even this change in lifestyle would not divert from the end destination of the journey. The message—that we all will end in the same place—underlines the fundamental pessimism that resided in a type of satire that was 'good at destroying and bad at building.'[125]

 Lucian is in fact a key figure in the Renaissance conception of the Menippean satirical form; in contrast to the fragmentary corpora of Varro and Menippus—the genre's most famous exponents in the classical period—Lucian was well known to the Renaissance, although there was much wrangling in learned circles regarding his perceived amorality.[126] Duncan argues that the most well-known and imitated aspects of Lucian's style in the Renaissance were his playful use of language; his presentation of his works as a *lusus,* or academic game, which prioritised the intellectual play of his texts over any consideration of character; his detached authorial style and his use of the comic dialogue (a burlesque of the more philosophically rigorous Socratic-Platonic form) which he claimed to have

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[123] This theme is most thoroughly explored in Lucian's 'Dialogues of the Dead,' in which the Cynical philosophers Diogenes and Menippus frequently allude to the worthlessness of worldly trappings and the fact that the spirits down in the Underworld are nothing more than 'bags of bones' and 'skeletons'; cf. Dialogues I, II, X, XV, XVIII, XXIII, XXIV, XXV, XXVII (*Works,* vol. VII).

[124] Weinbrot, p.28.

[125] Weinbrot, p.24.

[126] Duncan notes that although prominent writers like Erasmus and More favoured Lucian's works, in Elizabethan England ''Lucianical had become a term of abuse with devilish undertones' (Duncan p.78). A good example of the great divide on Lucian's morality is provided by Cousin's *Opera Omnia* of Lucian (Basel, 1563), which provided prefaces on the writer by Erasmus and Zwinger, the former portraying him as a 'suave, versatile and festive wit, potentially Christian,' while the latter saw him as a 'godless intellect, inherently Satanic' (Duncan, pp.82-38). Other notable critics of Lucian included Luther, Elyot, and Dryden.

invented.[127] These elements of Lucianism received their greatest exposure in the works of Erasmus and More, who both incorporated the sense of *ioco-serium* ('serious jesting') inculcated by the Lucianic style into many of their own works, of which *Praise of Folly* and *Utopia* are particularly fine examples.[128] Playfulness, Jonson's most important inheritance from Lucian and his Renaissance imitators, manifested itself in his plays in the not always pleasant form of dramatic irony, 'which is directed against us, as spectators or readers. Far from being invited to share its secret, we are challenged to see that it exists. Its meaning is to be found in our own responses, and its pervasiveness in the fact that we are, or should be, engaged all the time. If we fail to perceive it, it is we who are deluded; we become its victims.'[129] In fact, it is from this perspective of ironic playfulness that one should interpret *Volpone*. As I aim to show in this final section, the entire play is an elaborate *lusus* which tests the audience's capacity to discern the morality in a work that appears to have lost any sense of justice.

Alongside a darker world-view, the Menippeans had an accompanying tendency to subsume the satiric voice within the scene described; a sense of authorial bias is much less palpable, the writers instead allowing characters to damn themselves with their own mouths.[130] The frequently first-person perspectives of the Roman verse satires give the impression that we are listening to the real opinions of their writers, however misleading this may actually be, but their Menippean cousins remain shadowy figures, any hints of an 'authentic' authorial voice hidden within the speech of other characters, or lost in the wide-ranging breadth and depth of a narrative that can, in a text like the *Apocolocyntosis*, take us in the space of a few lines from a council of the gods down to the depths of Hades, or, in Lucian's 'Icaromenippus' (Greek: Ἰκαρομένιππος ἢ Ὑπερνέφελος) lead us soaring on wings with Menippus to view Earth's human ant-hill from a lunar vantage point.[131] In fact, these examples illustrate two further features which are relevant to *Volpone*. The first is the detached observer, or *kataskopos* (down-looker,' 'over-viewer'), who is able to survey his subjects from a distance, a privileged position that allows for a greater amount of

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[127] Duncan, pp.10, 14; Lucian, 'To The One Who Said, "You're A Prometheus in Words,' in *Works,* ed. and trans. by K. Kilburn, VI, v. The comic dialogue is therefore a different, and inverted, route by which Jonson was exposed to dialectic.

[128] Duncan, p.31ff.; Weinbrot, pp.1-2.

[129] Duncan, p.1.

[130] Kernan, p.15.

[131] Jonson would make more direct use of this story of lunar exploration, as well as Lucian's *A True Story,* in his masque of 1620, *News from the New World Discovered in the Moon.*

implicit moral commentary through the opportunities the satirist has to speculate on much wider horizons of human activity.[132] In the following analysis of *Volpone* I would like to highlight four elements of Lucian's Menippean satire that I believe are particularly relevant*:*

    i.   The use of an ironic or *ioco-serium* perspective*;*

    ii.   an amoral tone;

    iii.   a detached viewpoint that prioritises ideas over character;

    iv.   the inversion of the Socratic dialogue in the form of the anti-exemplum.

Our first hint of a Menippean influence on *Volpone* comes when we compare the moralising stance Jonson claims in the play's prefatory material to the playtext's largely amoral tone. Jonson's emphasis on morality is apparent in his opening Epistle, in which he specifically identifies that one of a poet's functions is 'to inform men, in the best reason of living' (Epist.107-108), and in the play's Prologue, which as well as promising the play's adherence to the Horatian formula '[t]o mix profit with your pleasure' also claims '[a]ll gall, and copperas, from his ink, he [the playwright] draineth, / Only a little salt remaineth' (Pro.8, 33-34). Both Epistle and Prologue present *Volpone* as a pleasant mixture of the Horatian '*utile dulci*' (*Ars P.,* ll.343-344), promising laughter and moral guidance in equal measure, but it is striking that the play that follows does not provide any examples of exemplary behaviour. In contrast to the overt moralising of *Every Man Out*, in which Asper-Macilente is used as a tool to lay out Jonson's satirical programme explicitly, Jonson seems to expect more from the audience of *Volpone*: 'no positive model exists here for ethically proper behaviour [...] hence the audience itself is invited to pass judgement on the antics exposed to view.'[133]

The Avocatori, the four magistrates who preside over the play's concluding trial in a manner similar to the Aristophanic chorus, are key to understanding Jonson's new Menippean emphasis. The group does not initially appear very choric: they are deprived of the mediatory function between stage and audience still present in the Grex of *Every*

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[132] Duncan, p.16. Cf. Lucian's *Dialogues of the Dead* (*Works,* vol. VII)*,* which features exchanges—frequently including Diogenes and/or Menippus, commenting on the living world above; the aforementioned 'Icaromenippus'*,* which shows Menippus viewing humanity first from the Moon and then, in the company of the gods, from Olympus (*Works,* vol. II); and Seneca's *Apocolocyntosis*.

[133] C.J. Gianakaris, 'Identifying Ethical Values in *Volpone,*' *Huntingdon Library Quarterly* 32:1 (1968), pp.45-57 (p.45).

*Man Out*, and unlike the Collegiates of *Epicene* they do not necessarily represent the same social stratum as their audience. Instead, they are another collective character in a parade of many morally reprehensible others and, more so than in Aristophanes, the audience are expected to connect the dots by seeing Jonson's creations as a negative standard, the logic of an anti-exemplum used to imply the benefits of goodness by showing instead how vice is eventually rewarded. It is in fulfilling this function that the Avocatori and the Aristophanic chorus part company; the judges may be part of Jonson's overall satiric design, but their actions do not reveal a trust in the collective that is so often on display in Greek comedies. Instead, Jonson gradually allows his magistrates to reveal more and more of their inadequacies, so that by the time the play concludes, we are utterly sceptical of their ability to pass fair judgement; like Lucian's Menippus, however, we are completely aware that there is little that can be done about it.

It is useful to reiterate that the Avocatori are firmly subordinated to *Volpone'*s overall design, and that they are not the only characters that betray Menippean influences. Duncan sees a hint of kataskopic privilege in several of Volpone's decisions:[134] firstly in his imposture as a bed-ridden old man in Act I, who sits in full view of 'all my birds of prey, that think me turning carcass' but whose supposed infirmity allows him to enjoy Mosca's con work vicariously (*Volp.,* I.ii.90-91); in his impersonation of Scoto of Mantua, when his decision to 'fix my bank' in 'an obscure nook of the Piazza,' right under Celia and Corvino's window (II.ii.34, 37), gives him the advantage of being an 'over-viewer' of the gulls who have gathered around his platform while Celia watching from the balcony above serves as an unwitting 'downlooker' over him (II.ii.25, 38); and finally when he instructs Mosca to pretend to the gulls that he has been made sole heir while he himself watches their reactions unobserved:

> VOLPONE: [...] I'll get up,
> Behind the curtain, on a stool, and hearken;
> Sometime, peep over; see, how they do look;
> With what degrees, their blood doth leave their faces!
> O, 'twill afford me a rare meal of laughter.
> (*Volp.,* V.ii.83-87)

The *kataskopoi* of Menippean satire may not be particularly moralising individuals themselves, but their privileged position implies a detachment from and superiority over worldly concerns; it is clear from Duncan's examples that Volpone's privileged position is a

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[134] Duncan, p.153.

*reductio ad absurdum,* a debasement of the Menippean satirist's ironic detachment in favour of the pursuit of base pleasures. Volpone claims intellectual superiority, but his escapades with the gulls are little more than childish pranks—he might be '[l]etting the cherry knock against their lips, / And draw it, by their mouths, and back again' (I.i.89-90), but the sight of the great magnifico feigning illness and sniggering behind a curtain at his servant's exploits seems a far cry from the grander aloofness of his Lucianic counterparts—a subterranean Diogenes or a superterranean Menippus—whose spatial distances from their subjects is consonant with their disinterest in human preoccupations. The mountebank scene is even more of a degradation: Volpone may enjoy fooling his crowd with promises of medicaments and believe he has circumvented Corvino's Argus-like monitoring of his wife Celia, but he is again deeply implicated in the situation which he scorns so much, and the fact the he is chased offstage when the enraged husband returns to his house makes a mockery of any notion of detached superiority.

Volpone might represent a debased version of the *kataskopos*, but perhaps we see a reappearance of the detached onlooker in the play's Avocatori, who, as representatives of the Venetian state called in to adjudicate on Volpone's domestic peccadilloes, form a group who are the most distant from the play's main characters. Their lack of involvement in much of the play's action makes them seem more a device for plot resolution than anything else, and their role in the play's satire is more distant— and therefore less Aristophanic—than we find in *Epicene* or *Every Man Out*. Nonetheless, I would like to use this grouping as another example of Jonsonian *contaminatio* at work: like the *Every Man Out* Grex, they embody several aspects of the Aristophanic chorus, but work within a plot framework that is guided by a different satirical motivation. In *Volpone* this satirical influence is more Menippean than Horatian, Persianic, or Juvenalian, and in the final section I would like to demonstrate how the Avocatori are one of the play's strongest examples of this type of satire in action.

Similar to the Collegiates' first appearance, the arrival of the Avocatori in *Volpone* IV.v is visually imposing. The previous scene begins with Voltore, Corbaccio, Corvino and Mosca all temporarily united in an effort to defend Volpone's lie against the accusations of Celia and Bonario. Voltore's ironic insistence on the 'constancy' of his co-conspirators and Mosca's anxious questioning gives the impression of the group's cohesion:

> VOLTORE: Well, now you know the carriage of the business,

> Your constancy is all that is required
> Unto the safety of it.
> MOSCA:                    Is the lie
> Safely conveyed amongst us? Is that sure?
> Knows every man his burden?
> CORVINO:                       Yes.
> MOSCA:                            Then shrink not.
> CORVINO: [*To Mosca*] But knows the advocate the truth?
> MOSCA:                                         Oh sir,
> By no means. I devised a formal tale
> That salved your reputation. But be valiant, sir.
> CORVINO: I fear no one but him, that this his pleading
> Should make him stand for a co-heir-
> MOSCA:                       Co-halter,
> Hang him! We will but use his tongue, his noise,
> As we do [*Indicating Corbaccio*] Croaker's here.
> CORVINO:                             Ay, what shall he  do?
> MOSCA: When we ha' done, you mean?
> CORVINO:                          Yes.
> MOSCA:                                 Why, we'll think:
> Sell him for mummia; he's half dust already.
> [*To Voltore, indicating Corvino*] Do you not smile to see this
> buffalo, How he does sport it with his head? - [*To himself*] I
> should,
> If all were well and past. [*To Corbaccio*] Sir, only you
> Are he that shall enjoy the crop of all,
> And these not know for whom they toil.
> (*Volp.,* IV.iv.1-19)

Jonson does not allow this loyalty to last until the end of the scene, however, as Mosca begins to work on each perjurer individually. The number of asides and private comments directed at specific gulls suggests that this fragmentation is enforced visually; there needs to be some distance between the characters to communicate to the audience that they cannot overhear Mosca, which indicates that the three gulls stand apart from one another while the parasite moves between them. Similarly to III.vi of *Epicene*, this stage picture is suddenly flooded with new arrivals—as the stage directions note, '[*Enter to them four*] *AVOCATORI, BONARIO, CELIA, NOTARIO, COMMENDATORI*, [*and other court officials*]' (*Volp.*, IV.v.0.SD.1-2.), the precise distribution of characters is open to interpretation, but Fig. 3.3 offers a possible layout. (Note also that, according to the Weimann model, the two possibilities outlined here are an inversion of the Grex's possible positions, with the Avocatori occupying the locus rather than the platea on the main stage, an area of the stage more closed-off from audience interaction but lending its occupants a greater deal of spatial authority.)

Fig. 3.3. Possible configuration for entry of the Avocatori, *Volp.,* IV.v.

A = Avocatori
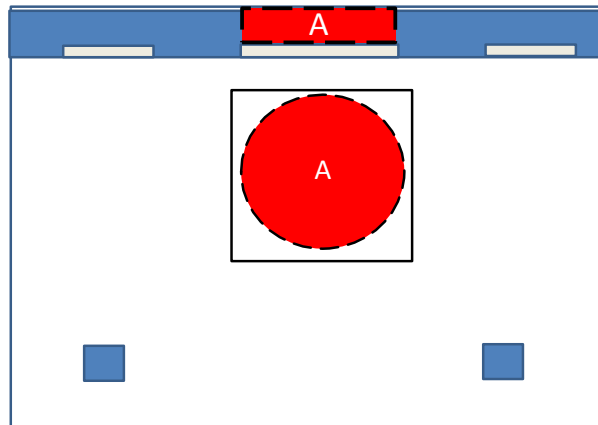


The scene transforms from an indeterminate location to a courtroom, and the centrifugal movement of the previous scene is suddenly converted into a centripetal one, with all the characters focused on the presiding magistrates. As indicated by Fig. 3.3, I think there are two options for conveying the Avocatori's authority: the first is by positioning them in the gallery space above the main stage, giving them a height advantage over other characters that Jonson would reuse in the gulling scene of *Epicene*—this position also has the additional benefit of echoing the *kataskopic* privilege already hinted at by Volpone. The second, suggested by Brockbank, is that a 'central structure' that had served in Act I as Volpone's sick bed could also be equipped with a judicial bench that occupied by the Avocatori,[135] with the Notario either joining them or sitting nearby. If either the upper-stage or central configurations were used, the Avocatori and their satellites dominate the stage picture in a manner similar to the Collegiate, a staging choice that gives them a visual prominence similar to the Aristophanic chorus.

The Avocatori's lack of individual characterisation also makes them similar to the Greek chorus.  The first Avocatore's leading questions give him a status similar to a chorus leader, and the second judge shows some individuality through his concern with finding a 'match' for his daughter (cf. V.xii.51, 62, 84); apart from these moments, though, individuation is kept to a minimum, with the following exchange being typical:

FIRST AVOCATORE: The like of this the Senate never heard of.

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[135] Philip Brockbank, 'Introduction [*Volpone*],' in Ben Jonson, *Volpone*, ed. by Philip Brockbank, New Mermaid (London: Benn, 1968), pp. vii-xxxviii (p. xxvii).

> SECOND AVOCATORE: 'Twill come most strange to them, when
> we report it.
> FOURTH AVOCATORE: The gentlewoman has ever been held
> Of unreprovèd name.
> THIRD AVOCATORE: So, the young man.
> FOURTH AVOCATORE: The more unnatural part that of his father.
> SECOND AVOCATORE: More of the husband.
> FIRST AVOCATORE:                                    I not know to give
> His name an act, it is so monstrous!
> (*Volp.,* IV.v.1-7)

The four judges' collective identity is prioritized over individuality: their separate lines and half-lines are locked within the iambic pentameter, and their joint prejudice against the 'monstrous' acts of the conspirators gives the passage the quality of being a single speech uttered by a single entity. These opening lines also establish another link to the Aristophanic chorus, as the Avocatori reveal a similar tendency in making a dramatic shift from opposing to supporting the claims of the protagonist, represented here by Voltore. From their initial condemnation of Corbaccio and Corvino the Avocatori are drawn into Voltore's accusation that Bonario and Celia were conducting an affair ('These be strange turns!': IV.v.59), to suspecting Celia's histrionic behaviour ('I do begin to doubt th'imposture here': IV.v.141), which leads to growing suspicions about the pair's reliance on divine protection ('These are no testimonies': IV.vi.18). By the end of IV.vi, the judges' opinions are firmly with the defence team:

> FIRST AVOCATORE: Take 'em to custody, and sever them. [*CELIA
> and BONARIO are taken out*]
> SECOND AVOCATORE: 'Tis pity, two such prodigies should live.
> FIRST AVOCATORE: Let the old man [Volpone] be returned with
> care: I'm sorry our credulity wronged him.
> (*Volp.,* IV.vi.54-57)

The pendulum of justice swing from the innocents to the gulls within the space of two scenes; the Avocatori's decision marks the zenith of Volpone and Mosca's trickery, their con working in both the domestic and judicial spheres. Jonson was particularly fond of trial scenes, which was in Maus' opinion a result of his emphasis on the rational, socially responsible thinking of the Roman moralists and his recognition that legalistic rituals were the best way to represent this attitude onstage.[136] One must also acknowledge a debt to the design theatregram of the Greek *agon* in the formal set-up of the trial: namely, the

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[136] Maus, pp.127-128. Apart from *Volpone,* trial scenes are present in *Poetaster, Catiline, Bartholomew Fair, The Staple of News,* and *The New Inn.*

arbitration of an outside party, and this party's obvious and dramatic shift of opinion. For instance, the *agon* of *Acharnians* (ll.480-571) begins with a condemnation of Dicaepolis' treaty:

> CHORUS: What will you do? What will you say? Know well
> that you are a shameless man, a man of iron,
> you who have offered your neck to the city
> and intend to speak alone in opposition to us all.
> (*Ach.,* ll.490-493)

Following his speech, the chorus' opinion is divided—some still think he is a 'damnable villain' ('*μιαρώτατε*': l.557) but the others believe that 'everything he says is right and in no point of it does he lie' ('*λέγει γ' ἅπερ λέγει / δίκαια πάντα κοὐδὲν αὐτῶν ψεύδεται*': ll.560-561); but after the protagonist's discussion with the soldier Lamachus, their opinion changes completely, and they are happy to declare '[t]he man has triumphed with his argument, and convinced the people on the subject of the treaty' (ll.626-627). This design theatregram that moves the chorus from a state of opposition to agreement is mirrored by Jonson in *Volpone* IV.v-vi; it also reappears in V.xii, when the Avocatori are forced back from condemning Celia and Bonario to recognising that their accusers are the true culprits. This is an interesting modulation on the *agon* theatregram: the original structure presents the arbitrating chorus members as important, yet capable of being swayed by reasoned argument; in Jonson's double *agon* the Avocatori are portrayed as gullible and stupid, susceptible to skilful rhetoric that, contrary to that often found in Aristophanes, is being used to fulfil amoral ends. One could argue that whereas the Aristophanic *agon* is a miniature example of the dialectical process working well—with the outcome of the Old Comic trials being invariably in favour of the protagonist(s), and which in turn is usually of benefit to his/her society—the Jonsonian *agon* shows its corruption, an acknowledgement of a more cynical worldview that, perhaps, evokes the morally uncertain and aimless debates contained within the Lucianic dialogues.

The Avocatori's onstage presence and involvement in arbitration certainly connects with the motion and design theatregrams associated with the Aristophanic chorus, but their separation from the other characters signals a significant departure from their Greek forbears. From the perspective of the entire play, the judges are much less prominent than the Collegiates; they are only present in a few scenes in the last two Acts (IV.v-vi; V.x,xii), and their role extends no further than meting out 'justice'. They play an

important role in resolving the conflicts within the play—their first appearance in favour of Volpone and his associates, their second against them—but their arbitration is external, coming from the overarching world of the Venetian justice system. In essence, they are *homines ex machina*—similar to the design theatregram of the *femina ex machina* of the Queen in *Every Man Out*—and the characters they represent are not as important as the function they perform. The amoral tone of *Volpone* as a whole also diminishes the capacity of the judges to form an effective chorus. Asper-Macilente provides *Every Man Out* with a moral centre and a voice of reason that speaks out against the other humorous characters, but there is no comparable moral anchor in *Volpone*: the two tricksters at the centre of the play are no better than their gulls, and, like the morally upright characters of *Sejanus*, Celia and Bonario are 'passive victims' whose rewards at the close—divorce from an abusive husband and alienation from a miserly father—hardly fit the typically upward trajectory prescribed by 'comic law'.[137] Furthermore, Bevington believes that the moral edge of *Volpone* is blunted further by the corrupt judges dispensing punishment at the play's close;[138] they have been thoroughly cozened by the Fox and his servant, and, as the scheme has only been overthrown by Mosca's over-reaching and Volpone's pride, there seems little place left for the triumph of justice. From this perspective, the First Avocatore's claim that '[t]he knot is now undone, by miracle' (V.xii.95) becomes less a recognition of a typically-neatly resolved comic ending and more an admission that their own inquiries could never have produced a satisfactory outcome—only providential intervention can save the just in Jonson's corrupted Venice, and even then only partially.

Herford and Simpson might be right in calling *Volpone* Jonson's first depiction of 'humanity denuded of every human goodness,'[139] but the moral ambiguity of the play hints at the playwright's growing trust in his audience's discernment, and in his continuing belief in satire's hortatory power. I think that this shift in trust is the thing that either provokes or stems from Jonson's deliberate movement to the Menippean satirical mode. If one accepts Jonson's adoption of the more cynical Menippean form and examines *Volpone* through that particular satiric lens, one soon realises that the playwright is not interested in revealing the corruption of the Avocatori as individuals; rather, he presents them as

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[137] Barton, p.106. This lack of moral resolution is counter to the normal comic catastrophe, which Jonson acknowledges himself; see *Volp.*, Epist.109. The issue of *Volpone*'s generic ambiguity will be explored further in chapter 5.

[138] David Bevington, 'The Major Comedies,' in *Cambridge Companion to Ben Jonson*, ed. by Harp and Stewart, pp.72-89 (p.77).

[139] H&S, II. p.55.

mouthpieces for the fundamental flaws that reside within the legal system they represent. Jonson's original English audience might be forgiven for thinking that the legalistic satire he offers up had no direct relation to them: with typical scholarly diligence, Jonson had crafted a dramatic setting that reflected the socio-political environment of Venice rather than London, with the result that his comedy could easily be dismissed as just another outpouring of English anti-Italian sentiment. Scratch beneath the surface, though, and one quickly sees that Jonson target is more ambitious than the incidental embellishments that his Venetian setting might suggest, and that rather than his political satire ending with the mockery of a particular group of foolish and corrupt judges as a collective of individual men, it instead takes aim at the very forensic methodologies and principles that such magistrates and their courts represent.

From a topographic and socio-political perspective *Volpone* has been praised for its factual accuracy, cited as another example of Jonson's meticulous preparatory research.[140] Jonson's careful depiction of his Italian setting may fool us into thinking that his criticism cannot be disengaged from the socio-political world of Renaissance Venice, betraying the outlook of an English playwright whose native prejudices were inclined to see corruption in such a place. In Jonson's England, Italy held an odd status in the collective imagination: it was acknowledged, alongside Greece, as one of the seats of classical learning and the wellspring for early modern humanism, admired for its long history of artistic excellence, but also reviled for its geo-political connection with Rome and the Catholic Church. It was simultaneously 'a repulsive territory of vices where domestic anxieties could be easily stored and exorcised,'[141] but also a 'great cultural intertext,'[142] the site of Europe's earliest and greatest empire, the repository of nearly two millennia of artistic and scientific endeavour, and a place that held immense attractions for England's noble and intellectual classes.

As a spur to and a consequence of this curiosity, during Jonson's period there was a proliferation of texts that concerned Italy specifically or dedicated a degree of focus to

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[140] Edward H. Sugden, *A Topographical Dictionary to the Works of Shakespeare and His Fellow Dramatists* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1925)*, p.543; Brian Parker, 'Jonson's Venice,' in *Theatre of the English and Italian Renaissance,* ed. by J.R. Mulryne and Margaret Shewring (London: Macmillan, 1991), pp.95-112.

[141] Michele Marrapodi, 'Appropriating Italy: Towards a New Approach to Renaissance Drama,' in *Italian Culture in the Drama of Shakespeare*, ed. by Marrapodi, pp.1-12 (p.2).

[142] Keir Elam, quoted in Marrapodi, 'Appropriating Italy,' in *Italian Culture in the Drama of Shakespeare,* ed. by Marrapodi, pp.4-5.

it.[143] In addition to a general interest in Italy, Venice held a specific attraction to the English—partly because of its reputation as Europe's pleasure capital; partly due to its mercantile dominance; partly because of its perceived hostility to Rome, the seat of Catholicism; and partly because of the highly unusual organisation of its political structure.[144] The city's unique constitutional arrangement, built on republican principles, placed political control in the hands of a limited number of aristocrats, with the Doge as *primus inter pares*.[145] Power was dispersed among various councils, from the Arengo, a legislature comprising all citizens, through various senatorial councils all the way to the Collegio, a group that served as cabinet to the Doge. Venice was a 'hereditary oligarchy' rather than a democracy,[146] but the distribution of legislative duties among numerous bodies was contrary to the top-heavy executive structure of England, which saw the monarch and his/her Privy Council firmly in control of the political reins. Venice's political structure was therefore a source of 'fascination and unease' to its English visitors: fascinating because it was 'an embodiment of an Aristotelian unity of the one (monarchy), the few (aristocracy), and the many (democracy);[147] unnerving because its arrangement ran contrary to a monarchical system of rule, and the offence of its republicanism was intensified by its incredible commercial success and its reputation for possessing a justice system that was frequently brutal yet efficient.[148]

Parker argues that Jonson would have known about Venice principally from texts written in English and Latin, although accounts in French and Italian were also available in London, and from personal acquaintances—most significantly John Florio—but he may also have read unpublished manuscripts by travellers, including Sir Philip Sidney, who had visited the

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[143] The most important of these texts included William Thomas' *History of Italy* (1549), another *History of Italy* by Francesco Guicciardini (1579—Jonson owned a copy of the 1599 translated edition), George Abbot's *Brief Description of the Whole World* (eds. in 1599, 1600, and 1605), and, most importantly for an Englishman's understanding of the Italian language, John Florio's Italian-English dictionary *A Worlde of Words* (eds. 1591, 1598). See David C. McPherson, *Shakespeare, Jonson, and the Myth of Venice* (Newark: University of Delaware Press; London and Toronto: Associated University Presses, 1990), pp.21-22.

[144] McPherson, *Myth of Venice,* pp.27-50.

[145] For a detailed account of Venice's constitutional structure, see Laura Ikins Stern, 'Politics and Law in Renaissance Florence and Venice,' *The American Journal of Legal History* 46:2 (2004), pp. 209-234.

[146] Stern, 'Politics and Law,' p.209.

[147] John Drakakis, 'Shakespeare and Venice,' in *Italian Culture in the Drama of Shakespeare,* ed. by Marrapodi, pp.169-186 (p.170).

[148] Drakakis, pp171-172. For more on the reputation of the Venetian justice system, see Richard H. Perkinson, '*Volpone* and the Reputation of Venetian Justice,' *Modern Language Review* 35:1(1940), pp.11-18; and Guido Ruggiero, 'Law and Punishment in Early Renaissance Venice,' *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology* 69:2 (1978), pp.243-256.

city-state.[149] Jonson's involvement in aristocratic and intellectual circles would have given him opportunity to access unpublished and oral accounts of the city for which we have little to no evidence, and we might also consider that as 'the Italian expatriate community in London was sizable' the playwright had a wide variety of native and non-native sources to help him make *Volpone*'s setting as faithful as possible.[150] Aside from written accounts and oral testimonies, Jonson also found a useful source in Lewis Lewkenor's translation of Cardinal Gasparo Contarini's *The Commonwealth and Government of Venice* (first published 1589, translated in 1599), which was particularly helpful in furnishing him with information regarding Venice's legal identity.[151]

Despite his efforts, though, Jonson appears to make several factual errors in his depiction of the Avocatori. On a basic level, he gets the names of the presiding magistrates wrong: 'avocatori' (translated in Florio's *World of Words* as 'an advocate, an attorney') appears to have been confused with the 'avogadori' ('advocators charged with investigating and prosecuting capital and other serious crimes').[152] He also creates four of these magistrates, rather than the three who actually presided in real Venetian courts, possibly due to a misreading of the Lewkenor translation, whose reference to 'advocatory magistrates' may have made Jonson think that they were the same number as their English equivalents.[153]

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[149] Parker, *Myth of Venice,* pp.95-112. *Volpone* was too early for Jonson to have used the published version of Thomas Coryat's *Crudities,* a text that is (to modern readers at least) perhaps one of the most famous travel narratives featuring Venice and the Italian peninsula. However, the fact that Coryat himself seems to have been something of a London celebrity, and that Jonson was familiar enough with him to write a (not completely kind) dedicatory poem to the *Crudities* (see *CWBJ,* IV, 'From *Coryate's Crudities*'), it may have been possible that the pair had spoken together, or that Jonson may have been permitted to view an earlier manuscript draft. See Thomas Coryat, *Coryats Crudities 1611,* introd. by William M. Schutte (London: Scholar Press, 1978), esp. pp.158-290, for Coryat's discussion of Venice; and Schutte's introduction (pp.vi-xiv) for detail on Coryat's notoriety and his connections with Jonson and his circle.

[150] McPherson, *Myth of Venice,* p.19; also see pp.17-26 for an extended discussion of the textual and non-textual sources available to Jonson.

[151] Contarini, a native-born Venetian, diplomat, Cardinal, and eventual member of the city's Great Council, provided an expert's–eye view of Venice's unusual constitutional arrangement and its equally unusual judicial system, which rejected the *ius commune,* 'the combination of Roman and canon law' that was used by the majority of European nations, in favour of a system based on magistratical discretion; see Francis Schaefer, "Gasparo Contarini," in The Catholic Encyclopedia. Vol. IV. (New York: Appleton, 1908) <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/04323c.htm> [date accessed 15 Feb 2015]. Lewkenor's translation actually includes excerpts from the texts of five other writers on Venice. These are Donato Giannotti's *Libro de la republica de Venetiani* (first published 1540), a 'eulogistic history' by the fifteenth-century humanist Bernardo Giustinani, a geographical reference text by Sebastian Münster (eds. 1544, 1550), and *Venetia città nobillisima* by Francesco Sansovino (1581), who also probably wrote the final text, *Delle cose notabili della città di Venetia* (1561). See McPherson, *Myth of Venice,* pp.22-24.

[152] Lisa Klotz, 'Ben Jonson's Legal Imagination in *Volpone,*' *SEL* 51:2 (2011), pp.385-408 (p.389).

[153] Parker, *Myth of Venice,* p.106.

His portrayal of the trial process is also greatly condensed:[154] adjudication for serious criminal matters would begin with a complaint or report to one of the avogadori, who would then report to the other two, and they would decide together whether the case was worth bringing to trial.[155] The trio questioned the accused and witnesses, then submitted a report to the council of the defendant's choosing—'usually the Forty, the group of forty senators (out of one hundred and twenty) that had "presidence, and authority over capitall crimes & judgements."[156] In this context the avogadori were prosecutors, arguing the state's case to the Council, who then made a decision on whether the accused was guilty or innocent. At this point, the matter returned to the avogadori-controlled court for a second trial (perhaps like that found in V.xii?), but unlike in *Volpone* it was a political council, not the avogadori, who decided on the final sentencing, and the close intertwining of the legal and executive arms of the Venetian state meant that the verdict was often deeply politically motivated.[157]

On the face of it, these departures from fact may simply have been mistakes or oversights, and it is arguable that they matter little to the Avocatori's dramatic impact; nonetheless there may have been some important reasons for Jonson to have made these mistakes deliberately. One reason for his alteration of the trial process must have been for practical dramaturgical reasons: Perkinson and Mukherji have pointed out in separate articles that court scenes in dramatic works do not tend to be faithful replications of real legal trials, but instead prioritise those elements that are dramatically exciting while glossing over aspects that would be too obscure, boring or long-winded if they were reproduced onstage.[158] One must also not discount Parker's opinion that Jonson's alterations to the number of Avocatori and their involvement in sentencing was meant to recall the magistrates' courts of the English judicial system, and it is here that I think Jonson reveals his Menippean tendencies.[159] The Avocatori of *Volpone* are typically viewed as incompetent and corrupt, but Klotz maintains that Jonson's stated aim that the poet's office 'to imitate justice, and instruct to life' (*Volp.,* Epist.91-92; cf. *Discoveries,* ll.740-744) would not be best served through the portrayal of a few instances of legal delinquency,

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[154] The following account of Venice's legal structure is taken from Klotz, p.390.
[155] The avogadori would traditionally try violent crime, including rape.
[156] Quoted in Klotz, p.390.
[157] Stern, 'Politics and Law,' p.210.
[158] Quoted in Klotz, pp.392-393.
[159] Parker, *Myth of Venice,* p.106.

although that aim *could* be achieved if those characters could be interpreted as more generalised representatives of judicial and forensic processes. Viewed through the lens of the English judicial system, the Avocatori actually attempt to conduct a fair case, balancing the good names of the original plaintiffs (Celia and Bonario) against the apparent unlikelihood that such a disparate group of defendants (Voltore, Corvino, Corbaccio, and Lady Would-Be) would have cause to band together to tell such flagrant mistruths (after all, what Renaissance husband would lie that he *had* been cuckolded, or what citizen father could be compelled to disown his own son without good reason?).[160] Celia and Bonario do themselves no favours either: their reliance on their 'consciences' and their confidence that they would be saved by 'heaven, that never fails the innocent' (IV.vii.17), while full of admirable piety, do not constitute a robust legal defence, and from a forensic perspective the Avocatore's cynical outburst that '[t]hese are no testimonies' seems perfectly reasonable, with Celia's histrionic fainting fit merely serving to confirm the growing suspicion that her 'too many moods' (V.v.142) makes her an unreliable witness. True, one of the Avocatori is unprofessionally occupied with finding a match for his daughter—a sign perhaps of the blurred boundaries that lay between the aristocratic, political and judicial spheres, and therefore of a latent corruption lying at the heart of the Venetian state—but the emphasis throughout the trial scene is on the forensic process itself, which despite the magistrates' best efforts at sifting the evidence is open to abuse when witnesses fail to do what is required of them (either telling the truth or mounting a decent defence), and which can be manipulated by a canny rhetorician like Voltore.

One can detect a Menippean philosophy within this message—an acknowledgement of a problem that lies within the epistemological structure of the legal system itself, a problem that cannot be assigned to any specific individual(s) but one that will always be present when fallible human beings are involved in the collecting, presenting and sifting of evidence. Jonson, who by this point had had a long relationship with both sides of the English legal system—answering charges of recusancy and treason as a defendant, and more recently assisting the Crown in a case of Catholic conspiracy[161]—must have been more aware than most of the limitations of the judicial process, and it might be fair to say

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[160] Klotz, p.386.

[161] The charges of treason came in 1603, accusations possibly spurred by supposedly 'popish' elements in *Sejanus;* in 1605 Jonson offered to gather information concerning the Gunpowder Plot on behalf of Lord Salisbury, but was unsuccessful in his efforts. Dates are taken from the 'Chronology' section of *Cambridge Companion to Ben Jonson,* ed. by Harp and Stewart, pp.xiv-xv.

that this aspect of the play is a critical comment on his personal experiences.[162] In contrast to the more obvious agenda of *Every Man Out*, therefore, Jonson makes his audience peer very hard indeed before they can discern or recognise the reflective surface of *Volpone*, but those who make the effort see in its apparently faithful Venetian setting a condemnation of juridicial processes that apply equally to the English legal system. The unspoken nature of this satire makes the play dialectical in a more profound sense than *Every Man Out,* despite the earlier play's onstage depiction of two critically-engaged audience members.

# VI

> For now we se through a glasse darkely; but then shal we see face to face. Now I know in parte: but then shal I knowe even as I am knowen.[163]

In both *Every Man Out* and *Volpone* Jonson forces his audience to 'se through a glasse darkely,' but the manner in which he distorts the reflections of his satirical mirror is wildly different. In *Every Man Out* he insulates himself from attack by avoiding the overtly personal criticism of Aristophanic Old Comedy and takes a lesson from the verse satirists by shattering his satirical mirror, sharing it out among a number of theatrically privileged characters to create the *impression* of a cacophonous, Bakhtinian dialogue of conflicting opinions in which it is difficult, if not impossible, to pick out an authentically 'Jonsonian' voice. I use the word 'impression' deliberately because, even if Jonson provides us with no character who is completely representative of the infallible, moral poet he wished to present himself as, his use of the Aristophanic Grex to guide audience interpretation shows he is not interested in his spectators forming their own opinion on his material through a dialectical process. Rather, the choric group represents the tendency of the verse satirists who, despite their variety of characters and perspectives, ultimately yoke their narrative to the physically monologising text and towards a specific way of viewing it.

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[162] Indeed, shambolic trials seem to have been a popular trope with Jonson; cf. the farcical debate between the 'divine' and 'canonist' in *Epicene* V.iii (in reality a disguised Otter and Cutbeard) and the climax to *Bartholomew Fair,* where Busy's condemnation of theatrical transvestism is 'confuted' by Leatherhead's puppet, who reveals that 'we have neither male nor female amongst us' (*Bart. Fair,* V.v.93-94).

[163] 1 Corinthians 13, The Geneva Bible (1560, rev. 1602), in *The Literature of Renaissance England,* ed. by John Hollander and Frank Kermode (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1973), p.33.

Perhaps the shift in form from literature to theatre—where the monologistic text is suddenly shared out and embodied by multiple performers—created a tension between the playwright's authority and character portrayal that Jonson could not resolve, and may explain why he was never able to square the stubbornly intransigent circle of bringing the verse satirist onto the stage. By the time Jonson came to write *Volpone,* though, he had learned his lesson about the type of satire his audience would tolerate; instead of the kaleidoscopic reflections and refractions of *Every Man Out*'s satirical mirror, *Volpone's* mirror-surface is of much finer material, a distorting glass that an audience has to examine closely before its Venetian image resolves itself into a more recognisably English one. (Is it more than coincidence that Jonson chose to set his stage-mirror in Venice, the city that at the time was renowned throughout Europe for the fineness and quality of its glass and its mirrors?)[164] The choric Avocatori are a good example of this elision between Venice and London, but they are only one of many—Jonson's reflective surface is much wider this time, stretching unbroken over all five acts and surrounded by framing material that give clues on the exemplum that should be learned from the anti-exemplum of the play proper. *Volpone's* overall effect is rather like an anamorphic painting: a grotesquely distorted picture when viewed face on, but when examined from a particular perspective (such as that supplied by the play's Epistle and Prologue), its true meaning suddenly comes into focus.[165] The play's lack of overt moral commentary reveals Jonson's Menippean influence, but also gives it a distinctly dialectical quality. *Volpone* is a sort of *lusus*, an intellectual game that the audience must interrogate, becoming an interlocutor in a Socratic-Platonic dialogue in which the play's anti-exemplum is set against its audience's own moral standards to produce a conclusion that justifies its playwright's claim that the poet's office is 'to inform men, in the best reason of living.' It is telling that as Jonson moved into his great middle comedy phase he abandoned his experiments in staging the railling verse satirist, instead favouring a brand of comedy whose ironic tone and much subtler didacticism bore the Menippean influence of Lucian and his sixteenth-century imitators.[166] Watson claims that *Volpone* was written when Jonson was at a creative crossroads, torn between the more overt 'literary imperialism' of his earlier comedies and a growing realisation that explicit moralising was not popular with his audiences, and he sees this tension in the profound disjunction between the harsh, uncomic justice

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[164] See Ben Jonson, *Volpone,* ed. by R.B. Parker, rev. ed., Revels (Manchester; New York: Manchester University Press, 1999), I.i.37n.

[165] Ostovich, 'So Sudden and Strange,' p.320, makes a similar case for *Evey Man Out*.

[166] Duncan, p.138.

of the Avocatori and the Volpone-actor's immediate appeal for applause in the Epilogue:

> The strain we feel at the end of *Volpone* is Jonson pulling back on the bridle of his own satiric spirit; he projects into the audience his own dilemma as a comic moralist. The surprisingly blunt exposure and punishment in *Volpone* pits the indulgent conventions of satiric comedy, in which wit is the sole criterion for success, against the forces of conventional moralism that were exerting renewed pressure against the popular theatre.[167]

This is Jonson's final move in his Menippean *lusus*, as the deliberate tonal clash gives the audience a choice in how they see the ending: do they opt for a morally right but theatrically unsatisfying interpretation, where justice is rightly served on Volpone and Mosca—character types whose entertainment value usually insulates them against overly harsh comic judgements—and against which the Epilogue appears an awkward attachment that tries to paper over the cracks of 'the Fox punished by the laws' (V.xii.153) by appealing for the conventional *plaudite*? Or do they recognise the Epilogue as an outer frame to the Avocatori's judgement, diminishing the impact of their sentence by appealing to the higher court of the theatrical audience itself, who are required to 'censure' the two tricksters based on aesthetic rather than ethical standards? This is the sort of open-ended question that, if one is to be generous, can be seen in the curious *dea ex machina* ending of *Every Man Out*, but Jonson's use of it in his later play is much more effective and profound. *Volpone* is full of interrogations between Jonson and his audience, even between Jonson and his own artistic imperatives, but this final moment allows the audience to interrogate itself. In *Every Man Out* Jonson was keen to *show* his audience what sort of play he had written, but in *Volpone* he *asks* them what sort of play they want, and what sort of audience they want to be. It is in this difference between showing and asking, turning the theatrical mirror's focus from the exterior to the interior, and posing questions that only his audience can answer, that Jonson moves from the hectoring didacticism of his earlier comedies and into the more intensely dialectical mode of his later works.

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[167] Watson, p.83.

# Chapter 4

# Taking Liberties: *Bartholomew Fair*, The Hope Theatre, and Plautine Site-Specificity

## I

So far I have concentrated on Jonsonian plays whose structural and verbal imitations and contaminations of classical texts have long been noted, but I would now like to turn to a play that at first sight seems decidedly un-classical. *Bartholomew Fair* was first performed by the Lady Elizabeth's Servants on 31 October 1614 at the Hope Theatre, Bankside, and in its content and context appears to be the playwright's most insistently contemporary of comedies. Indeed, when set against his previous productions this play might initially seem like a poor choice of text in which to look for elements of Jonson's classicism. There are no traces of the learned Roman historiography so apparent in *Sejanus* (1603) or *Catiline* (1611); no echoes of Horatian legacy-hunting sub-plots or Juvenalian vitriol against old age and women as found in *Volpone* (1607) and *Epicene* (1609); no overt parallels to specific plays, like the debt *The Alchemist* (1610) owes to Plautus' *Mostellaria;* indeed, the play's Cambridge editor's insistence that the play 'has no guiding narrative source or conventions' at all is suggestive that one will find slim pickings for comparative study.[1] Jonson even seems to send up his own classicising tendencies in the figure of Justice Overdo, whose Ciceronian quotations and mock-Stoic attitudes highlight him as the play's most overt, and ridiculous, link to the ancients. Overdo becomes a figure of mockery: his Latin allusions and quotations, which in earlier plays like *Poetaster* and *Every Man Out of His Humour* are used as badges of authority, giving sententious weight to the words and deeds of the characters that utter them, here mark the magistrate as an idealist, a man whose learning does not prepare him for the harsh realities of the Fair. His meek acceptance of incarceration in the stocks in Act IV allows him to reveal his Stoic credentials,[2] but when added to his misinterpretation of the cutpurse Edgworth, 'so civil a young man' (*Bart. Fair,* II.iv.28), for a clerk who has mistakenly fallen in with the wrong

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[1] John Creaser, 'Introduction [*Bartholomew Fair*],' in *CWBJ,* IV, pp.255-268 (p.259).
[2] Some of his choice sayings while incarcerated, such as 'it is a comfort to a good conscience to be followed with a good fame in his suffering' (*Bart. Fair,* IV.i.25-26), are taken directly from Seneca's *De Clementia* I.i.

sort at the Fair, the indignity of having his wife returned to him in prostitute's clothing, and the humiliation of finding he has unwittingly given permission for the gallant Winwife to marry his ward, Grace Wellborn, his philosophical inclinations mark him not as a magistrate possessed of the wisdom to spy out enormities in others but as a naive fool who cannot remove the beam from his own eye. One might uncharitably interpret Overdo's apparently generous invitation that the Fair's inhabitants return to his house to feast, '*ad correctionem, non ad destructionem; ad aedificandum, non ad diruendum*' (V.vi.107-108),[3] less as an expression of judicial magnanimity and more as an act of damage limitation, the reaction of a man who knows he has been beaten and must therefore metaphorically allow the lessons he has learned at the Fair return home along with his guests.

Perhaps Overdo is a parody of Jonson himself—the magistrate's self-conscious classicising, his judicial role and predilection for spying out 'enormities' maps fairly neatly onto his creator's projection of himself as an arbiter of taste and morality—and perhaps the play is a representation of the limited use an overly-philosophical and overly-classicising mind-set has in the real world of early modern England. Nevertheless, I argue in what follows that *Bartholomew Fair* reveals a more positive debt to Roman, specifically Plautine, comedy, although this debt can be discerned less in specific plot points or textual echoes but rather in the ontological and ideological significance of these ancient plays.

The first point of contact between Jonson and Plautus comes before one even turns to their plays, and rests on the idea that both wrote what were, before anything else, 'performance texts' located within the specific temporal-spatial frame of the theatrical event and the venues that housed them.[4] Furthermore, these events and venues were contained within the broader spatial-temporal networks that constituted Jonson's London and Plautus' Rome, which contributed two specific effects to the dramaturgical strategies of these two playwrights. The first rests on the liminal positioning of the theatrical event and its venues in these two cities. For Jonson and his contemporary playwrights this was imposed geographically through the location of the playhouses in the Liberties—suburban areas officially outside of the City's jurisdiction—and the hetereogeneous signification that

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[3] 'To correct, not to destroy; to build up, not to tear down,' translation mine. The phrase is originally from Horace, *Epist.* I.i.100.

[4] Gurr, *Playgoing*, p.1.

these licentious sites provided bled through into the plays performed there.[5] For Plautus, the liminal space of his comedies was temporal rather than spatial: his plays were performed in the heart of Rome at times of holiday, periods in the Roman calendar in which the city's typical patriarchal restraints were relaxed in favour of the more licentious atmosphere of festivity.[6] Similarly, Mullaney argues that the liminal positioning of the early modern playhouses paradoxically gave the companies that performed there a position of detachment from their societies which allowed them (to the frequent chagrin of the City fathers, the Privy Council and occasionally the court) an opportunity for the same sort of side-stepping comment already encountered in chapter 2.[7] A carnivalesque reading of the performance conditions of Roman comedy would concur that the liminal period of holiday gave Plautus a similar advantage over his audience and society, although the playwright augmented this position further by presenting his plays as *fabulae palliatae* ('plays in Greek dress'),[8] a convenient lie that gave him creative room for manoeuvre, allowing him to claim that he was not speaking about Rome at all, and therefore not deserving of censure.

The second effect is connected to the first: I would like to explore the idea that Jonson's *Bartholomew Fair* and the comedies of Plautus are, in some ways, 'proto-site-specific' works. To refer to plays from the early modern or Roman stage as 'site-specific' is patently anachronistic, and I would not like to push the analogy too far, but there is some justification in reading *Bartholomew Fair* and Plautine comedy in this way if we follow the definition of site-specificity as 'a staging or performance conceived on the basis of a place in the real world,'[9] or as 'meanings of utterances, actions and events [...] affected by their 'local position,' by the *situation* of which they are a part.'[10] McLucas makes a useful point when he figures site-specific performance as relying on an interactive palimpsest of *host*

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[5] Steven Mullaney, *The Place of the Stage: License, Play, and Power in Renaissance England* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1988), p.22.

[6] The earliest and most influential example of this theory is Segal (*Roman Laughter*), who reads the Roman plays through a Frazerean-Bakhtinian lens to suggest that they use the licence of saturnalia to invert typical Roman *mores,* such as the strict hierarchies of master and slave and the absolute authority of the *pater familias.* The theory is attractive, but there is some scepticism about an overly carnivalesque reading of Roman comedy and its performance: see Mary Beard (*Laughter in Ancient Rome: On Joking, Tickling, and Cracking Up* (Berkeley, CA; London: University of California Press, 2014), p.65, and Kathleen McCarthy, *Slaves, Masters and the Art of Authority in Plautine Comedy* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000), pp.17-18.

[7] Mullaney. p.8.

[8] Sandbach, p.115.

[9] Mike Pearson, *Site-Specific Performance* (London: Palgrave, 2010), p.1.

[10] Nick Kaye, *Site-Specific Art: Performance, Place and Documentation* (London; New York: Routledge, 2000), p.1.

and *ghost,* the former representing the architectural or topographical features already present at site and the latter being the imaginative and scenographic constructions that are overlaid on it in performance.[11] Such performances benefit from the exchanges of signification that each contain and that each passes on to the other, and through an analysis of performance conditions and the plays themselves, I aim to demonstrate that Jonson and Plautus make use of this dynamic, allowing their works to haunt and be haunted by their surroundings.

I will conclude by making the point that both Jonson and Plautus attempt to reframe how their audience should read real social space by privileging characters whose quick wits allow them to control their theatrical environments. I analyse the interactions of several characters from *Bartholomew Fair*—particularly Overdo, Cokes, and Quarlous—from the perspective of their abilities to 'read' their environment, and combine this with a number of close readings from Plautus' *Pseudolus.* My aim is to demonstrate that the Jonsonian imitation of classical sources is manifested in *Bartholomew Fair* through an interest, shared with Plautus, in theatrical privilege, a privilege that, through the elision of the fictive city of the stage and the real city of the performance's setting, both playwrights use as a metaphor for what the discerning spectator should emulate in the spatial-social practices of their everyday lives.

## II

In the first part of this chapter I will argue that Jonson's play is site-specific in the sense that it utilises its environment to lay out the playwright's intentions, and that it uses this liminal, hetereogeneous space in order to describe *another* liminal environment: Bartholomew Fair itself. This Fair, the most famous in England, was a yearly event that can be traced back as far as 1133 and took place on the 'eve, day, and morrow' of St Bartholomew's Day (24 August), from whence it derived its name.[12] Although bound within the confines of just over one day, the Fair formed a sort of microcosm of the city to which it was attached. Originally a fair for the wool and cloth industry centred in

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[11] McLucas, quoted in Pearson, pp.35-36.
[12] Jonson, *Bart.Fair,* Longer Notes, Title-page.1. Much of the subsequent information on the Fair is taken from this source, as well as Chalfant, pp.34-35.

Smithfield (another of London's Liberties), by the sixteenth century it had expanded considerably, 'ranging from near Christ Church and Newgate in the south to the suburbs of the City in the northwest.'[13] This expansion stemmed in particular from the Fair's provision of licit and illicit pleasures—food and drink stalls, traders selling trinkets, the attentions of prostitutes, and a range of entertainment described by a pamphlet of 1641:

> Here a Knave in a fooles cote, with a trumpet sounding, or on a drumme beating, invites you and would faine perswade you to see his puppets; There a Rogue like a wild woodman, or in an Antick Shap like an Incubus, desires your company, to view his motion; on the other side, Hocus Pocus with three yards of tape or ribbin in's hand, shewing his art of Legerdemaine, to the admiration and astonishment of a company of cockolaches [a term of reproach or contempt, 'a silly coxcomb'[14]]. Amongst these you shall see a gray goose-cap (as wise as the rest) with a what do ye lacke, in his mouth, stand in his boothe shaking a rattle, or scraping on a fiddle, with which children are so taken, that they presently cry out for these fopperies; And all these together make such a distracted noise, that you would think Babell were not comparable to it.[15]

One might hear in this chaotic description an echo of Bakhtin's declaration about the marketplace of the medieval and Renaissance periods, which was 'a world in itself, a world which was all one; all 'performances' in this area, from loud cursing to the organised show, had something in common and were imbued with the same atmosphere of freedom, frankness, and familiarity.'[16] Indeed, a carnivalesque reading of the event is supported by a near contemporary to Jonson who described it as 'a sort of Bacchanalia, to gratify the

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[13] Chalfant, p.34.

[14] See *OED Online,* 'cockloche,' n., which cites this pamphlet. <oed.com> [date accessed 15 November 2015].

[15] *Bartholomew Faire, or Variety of Fancies, vvhere you may find a faire of vvares, and all to please your mind, with the severall eniromityes and misdemeanours, which are there seene and acted* (London, 1641), pp. 4-5, in *Early English Books Online* <http://eebo.chadwyck.com/search> [date accessed 15 November 2015]. Creaser notes that this pamphlet 'shows independent knowledge of the Fair, but is based in part upon the play' (*Bart. F,* Longer Notes, Title-page.1), particularly in its description of a 'precise puritan' who overturns a stall full of 'Idle *Idolls'* and is subsequently placed in the stocks (p. 2); the specific methods of pickpockets, which include entering 'in fee with cheating costermongers, who have a trick now and then to throw downe a basket of refuge peares' (p.4), and of the pig booth, where a 'fat greasy Hostesse instructs Nick Froth her tapster, to aske a shilling more for a pigs head of a woman big with child, in regard of her longing, then of another ordinary customer' (p.5). The anonymous pamphleteer does indeed seem to have taken inspiration from the particulars of Jonson's play, but I would suggest that such inclusions in an apparently informative document shows that the behaviour of the playwright's characters is not too far from that of the Fair's real inhabitants.

[16] Mikhail Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World,* trans. by Hélène Iswolsky (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1984), p.153.

multitude in their wandering and irregular thoughts,'[17] and one that seemed to attract a wide range of social classes:

> Hither resort people of all sorts, High and Low, Rich and Poore, from cities, townes, and countrys; of all Sects, Papists, Atheists, Anabaptists and Brownists: and of all conditions, good and bad, vertuous and vicious, Knaves and fooles, Cuckolds and Cuckoldmakers, Bauds, and Whores, Pimpes and Panders, Rogues and Rascalls, the little Loud-one and the witty wanton.[18]

One should not be too hasty though to dismiss the behaviour exhibited at the Fair as merely an expression of holiday licentiousness. As Bakhtin observed, the relationship between the 'serious' and 'comic' aspects of culture was much more porous in the Renaissance than it is today, with the degradations, mockeries and crude behaviour associated with holiday having a regenerative and cleansing effect on the people, and were often tied explicitly to 'official' celebrations through their enactment at key points in the religious calendar, and often by members of the clergy.[19]

The Fair may have stood apart from the City at large, but it had its ties to secular authority just as much as the spiritual ones already mentioned. Some semblance of order was imposed by the 'Court of Pie-powders'—the Fair's own judicial system,[20] which tried

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[17] This comment comes from Sir Robert Southwell writing to his son in 1685. Quoted in *Bart. Fair,* Longer Notes. *Early English Books Online* contains a number of documents relating to the Fair that are of interest as much due to their lack of context as to their often bizarre contents. Among them are a number of advertisements and scraps of performance text, including the intriguing *The Elephant's speech to the citizens and countrymen of England at his first being shewn at Bartholomew-Fair* (London, 1675), and a ballad, narrating an event of which Zeal-of-the-land Busy would be proud, *The dagonizing of Bartholomew Fayre, caused through the Lord Majors command, for the battering downe the vanities of the gentiles, comprehended in flag and pole, appertaining to puppet-play. The 23. of August being the day before the apostolicke fayre* (London, 1647). Perhaps most perplexing of all, though, is a pamphlet attributed to Michael Altham, *An auction of whores, or, The bawds bill of sale, for Bartholomew Fair. Held in the cloysters, near Smithfield* (London, 1691). As the title implies, the text provides 'A List of the *Whores* of *Bartholomew Fair,* with the rates, whereat they have commonly hitherto been Sold,' and promises the auction-goer 'a curious collection of painted Whores [...] some Pox'd, some Clap'd, and some quite rotten and ready to fall in pieces.' From what I can gather from his other publications Altham appears to have been a pamphleteer of particularly zealous Catholic inclinations, so the 'bill of sale' is presumably a swipe at his society's lapse in morals rather than a genuine commercial enterprise. Nonetheless, his curious mixture of prudish venom and prurient detail (apparently some of the prostitutes listed 'will spew in your face, when you are busy with them, whilst you are already half stifled by their breath') perhaps suggests that the author took an equally perverse delight in documenting his society's corruption.

[18] *Bartholomew Faire, or Variety of Fancies,* p.1, *Early English Books Online* <http://eebo.chadwyck.com/search> [date accessed 15 November 2015].

[19] Bakhtin, *Rabelais,* p.156.

[20] According to H&S (X, pp.185-186), 'Pie-powders' is a corruption of the French *pied pouldrex* ('dusty feet').

offences committed within the Fair's boundaries. Nonetheless, the description provided by the Fair's independent sources—that it was a 'Babell' of noise, a riotous 'Bacchanalia' where prostitution and theft were rife, not to mention Jonson's own unflattering depictions of Justice Overdo, the man who 'sit[s] as judge' over the Fair (*Bart. Fair,* II.i.42), and his retinue of equally inept officers—suggests that the exercise of authority was limited. How appropriate, then, is it to learn that the Fair was apparently first established by Rahere, first prior of the nearby Priory of St Bartholomew, who before taking the cloth had been the court fool to Henry I, and who had a representative who 'presided as judge in the Court of Piepowder, which was held within the Priory gates'?[21] Right from its inception, it seems, the Fair had links to both the divine and the profane, and judging by the behaviour of Overdo and his constables Folly had still not relinquished her grip on its legal proceedings or enforcement. Whether Jonson knew the Fair's heritage directly, or whether it is just a serendipitous accident that art and life cohere so closely in this detail, the rest of the chapter will help demonstrate that folly and misrule—the natural elements of the fool—dominate in the fictive Fair, and more than one of its visitors will be glimpsed wearing the guarded coat that its founder would have known so well.

If one is to follow Kaye's definition in seeing site-specificity in the 'local position' of a work, and in the notion that such a performance derives part of its impact through its close affinity with its environment, it might seem strange that Jonson chose to write about 'Bartholomew Fair' for a Southwark theatre when he could just as easily named it 'Southwark Fair,' after an event established in 1550, second only to Bartholomew Fair in reputation, that was held between 7 and 9 September (closer to the 'real time' of the play's first performance), and which offered a similarly diverse programme of entertainment and was much closer to the Hope.[22] Jonson had made a similar bid for temporal-spatial proximity in *The Alchemist,* which deliberately conflated the tripartite's house of trickery 'in the Blackfriars' with that of the Blackfriars theatre, and had brought the parallels closer by employing this unity of place along with the strict observance of the unity of time—fictive time running concurrently to the real time of the audience (see

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[21] R.W. Muncey, *Our Old English Fairs* (London: Sheldon Press, n.d.), p.37.
[22] I am indebted to Tiffany Stern for this idea, who suggested it in private correspondence (date of correspondence 3 November 2015). For details on Southwark Fair, see Muncey, pp.54-58.

chapter 1).[23] Arguably, a *Southwark Fair* set in such a location would have made any site- and temporal-specific resonances even more pronounced, as Jonson would have been closer to establishing a one-to-one comparison between his onstage fictive space with the real environment that surrounded his audience and the playhouse, *host* and *ghost* overlaying onto each other with a greater temporal and topographical neatness. Indeed it has been remarked that it is the extreme correspondence between *host* and *ghost* that gives *The Alchemist* its great, but unsettling, metatheatrical power: the Blackfriars audience are left permanently uncertain as to whether they are laughing along with the tripartite, their privileged position outside the narrative frame giving them the status of fellow conspirators, or whether Jonson's deliberate conflation of real and fictive environments is a subtle hint that they are in fact also gulls to the trio's (and Jonson's) theatrical alchemy.[24] Jonson's main interest was not verisimilitude, however, and I argue that his play is called *Bartholomew Fair* because Bartholomew Fair itself, that *specific site*, steeped as it was with centuries of history, a site both within and without of the City, within and without of the law, and restricted within the compass of evening, day, and morning, provided a miniature laboratory for Jonson's view of the city at large. It is here also that Jonson's link with Plautus becomes most apparent. The Roman playwright, despite the Greek cover story of his comedies, is also deeply invested in an exploration of his environment. I argue that Jonson's greatest affinity with Plautus is that both share an interest in articulating theories on their urban environment from the perspective of liminal, hetereotopian fictive worlds, because it is in these imaginative realms that they are most free to 'take liberties,' to circumvent the artistic restrictions imposed by their societies. Jonson and Plautus are the ultimate authorities of their imaginative cityscapes, and their plays explore new ways for their audiences to read the real urban environment: one that relies on acuity and guile more than money or class.

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[23] Gail Kern Paster, *The Idea of the City in the Age of Shakespeare* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1985), p.164; Gurr, 'Who Is Lovewit?,' in *Ben Jonson and Theatre,* ed. by Cave, Schafer and Woolland, pp.5-19.

[24] Gurr, 'Who Is Lovewit?,' in *Ben Jonson and Theatre,* ed. by Cave, Schafer, and Woolland, p.10.

# III

Stern suggests that in many ways any performance event cannot be confined merely to the performance itself, and that it is in fact difficult to delineate the precise beginnings and endings of the theatrical experience.[25] Lefebvre's notions on the production of social space are relevant in relation to this point, as he argues that 'social space' is in part formed from the *'spatial practice'* of its inhabitants, which 'implies a guaranteed level of *competence* [the individual's ability to 'interpret' social space correctly] and a specific level of *performance*.'[26] The 'performance' of spatial practice is important, as Lefebvre argues that this helps to 'secret[e] the society's space, it propounds and presupposes it, in a dialectical interaction': to take the metaphor a little further, the movements and interactions of the inhabitant-actors within the urban space both constitute and are constituted by the wider spatial practices of the city-stage.[27] However, spatial practice is only the first aspect of what Lefebvre calls 'the perceived-conceived-lived triad' that leads to the production (and performance) of social space, the other two elements being *'representations of space'* (the conceived) and *'representational space'* (the lived).[28] Lefebvre defines representations of space as 'conceptualised space, the space of scientists, urbanists, technocratic subdividers and social engineers [...] the dominant space in any society (or mode of production);'[29] this is the spatial mode of institutionalised authority, which imposes control through the symbolic use to which imposing architectural features and the handling of public space can be put. In contrast, representational space is 'directly *lived* through its associated images and symbols, and hence the space of 'inhabitants.'[30] This is 'the dominated—and hence passively experienced' mode,[31] but interestingly Lefebvre claims that because the 'dominated' inhabitants of this lived space—who must make up the vast majority of inhabitants of any given social environment—are constantly negotiating their private spatial practices in relation to the dominant, authority-controlled mode of representations

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[25] Tiffany Stern, 'Before the Beginning, After the End: When Did Plays Start and Stop?' in *Shakespeare and Textual Studies,* ed. by M.J. Kidnie and Sonia Massai (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, forthcoming).

[26] Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* [1974], trans. by Donald Nicholson-Smith (Oxford; New York: Blackwell, 1991), p.33. Emphasis in original.

[27] Lefebvre, p.38.

[28] Lefebvre, pp.38-40.

[29] Lefebvre, pp. 39-40.

[30] Lefebvre, p.39.

[31] Lefebvre, p.39.

of space, this third part of the triad is naturally associated with subversion and counter-authoritative strategies.

Indeed, Lefebvre's theories about representations and representational space map fairly closely onto those of de Certeau, another Marxist theorist on social space. De Certeau, drawing upon the Saussurean linguistic model of *langue* and *parole*¸ sees social space as a system dialectically constituted by the 'ways of operating' of those who have power and those who do not.[32] The former group exert their authority through *strategies,* controlling their environment by delimiting their environment in a geometric, Cartesian manner that allows space to be measured, ordered, and yoked to an owner or controlling institution.[33] The latter group (the powerless) exert themselves on social space through *tactics,* the 'art of the weak': deprived of the *loci* controlled by authority, this group must exist within this same area, creating a situation that simultaneously casts them as Other and which makes their actions automatically 'guileful' and in conflict with those of authority.[34]

De Certeau's theory on the *tactics* of the 'weak' and the *strategies* of authority can be joined to his phenomenological distinction between space (*espace*) and place (*lieu*) in relation to the environment and an individual's actions within it.[35] For de Certeau, *lieu* 'is the order (of whatever kind) in accord with which elements are distributed in relationships of coexistence [...] impl[ying] an indication of stability'; whereas *espace* 'exists when one takes into consideration vectors of direction, velocities, and time variables. Thus space is composed of intersections of mobile elements [...] *space* [*espace*] *is practised place* [*lieu*].'[36] Put simply, the geographical and topographical features of Jonson's London—its buildings, structures, rivers, open spaces, and so on—are places (*lieux*), material features that one could find on a map, but which are in themselves devoid of narratological meaning. These places are only activated as spaces (*espaces*) by the actions of human subjects within them and the narratives that they subsequently impose upon them—that building is a brothel, that structure a gallows, that open space a fairground—and that each person's interpretation of *espace*, their own narrative of the city, is completely unique.

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[32] Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. by Steven Rendall (Berkeley, CA; London: University of California Press, 1984), pp.xi, 29-34.
[33] De Certeau, pp.35-36.
[34] De Certeau, pp.36-37.
[35] The link between Lefebvre and de Certeau has been highlighted by James D. Mardock, *Our Scene is London: Ben Jonson's City and the Space of the Author* (New York; London: Routledge, 2008), pp.124-125.
[36] De Certeau, p.117.

One can see that de Certeau's *lieu*—with its emphasis on stable, concrete spatial elements—relates closely to Lefebvre's representations of space, which consist of the equally tangible, monumental impositions (or strategies?) made on social space by authority. Similarly, *espace*—the place 'practised' by a given area's inhabitants—corresponds closely to the notions of representational space and spatial practice, or, to use de Certeau again, the 'tactics' that an individual enacts as they move through space.

In this chapter I view Lefebvre and de Certeau's theories as complementary to each other, so I will continue to use their terminology interchangeably. Indeed, the combination of both has already been established: Mardock, following de Certeau's model, and using Soja's concept of 'thirdspace,'[37] suggests that Jonson's spatial practice reveals him taking a 'third way' between *lieu* and *espace*, using the liminal area of the playhouse—a heterogeneous site that has the capacity to contain both fictive and real environments— 'to produce *lieu*, to define the 'certaine bounds' and plot the thoroughfares of his drama, but also to populate them with competing practitioners of place, creating varied vectors of theatrical space, practices over which he could both pass judgement and have control.'[38] Mardock's 'third way' is a response to Lefebvre's question about 'what intervenes, what occupies the interstices between representations of space and representational spaces,'[39] a question that Lefebvre tentatively answered with: 'artistic creation,' but which prompted the further questions: 'By whom?' and 'How?' [...] why? and for whom?'[40] Under these conditions, the polyphonic narratives of Jacobean London becomes subsumed to Jonson's monologising authorial voice, and the playwright indicates to his audience that only particular interpreters of *espace*—those who are self-aware, discerning, and, most of all, judgemental—are the only ones he will accept in his Jonsonised version of the city.

To return to Stern's point about the 'leakiness' (my description) of the performance event, when one examines the spatial theories of Lefebvre and de Certeau purely in relation to Jonson's play, what significance is there in the audience member's journey to the playhouse, which may have been prompted by playbills advertising the event (which are, in essence, micro-performances of the event to come); and might have included travelling through streets crowded with other playgoers, and which must doubtless have been filled

[37] Edward W. Soja, *Thirdspace* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996), *passim.*
[38] Mardock, p.16.
[39] Lefebvre, p.43.
[40] Lefebvre, p.43. See also Mardock, p.125.

with myriad unprompted 'performances' within the crowd, not to mention more deliberate performances as street vendors, entertainers, even beggars plied their trade? Or what about the audience member's route through the city itself, filled with landmarks and monuments which in their own way 'performed' civic identity and the ideology of authority, making the urban environment 'a symbolic text that was both inscribed by the passage of power and communal spectacle'?[41] And, regardless of whether the audience member's destination was an amphitheatre or hall playhouse, once a spectator entered the space can one limit performance only to the theatrical event, or must one also acknowledge its numerous offstage distractions (the presence of refreshments, prostitutes, thieves, the interplay between the spectators among themselves and with the actors onstage, even the need for lavatory access),[42] as well as the impulse of many in the audience 'to see and be seen' through ostentatious behaviour and appearance?[43] Finally, did the audience simply leave after the performance, or were there offers of further entertainment, such as post-show music or (specifically in the amphitheatre venues) in the form of jigs or the other licentious delights of the Liberties outside? Not all of these questions can be answered satisfactorily,[44] but they urge one to consider performance as a total event, one that was not bounded by the 'two hours' traffic of the stage,' that included the performance of real 'actors' as well as professional ones, and which arguably began when a prospective audience member left their homes and only really ended when they finally returned to them.

As will be seen, these questions that highlight the 'leakiness' of the performance event are of particular relevance to *Bartholomew Fair* and its 'site-specificity,' as the play confronts its audience, the actors and acted-upon in the city-theatre of real London, with another interpretation of that same space within Jonson's theatrical city. I would therefore like to consider the journey a hypothetical London audience member may have made on that 31 October of 1614, the play's premier and its only recorded public performance in the

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[41] Mullaney, p.14.

[42] Gurr's *Playgoing* provides a thorough study of the offstage behaviour and habits of early modern theatre-goers. Gurr notes that there is curiously little evidence about toilet access (p.33), but see John H. Astington's 'Going at the Theatre: Toilet Facilities in the Early Playhouses,' *Theatre Notebook* 66:2 (2012), pp.98-105 for some interesting (if slightly alarming) thoughts on this matter.

[43] See chapter 2, section IV. This was an accusation that Jonson would later level against the first audience members of *The New Inn*, whose preference for public show over attention to the stage he blamed for the play's failure (see *New Inn,* The Dedication, to the Reader.6).

[44] See Gurr, *Playgoing,* who, although outlining many of these extra-dramatic possibilities, acknowledges that evidence is often too patchy to make any firm claims (pp.4-6).

seventeenth century.[45] My guide for this is principally John Stow's 1598 *Survay,* an appropriately 'peripatetic' description of London, Westminster and the Liberties,[46] a text that, in its interest in the topological and historical texture of the urban environment, identifies it as an example of chorographic literature, a genre popularised in the sixteenth century by Camden's *Britannica* (published 1586) and which 'concerns [the] specificities, particularities and peculiarities' of the areas they describe.[47] London's unprecedented population explosion in the late sixteenth century, and the massive increase in building works that accompanied it, meant that Stow's 1598 description was in many respects significantly outdated by 1614.[48] Nonetheless, there are a few salient details within the *Survay* that had not changed by the first performance of *Bartholomew Fair,* and which will help to illuminate the sort of crowded 'pre-show performance' to which Stern alludes.

If one imagines a hypothetical audience member travelling from the City of London itself, one of the first stages of their journey that stands out in some detail is their passage over London Bridge, at this point still the only major connection between the City proper and the Liberties of the south bank. Stow's description captures the bridge's monumental

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[45] The first performance was followed immediately on 1 November with a performance before the court at Whitehall. This was highly unusual, as normally a play had to be vetted well in advance before it was allowed to be performed before the King, and perhaps reflects Jonson's pre-eminent status as well as the likelihood that the play had been commissioned before rehearsals had even begun (Sturgess, p.110). Creaser opines that later readers' familiarity with the play before it was even published in the 1640 Folio indicates that it must have had additional performances. However it is intriguing that Jonson, notoriously so keen to promote his works as timeless, his Folio layout giving the impression of actors and companies working for *him* rather than the other way around, chose to keep the very time-specific Induction (on 'the one and thirtieth day of October, 1614': *Bart. Fair,* Ind.52) and Prologue to the King. The maintenance of the address to the King is understandable for marketing reasons, but is the presence of the apparently ephemeral Induction a sign that there was only one public performance, or was it kept in the published edition because Jonson felt it was somehow integral to his play? Either is possible, but neither is likely to be answered conclusively. See Creaser, 'Introduction [*Bartholomew Fair*],' in *CWBJ,* IV, pp.255, 267.

[46] Mullaney, p.15.

[47] Pearson, p. 31, who also notes that chorography holds affinities to a 'deep map [...] an attempt to record and represent the substance, grain and patina of a particular place' (p.32). The term 'deep map' comes from Pearson and Shanks, pp.64-66, specifically in reference to their own site-specific performances. See also Mimi Yiu, 'Sounding the Space between Men: Choric and Choral Cities in Ben Jonson's *Epicoene; or, the Silent Woman*,' *PMLA* 122:1 (2007) pp.72-88 (p.77).

[48] Mullaney implies that the rapidly changing environment of London and its surrounds was a prompt for Stow to conduct his *Survay* at all; Stow was writing at a time when the city could be 'read' as a 'symbolic text that was both inscribed by the passage of power and communal spectacle, and interpreted or made accessible through such ritual processes' (p.14). With London's huge population explosion and attendant expansion in the sixteenth century, the Londoners of Stow's day were dismayed by the loss of these cultural, political, and topographical markers, and the urban memorialisation of his work is 'prompted by the economic, social, and cultural changes that were transforming the face of London, making the city unrecognisable to it own citizens and obscuring the emblems and devices of community' (p.15).

impressiveness, but also conveys a sense of how claustrophobic and crowded this route must have been:

> I affirm, as in other my descriptions, that it is a work very rare, having with the drawbridge twenty arches made of squared stone, of height sixty feet, and in breadth thirty feet, distant one from another twenty feet, compact and joined together with vaults and cellars; upon both sides be houses built, so that it seemeth rather a continual street than a bridge.[49]

By passing over the bridge, the theatrical pilgrim was hit with a curious architectural juxtaposition: the stone monumentality of the 'very rare' Bridge itself, an impressive display of the city's power, must have been counterpoised by the narrowness of the route across, as its thirty foot width had to accommodate not only travellers but also buildings (later additions to the bridge whose wooden materials must have seemed flimsy when compared to the stone structure that supported them).[50] The contrast of this scene runs deeper than mere structural or material juxtapositions, though, as passage over the bridge marked the traveller's movement outside of the ancient boundaries of the City wall, a boundary of just over two miles in circumference that was no longer a defensive barrier but instead 'functioned solely as a means of symbolic definition, a monumental demarcation of the limits of community, an emblem of civic integrity.'[51] Frontier bridges, according to de Certeau, have a psychic significance of their own: they are monuments that form a link between '(legitimate) space and its (alien) exteriority,'[52] marking the boundaries of power in a manner that paradoxically demonstrates its limits and its limitations.[53] It is appropriate to speak of London Bridge as lying on a frontier, as the Liberties beyond it were officially outside of the City's jurisdiction, so that anyone travelling into that area would be 'crossing over into an ambiguous territory that was at once internal and external to the city, neither contained by civic authority nor fully removed from it.'[54] Although this detail is not documented by Stow, the heads of traitors

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[49] John Stow, *A Survay of London: Contayning the Originall, Antiquity, Increase, Modern Estate, and Description of That Citie, Written in the Year 1598,* ed. by Henry Morley (London: Routledge, 1893), p.56.
[50] The structural weaknesses of at least some of these buildings is attested by Stow, who records that in 1481 'a house called the common siege on London Bridge fell down into the Thames; through the fall whereof five men were drowned.' Stow, p.56.
[51] Mullaney, p.20. See also Chalfont, p.120.
[52] De Certeau, p.126.
[53] Mullaney, p.21.
[54] Mullaney, p.21.

were also exhibited over the gates at both ends of the bridge,[55] grisly reminders of civic and royal authority that pointedly stood as markers over the point of entry and exit into the City proper, and which consequently also hinted at the limits of that authority beyond. Already at this stage of the journey, therefore, Jonson's audience member will have been exposed not only to the crowded realities of early modern London life but in making the 'passage into a domain of cultural licence'[56] he or she would have also had to move through several monumental representations, and unpleasant reminders, of the authority of the city in which they resided.

Wealthier travellers may have compounded the problem of movement across the Bridge still further by opting to travel by coach, a method of transport that was causing severe traffic flow problems in London by 1609[57]—an issue raised in a petition of 1619 that complained that the city's thoroughfares contained 'such multitudes of Coaches [...] that sometimes all our streets cannot contain them.'[58] Of course, theatre patrons with disposable income had another transport option in the form of boats that would cross from the north bank of the Thames and would drop their clients off at landing sites like St Mary Overy Stairs, near the Globe.[59] As Fig. 4.1 and Fig. 4.2 show, however, nautical transportation is not likely to have been much less chaotic, or much more comfortable: the Thames by 1614 was one of the busiest commercial waterways in the world, and even the earlier (and admittedly more symbolic than representative)[60] drawings of Fig. 4.1 (1561) and Fig. 4.2 (1543) show the river filled with an array of vessels. If one combines this crowded picture with the assaults on the nose caused by the Thames serving as a sewage- as much as a water-way, and the deafening noise from under the Bridge, caused 'not only by the rush of water dropping from one level to another, but also by the working of forciers or watermills constructed in 1582 to meet the city's growing water needs,'[61] one is given the sense that ferry travel would not have provided a much more comfortable experience to that of those travelling by foot.

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[55] Chalfont, p.118.

[56] Mullaney, p.75.

[57] Gurr, *Playgoing,* p.35.

[58] Quoted in Gurr, *Playgoing,* p.41.

[59] Gurr, *Playgoing,* p.34.

[60] See D.K. Smith, *The Cartographic Imagination in Early Modern England* (Ashgate: Aldershot, 2008), pp.1-2; also P.D.A. Harvey, *Maps in Tudor England* (London: Public Record Office and the British Library, 1993).

[61] Chalfant, p.119.

Regardless of his or her manner of conveyance, once the pleasure-seeking Londoner reached the south bank of the Thames they had entered an area where many of the typical restraints imposed by the City upon its inhabitants were suspended. The economic opportunities that London offered and the concomitant decline in rural commerce, due in part to the pernicious effect of enclosures, meant that the bounds outside the City proper became increasingly more populated from the end of the sixteenth century,[62] and Stow's 1598 description already paints a claustrophobic picture when he says the area 'consisteth of divers streets, ways, and winding lanes, all full of buildings, inhabited,' which extended even up to the bank of the Thames itself, where 'there is now a continual building of tenements.'[63] In amongst this cramped living space was an odd mixture of authority and licentiousness, the profane and the sacred, including ecclesiastical residences, parish churches, lazar houses, prisons (including the Clink, 'a jail or prison for the trespassers in those parts [...] such as should brabble, fray, or break the peace on the [south] bank'[64]), taverns, game-houses, and brothels (which Stow, with amusingly prudish economy, describes as 'for the repair of incontinent men to the like women').[65] The prospective theatre-goer would have had to move through these various and oddly juxtaposed sites, and may even have been side-tracked into entering some of them. Overall the picture is a chaotic one, but conjures up an impression of the theatregoer's spatial practice requiring constant negotiations with representations of institutionalised authority and subversive licence.

Stow's 1598 *Survay* was too early to document the Globe (built 1599) or the Hope (1613), but it is odd that he mentions neither the Rose (in operation 1587-1605) nor the Swan (c.1594-1632) in his description of the Liberty's sites and sights. Nonetheless he does document the presence of another form of immensely popular entertainment that has some relevance to Jonson's play:

> [T]o return to the west bank, there be two bear-gardens, the old and new places, wherein be kept bears, bulls, and other beasts, to be baited; as also mastiffs in several kennels, nourished to bait them.[66]

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[62] For more about London's pronounced population increase during the period, see Mullaney, p.15.
[63] Stow, p.369.
[64] Stow, p.371.
[65] Stow, p.370.
[66] Stow, p.370.

Fig. 4.1. Section of the 'Agas Map' of London, depicting the city c.1561. This image is taken from an interactive version of the map, with key areas highlighted, which are: London Bridge (highlighted in brown – note the crowding together of houses in the illustration); St Mary's Overy Stairs (yellow); the site of the (yet to be built) Globe (purple); and the 'Bullbaiting' ring, roughly where the Hope would eventually be situated (blue). http://mapoflondon.uvic.ca/agas.htm? [date accessed 1 November 2015]. Wickham records that the contract for building the Hope specified that it be built 'near or upon' the site of the Beargarden, which, like the Hope, had been owned by Henslowe and Meade (p.595); the 'Beargarden' is located directly above the site where the Globe would eventually be located.
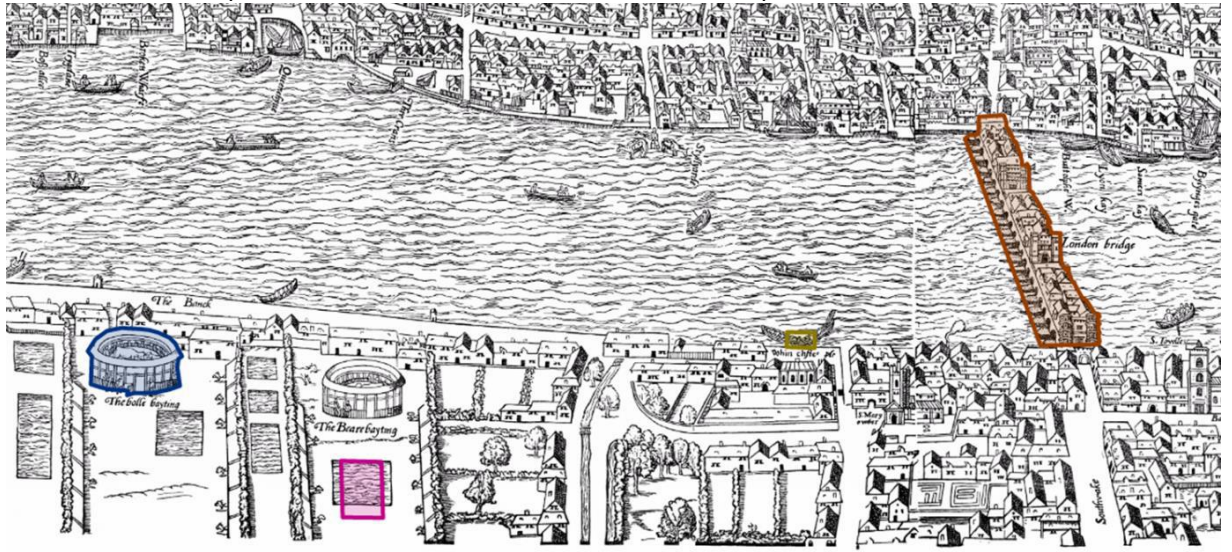


Fig. 4.2. An engraving made by N. Whittock in 1849, based on Anthony van den Wyngaerde's *Panorama of London* (1543). Although the image can be taken as a fairly accurate representation of London's panorama in this period, van den Wyngaerde was known to have embellished his engraving with additional illustrations, so there are perhaps elements of this scene (such as the crowding of ships on the Thames) that need to be treated with caution.**https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Panorama_of_London_in_1543_Wyngaerde_Section_2.jpg** [date Accessed 10 Nov 2015].

These animal-baiting houses are of material interest because it was 'near or upon' the site of one of them that the Hope would be built (see Fig. 4.1).[67] The playhouse, built on the site of the old Beargarden owned by the theatrical impresario Philip Henslowe and his actor step-son Edward Alleyn, was an investment made by Henslowe and Jacob Meade, a waterman, who hoped to capitalise on the popularity of theatre and animal baiting. The Hope was one of the last amphitheatre playhouses to be built, its interior apparently modelled on the earlier Swan Theatre,[68] although with the added novelty that the stage area was designed to be 'fit and convenient [...] both for players to play in and for the game of bulls and bears to be baited in.'[69] Due to an arrangement that the players would occupy the space on certain days of the week and animals on the others, the stage stood on portable trestles and the roof overhanging this stage was designed so that no supporting pillars intruded into the space where the stage would customarily stand.[70] Because of its dual role, the performance area was therefore more versatile than the other theatres, and it is in the Hope's *ad hoc* structural configuration that one sees a faint echo of the equally ephemeral social space of Bartholomew Fair itself.[71]

As the Hope's patrons entered the yard or galleries,[72] though, I suspect that it would not have been this spatial versatility that would have struck the theatre-goer, but the smell. Stow remarks ambiguously that the bears and bulls were kept 'within' the baiting rings which had predated the Hope, and the living arrangements do not seem to have changed much by 1614: Jonson's Induction teases that he 'hath observed a special decorum' in setting his fictional Bartholomew Fair within the playhouse because 'the place being as dirty as Smithfield [the site of the Fair], and as stinking every whit,' thereby satisfying his imagined interlocutors' demands for stage verisimilitude (*Bart. Fair,* Ind.98-100). The Induction also includes the Book-Holder referring to one of the Stage-Keeper's duties as

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[67] Wickham, Berry, and Ingram, p.375.

[68] The contract drawn up between Henslowe, Meade and the carpenter engaged to build the theatre specifies that the Hope be built 'the same of such large compass, form, wideness and height as the playhouse called the Swan in the liberty of Paris Garden.' Quoted in *English Professional Theatre,* ed. by Wickham, Berry, and Ingram, p.598.

[69] Henslowe and Meade contract, quoted in *English Professional Theatre,* eds. by Wickham, Berry, and Ingram, p.598.

[70] Wickham, Berry, and Ingram, p.598.

[71] Andrew Brown, 'Theatre of Judgement: Space, Spectators, and the Epistemologies of Law in *Bartholomew Fair,' Early Theatre* 15:2 (2012), pp. 154-167, (p.156).

[72] Again, the yard and galleries surrounding it appear to have been modelled on the equivalents at the Swan (Wickham, Berry, and Ingram, p.598).

'gathering up the broken apples for the bears *within*' (Ind.39-39, my emphasis), locating them in the same undefined offstage space where we found Jonson's magnetic centres residing in chapter 1. Like Stow, Jonson favours the same mysterious 'within' to refer to the animals' location, but considering the increasingly frequent use of 'within' in theatrical contexts to refer to the offstage area from which actors exited and entered,[73] this throws up the intriguing proposition that animals and actors shared the same area behind the wall of the tiring house. Jonson could of course be suggesting the image of actors and ursine 'performers' sharing the same space for comic effect, but at the very least his positioning of them within the same unseen offstage area has the effect of conflating the two together. Considering the aggressive, dog-eat-dog tenor of the play that follows it is very tempting to think that the playwright is subtly hinting that his work will be a not much different (although much less bloody) version of the violent entertainment that could be seen at the Hope on other days of the week; more tempting still, if one considers that one of the play's central characters, who spends the play baiting and being baited in turn, is none other than Ursula, the 'she-bear.'[74]

It is here that the stage-mirrors of chapter 3 make a reappearance, for what is interesting about joining an imagined audience member on their journey to the Hope is that it raises the idea that this spectator would be taking their own experiences of real London into a space that allowed Jonson to reflect it back to them on his own terms. As will be seen later in this chapter, Jonson is at pains to stress that his play has a *degree* of verisimilitude to the 'real' London beyond the playhouse walls; crucially, though, the artifice and artificiality of the theatrical event means that no play could ever be truly verisimiltudinous, at best it is an echo (or a ghost?) of reality. However, perhaps one should consider the journey to the playhouse and the experience inside it not as two separate moments, the audience mentally separating their engagement with 'real' London with the 'fictive' London they see at the Hope, but rather as points on the experiential map that constitutes that audience member's entire day. This audience member is never completely transported outside of themselves during the course of the play, they will always remain aware of themselves as spectators, standing in a yard or sitting in a seat, watching a performance that they would

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[73] Turner, esp. pp. 24, 29-30, 37, 176-177, 196.

[74] Aside from the references to bear baiting, *Bartholomew Fair*'s puppet play may also have been a nod to the entertainments offered at the Hope: see Leah S. Marcus, 'Pastimes and the Purging of Theatre, *Bartholomew Fair* (1614),' in *Staging the Renaissance,* ed. by Kastan and Stallybrass), pp.196-209 (p.203), who points out that puppet shows appear to have followed bear baitings at the Hope.

acknowledge as artificial, and after the play concludes they would leave and travel to another part of the city or its surrounding environment. From a purely phenomenological perspective though, the audience member's real London is exchanged for the 'two hours and a half, and somewhat more' of *Bartholomew Fair* (Ind.59-60) with a Jonsonian imitation: the fictive London that Jonson presents to them in the playhouse is a real, tangible experience, part of a real, tangible theatrical event; whereas the 'real' London outside can only be accessed through memorial reconstruction. The ghost of Jonson's Fair is suddenly more real than the audience's ghostly memories of the genuine article, and it is through the inversion of epistemological certainties provided by the theatrical event that the playwright can manipulate the perceptions of his spectators. And it is through this phenomenological process, particular to theatre, that Jonson achieves his 'third way,' using his play to assert his authority over his audience and the City outside.

# IV

Jonson would not approve, but if we now were to break the unities of place and time to 'waft o'er the seas' (cf. *EMI* (F), Pro.15) and travel back in time nearly two thousand years, from early modern London to Republican Rome, we would begin to see a set of audience conditions that were in some ways analogous to those of Jonson's London. Similar to the situation in fifth-century Athens, but different to the commercial theatre of early modern London, where plays were performed (plague permitting) through the whole year,[75] the plays of Plautus and Terence were produced during the *ludi,* public religious festivals produced at specific times of the year at the expense of appointed officials.[76] Despite the religious component, however, the status of the *ludi scaenici* ('scenic entertainments') was much lower than those at Athens; plays were only a small part of an entertainment programme that could include acrobats, chariot races, gladiatorial combats, boxing matches, animal baiting, and other forms of scenic entertainment, like the mime or the Atellan farce.[77] The *fabulae palliatiae* of Plautus and Terence suffered from the

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[75] Gurr, *Playgoing,* pp.3, 11-12; *Shakespearean Stage,* pp.14-15.

[76] Kathleen Coleman, 'Entertaining Rome,' in *Ancient Rome: The Archaeology of the Eternal City,* ed. by Jon Coulston and Hazel Dodge (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), pp.210-258 (p.220).

[77] The varied programme of the *ludi* is attested by several ancient writers: see Livy XXIII.xxx.15,39-46; Valerius Maximus, *Memorabilia* II.iv.7; Horace, *Epist.* II.i.185-6; Macrobius II.vii.12-16; Suetonius, *Galba* VI.i.

additional problem of being viewed by the more conservative elements of Roman society as a foreign artistic importation from a supposedly effeminate Greek culture.[78] These plays were popular with a wide cross-section of Roman society,[79] but certainly during Plautus' period they had to contend with a reputation of 'unRomanness,' a sentiment that was especially deep-seated among Rome's old aristocracy,[80] and unlike the celebration of localised, civic pride in the *polis* evident in performances at the Athenian City Dionysia or the Lenaia, the Roman *fabulae palliatae* did not constitute a central religious function in the *ludi*, nor did its audience view it as an expression of the community at large. Instead, the *fabulae palliatae* had the status of a popular (albeit foreign) oddity on an already crowded entertainment bill that was performed for an audience that, although not as crude in their dramatic tastes as academics once imagined,[81] were still not inclined to view them as socially and politically important as their Athenian cousins would have done.

When Plautus was writing Rome had not yet reached the level of gross excesses of public entertainment that it would descend to in the later Imperial period,[82] but Republican Rome still had a number of *ludi* throughout the year in which *ludi scaenici* could be staged. At the start of Plautus' career there were three such *ludi*—the *ludi Apollinares* ('Apolline games')*, the *ludi Romani* ('Roman games')*, and the *ludi Plebii* ('plebeian games')— although these would be joined by a fourth—the *ludi Megalenses* ('games of the Great Mother')—in 194BC, close to the playwright's death.[83] Aside from these officially designated celebrations Plautus and his fellow dramatists could also perform at irregular events like the *ludi magni* ('great games')*, ludi votivi* ('votive games')*, the ludi Iuventatis* ('games of the Youth')*, or the *ludi funebras* ('funeral games'), the last of which were privately organised funeral games to commemorate important and wealthy Roman citizens, and which could theoretically be held at any point in the year.[84] These last events

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[78] Beacham, p.15.
[79] Sandbach, p.109.
[80] Beacham, p.15.
[81] See Slater, who refutes the opinions of earlier academics, including Sandbach, who saw the Roman theatrical tradition as a relatively new phenomenon by Plautus' time. See also Marshall, who provides a useful diagram of dramatic influences that Roman society had been exposed to by this period, which included not only the tragedies and comedies of Greece but also the Roman tragedies of Livius Andronicus (c.284-204BC, Rome's first documented playwright), and the unscripted performances of the Atellan farce and the mime (p.3).
[82] Csapo and Slater record that by 325AD there were 176 festival days at Rome out of a calendar year of 355 days, in comparison to 36 in 100BC and 59 in 44BC (p.209).
[83] Marshall, p.17. See also Csapo and Slater, p.208.
[84] Marshall, pp.47-48.

were however, by their very nature, occasional, and it would doubtless have been unwise for the aspiring dramatist to place too much hope on a convenient death among the aristocracy to fill his company's coffers. The official opportunities for performances were therefore small: Marshall calculates that when Plautus began as a dramatist there were 'at least nine performance days' across three festivals in which *ludi scaenici* were permitted, which grew to 'perhaps fifteen performance days' by 194BC,[85] although Csapo and Slater observe that these dates may have been greatly increased by privately financed entertainments (such as *ludi funebras* or triumphal processions) 'of which we know nothing.'[86]

As an important element of a growing (yet still comparatively small) festive calendar, intimately involved in the rhythms of civic life, but nonetheless viewed with suspicion by its city's moral guardians, the Roman stage already reveals similarities with the theatre scene of early modern London, which, despite its huge popularity with members of every social order, including the court, was continually bombarded with the threat of closure by the City fathers and those who thought it a breeding ground for sedition, plague, and lewd behaviour.[87] Whereas an uneasy compromise was met in Jonson's London by locating the playing spaces outside of the City boundaries, the theatre's ideologically problematic status was signalled physically in Rome by a total lack of permanent auditoria.[88] Instead, Roman playwrights were accustomed to writing plays that were performed in front of a wooden *scaena frons* and seating its audience either using already-existing architectural features like temple steps or on impermanent wooden seating that, like the set itself, was easily transportable.[89] Roman comedies were therefore in the unusual situation of needing to be non 'venue-specific' while simultaneously holding a close affinity with their location,

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[85] Marshall, p.17.
[86] Csapo and Slater, p.209.
[87] Gurr, *Playgoing,* pp.147-148.
[88] An initial attempt to erect a stone theatre at Rome was made in 155BC, thirty years after Plautus' death and several after Terence's, but was halted because of the perceived immorality of play-acting; audiences would have to wait another century until a permanent theatre was built by Pompey in 55BC. The resistance to theatre building apparently had a political as well as a moral dimension; senators were reluctant to create spaces that could allow large unsupervised gatherings to take place, and even more reluctant to grant opportunities for the sort of prestige that such monuments would bring to powerful individuals or families willing to finance them. See Sandbach, p.108; Tim Cornell, 'The City of Rome in the Middle Republic (400-100BC),' in *Ancient Rome,* ed. by Coulston and Dodge, pp. 42-60 (pp. 53-54).
[89] Coleman, 'Entertaining Rome,' in *Ancient Rome,* ed. by Coulston and Dodge, pp.219-220.

having to respond to the exigencies of wherever they were placed, and at times incorporating the permanent architectural features that surrounded them.[90]

Fig. 4.3. Map of the Roman Forum c.254BC, the year of Plautus' birth. Buildings and monuments present in this period are highlighted and numbered. See the locational key to Figs 4.3-4.5 below for a full explanation of these buildings' functions. Taken from *Digital Roman Forum,* <**http://dlib.etc.ucla.edu/projects/Forum/timemap>** [date accessed 10 November 2015].



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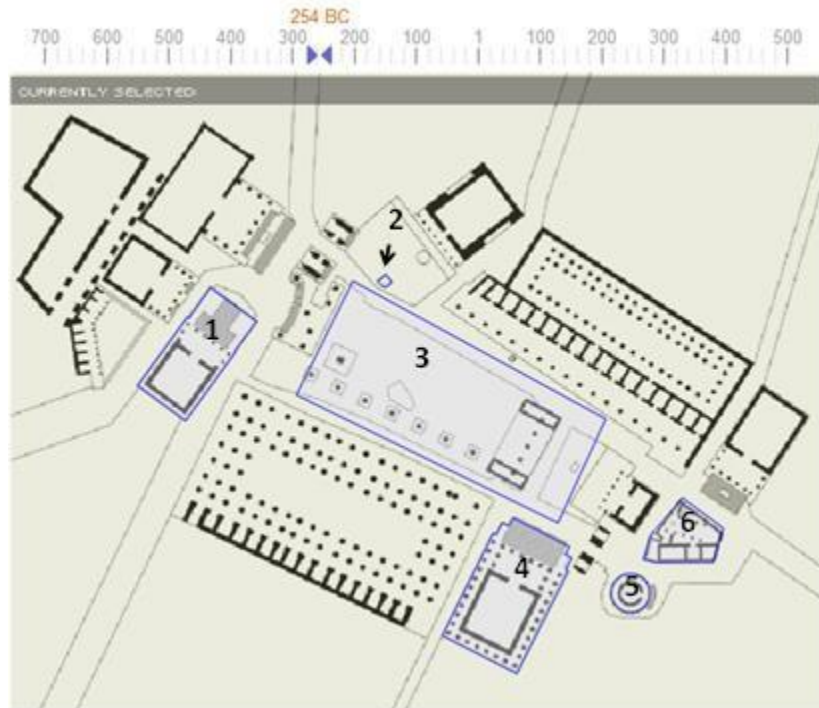
[90] Coleman, 'Entertaining Rome,' in *Ancient Rome,* ed. by Coulston and Dodge, p.220.

Fig. 4.4. Map of the Roman Forum c.194BC, approximate to the years in which *Curculio, Bacchides* and *Pseudolus* were performed. Buildings and monuments present in this period are highlighted, additions since 254BC (Fig. 4.3) are numbered. Taken from *Digital Roman Forum,* <**http://dlib.etc.ucla.edu/projects/Forum/timemap>** [date accessed 10 November 2015].
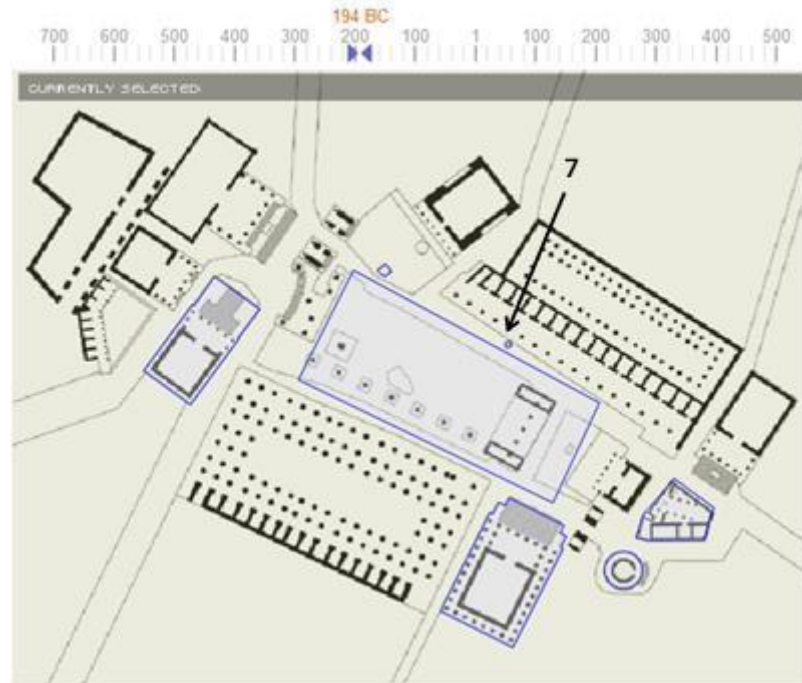


Fig. 4.5. Map of the Roman Forum c.160BC, the year of Terence's death. Buildings and monuments added by this period are numbered. Taken from *Digital Roman Forum,* <**http://dlib.etc.ucla.edu/projects/Forum/timemap>** [date accessed 10 November 2015].
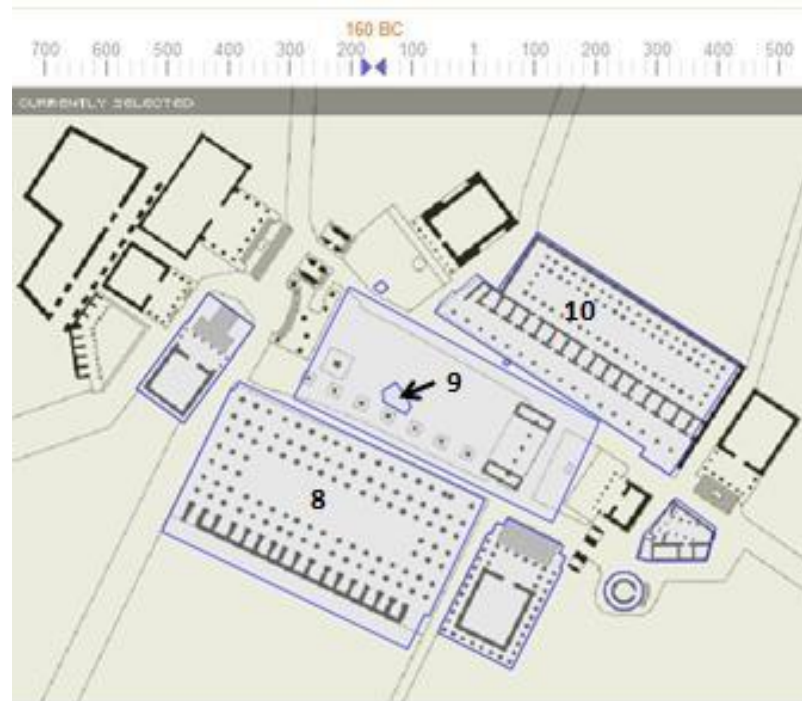
Locational Key to Figs 4.3-4.5

| No. | Name | Notes[91] |
|-----|------|-----------|
| 1 | *Aedes Saturnus* ('Temple of Saturn') | Dedicated around the late sixth-century or the early fifth century BC, this was the oldest Roman temple on record, and also housed the public treasury |
| 2 | *Niger Lapis* ('Black Stone') | a shrine that possibly marked the location of an archaic cult area, although Republicans associated the site with the burial of an ancient king or notable figure |
| 3 | *Forum Romanum* ('Roman Forum') | Established in the late seventh century BC, this was one of Rome's earliest sites for public meetings and, as it was surrounded by temples, law courts, treasuries, burial sites and monuments, an important civic, legal and religious space |
| 4 | *Aedes Castor* ('Temple of Castor') | First vowed c.484BC, this was the site of the temple of Castor and Pollux and, according to tradition, close to the spring of Juturna, where the pair were reportedly seen after helping Roman forces at the battle of Lake Regillus (c.499/6BC) |
| 5 | *Aedes Vesta* ('Temple of Vesta') | Housed the cult of Vesta, which was apparently founded in the early regal period (753-673BC) |
| 6 | *Regia* ('The House of the King') | Tradition states that the house of the ancient King Numa was located around this site (715-673BC), but in more recent centuries had been the home of the high priest (known as the *rex sacrificulus* or *pontex maximus*) |
| 7 | *Sacrum Cloacina* ('Shrine to the Sewer') | Shrine marking the brook that ran through the Forum, which also served as a sewer. Legend claims that the shrine was built in the mid-eight century BC; it later came to be associated with 'Venus of the Sewer' |
| 8 | *Basilica Iulia* ('Julian Basilica') | The *Digital Roman Forum* records building works as beginning c.55-54BC, but also identifies it as present in 160BC (see Fig. 4.5). The basilica, when built, housed the centumviral court as well as shops, so perhaps the space was used for similar purposes before building works began |
| 9 | *Lacus Curtius* ('The Lake of Curtius') | Only monumentalised in 184BC, but associated with legends from the eighth century, Rome's mythic foundational period |
| 10 | *Basilica Aemelia* ('The Aemilian Basilica') | Building work on the Basilica, considered one of Rome's most magnificent public structures, began in 179BC, and contained shops. |

Evidence for the exact locations where *ludi scaenici* were performed is patchy, but there is an irony in the fact that these suspiciously foreign dramatic productions were not staged on the margins of the urban centre—like the morally questionable drama of Jonson's age—but rather appear to have been located in the heart of Rome itself. I would like to draw attention to one location in particular, the *Forum Romanum* ('Roman Forum'), an urban space located in the valley between the Palatine and Capitoline Hills that was one of the oldest and busiest hubs of Roman civic, religious and commercial life (note its presence in all three of the Forum's stages as noted in Figs. 4.3-5), and which could well have provided the location for some of the plays this chapter will examine. Claridge notes that the Forum was over a thousand years old by 283AD, when the entire area was

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[91] Information taken from *Digital Roman Forum,* <http://dlib.etc.ucla.edu/projects/Forum/timemap> [date accessed 20 March 2016].

remodelled following a terrible fire, and that by this point 'it had acquired the status of a museum and a monument to [the Romans'] increasingly remote past, a talisman which protected them against an increasingly uncertain future.'[92] Figs. 4.3-5 support this view by showing the site in all its jumbled confusion, a palimpsest of many centuries of building works that, as the key highlights, span the full range of the sublime to the mundane, including temples and shrines (1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7), sites significant to Rome's foundational legends (2, 4, 5, 6, 9), the state treasury (1), shopping precincts (8, 10, although these buildings post-date Plautus), and the local sewer (7). Aside from these permanent representations of space, the Forum was also frequently included in triumph routes—the state-sponsored itinerary that simultaneously celebrated the military achievements of one of Rome's sons while, through the event's projection of the corporate identity of civic Rome, subsumed that same individual firmly beneath the greater power of the city to which he belonged.[93] As with early modern London, whose limits were inscribed with the represented space of authority's monuments, filled with the licit and illicit social spaces of those inhabitants that authority dominated, and whose civic identity was regularly asserted and renewed through the processional routes of pageants and Lord Mayor's processions,[94] the Roman Forum thus reveals itself as a complex social space, a palimpsest layered with multiple levels of architectural, spatial, and kinetic signification.

Furthermore, I think there is at least a serendipitous coincidence that the Roman Forum contained another landmark that since earlier times had marked the city's symbolic centre, and from which all distances in relation to the city were measured. The site is marked today by a stone, apparently laid down centuries after Plautus and Terence, known as the *umbilicus urbis Romae*.[95] '*Umbilicus*' has a figurative sense of 'centre' but means more literally 'navel,' an ambiguity of meaning that elides the civic body of Rome with the corporeality of the citizens who reside within it.[96] Interestingly,

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[92] Amanda Claridge, *Rome: An Oxford Archaeological Guide* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), p.61.

[93] See Mary Beard, *The Roman Triumph* (Cambridge, MA; London: Belknap Press, 2006), *passim.* Beard's work provides some useful historical context on the Roman triumph, but also introduces some interesting nuance by rejecting the stereotyped reading that the event was purely an expression of military jingoism and martial strength, and argues instead that 'the triumph was the context and the prompt for some of the most critical thinking on the dangerous ambivalence of success and military glory' (p.4).

[94] Paster, *Idea of the City,* pp.124-125; Mardock, pp.11-19.

[95] Samuel Ball Platner, *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome,* rev. ed. (London: Oxford University Press, 1929), p.544.

[96] '*umbilicus*': [I] 'navel;' [IIA.] 'umbilical cord;' [IIB.] 'middle, centre.' In *LS.*

Lewis and Short link the Latin *umbilicus* to the Greek 'ὀμφαλός' ('navel'); a term also used to refer to marker stones in ancient Greek society, the most famous of which was at Delphi, which Platner believes provided a direct inspiration for the Roman name.[97] Although it is uncertain whether the 'navel' tag was current to the Republic or if it was a later addition, it is tempting to see this stone (along with the *fabulae palliatae*) as another Hellenic invader into the Roman Forum, penetrating further into the heart of the city than any real force had managed for centuries. Regardless of its exact name though, this topographic centre point clearly held great ideological and geopolitical significance for what it meant to be 'Roman;' it served as a mystical link between Rome's mythic past and its present, between individual corporeality and the body politic, and stood as a physical marker to the other parts of the city, which were defined as 'part of Rome' by their spatial relation to it.

And it was at this ideologically and semiotically charged site that at least three different *ludi*—the *ludi Romani,* the *ludi Plebii,* and the non-calendrical *ludi funebras*—were probably staged.[98] It is hard not to see the Forum's juxtaposition of grand monuments, religious sites and areas for more quotidian pursuits as an analogue to the crowded and equally spatially dissonant urban space of Jonson's London, but for the purposes of this chapter the early modern city enjoyed a crucial advantage over its ancient counterpart: it had a designated place for performance. Evidence for staging conditions in the Roman Republic are even scarcer than that for staging locations, but due to the ephemeral nature of the *ludi* it seems certain that each of the three would have required slightly different configurations for stage and audience areas. The performances of the *ludi Romani* and *Plebii* may have been in the open space of the Comitium, a site in the Forum used since ancient times for public meetings and religious celebrations, with the audience sitting on its steps.[99] The *ludi funebras,*

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[97] Platner, p.544.

[98] Marshall, p.36. The *ludi Romani,* held in September and lasting four days, was the oldest of the festivals, and the setting for the first performance of *ludi scaenici* by Livy Andronicus in 240BC; the *ludi Plebii* was held in November and three performance days; as already mentioned, the *ludi funebras* were privately organised funeral games for important and wealthy individuals, and could theoretically be held at any point in the year. See Marshall, pp.16, 47-48.

[99] Marshall, pp.44-45. If at least some of Plautus' plays were staged in the Comitium, this would prove to be an unusual quirk of historical fate. Richardson records that, by the beginning of the third century BC at the latest, the centre of this area was developed to consist of 'a circular amphitheatre of steps rising on all sides, on which the citizens stood in their assemblies, while in front of the curia these steps

because of their heavy association with gladiatorial entertainment, appear to have been held in specially-built (but impermanent) wooden amphitheatres,[100] but a lack of physical evidence and the comparative ease with which temporary structures could be built meant that there were several parts of the Forum in which this could be placed. There are some indications that efforts were made to section off the performance space from the Forum's traffic with temporary barriers,[101] and the possible use of *vela* ('sails'), brightly covered sheets that served as a canopy for the audience,[102] might in addition have provided some soundproofing from the noises of the Forum itself.[103]

In sum, the available evidence suggests that Roman comedy, when compared to its Old Comic predecessor, and despite still being attached to the religious festivals of the city that hosted it, was much diminished in its immediate civic and political significance, and had become another item on an entertainment bill that, although paying lip service to religious devotion, seems to have been valued for the political gains its sponsors could accrue from its organisation, rather than the content of the drama itself. Attendant on this shift in attitude was a lack of fixed performance space, and Roman playwrights like Plautus and Terence were accustomed to writing for stage conditions that, despite some fairly effective technical support, were temporary, their status emphasised literally through their need to accommodate themselves among Rome's permanent landmarks, and their offerings had to compete with their marginalised status by offering material that was *entertaining* first and foremost. As a result, Plautus and Terence had to develop dramaturgical techniques that would both

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formed a stair of approach to the speakers' platform and senate house.' Although this fact is no doubt accidental, how appropriate is it to think that Roman comedy may have been staged in the same sort of architectural structure as its Greek predecessors; a structure, moreover, that seems to have been as intimately connected, both spatially and ideologically, with the political life of its city as one finds between the stage and political spaces of fifth century Athens. See L. Richardson, 'Comitium,' in *Digital Roman Forum,* <http://dlib.etc.ucla.edu/projects/Forum/resources/Richardson/Comitium> [date accessed 10 Nov 2015].

[100] Marshall, pp.43-44.

[101] Slightly later evidence for this practice is provided by Cicero, *Sest.* CXXIV.i, and Ovid, *Am.* III.ii.64.

[102] Marshall outlines that the use of *vela* during Plautus and Terence's period needs to be treated with caution, as the evidence comes from later sources. Pliny's *HN* XIX.xxiii claims that Caesar covered the entire Forum with *vela* for one entertainment, but he, along with Valerius Maximus (II.iv.6) state that this was an innovation made around 69BC, a century after Plautus and Terence. However, Livy (XXVII.xxxvi.8) records that the Comitium was covered with *vela* from 208BC, and Marshall sees 'no reason to doubt' this claim (p.45).

[103] The use of *vela* during the first performance of *Curculio* problematises the Choragus' ability to point directly to specific sites in the Forum, but we can at least say that the audience would have been aware of the proximity of these locations.

allow them to keep their audience's attention and condition them to respond in particular ways. I will return to the *Forum Romanum* later, but I would like to emphasise that this site houses the same sort of dissonant juxtapositions—authority and irreverence, past and present, permanent and ephemeral—that will be found in *Bartholomew Fair,* the Hope theatre, and in that play and that playhouse's relationship with the spatial-temporal frame of the city that encompassed them.

<div align="center">V</div>

So how are the observations I have made so far of relevance to Jonson's imitation of Plautus? In the sections that follow I suggest that the answer lies in the physical position of playing spaces in the societies of both of these playwrights, and how both used the spatial-temporal resonances (or site-specificity) of their environment as an active ingredient in their dramaturgy. Geographical space is only one element, however, and equal consideration must be given to the conceptual space that these theatrical venues held in their societies, and which can best be explored through Foucault's notions of *utopias* and *heterotopias.* Foucault argues that the 'space' in which people live—in contrast to post-Cartesian epistemologies inspired by Euclidean geometry, which see space as dividable, measurable, mappable, 'homogeneous and isotropic'[104]—is fundamentally 'heterogeneous.'[105] As individuals 'we live inside a set of relations that delineates sites which are irreducible to one another and absolutely not superimposable on one another,'[106] meaning that within the urban space of, say, early modern London or Republican Rome, there is a vast variety of Londons or Romes all operating simultaneously. Similar to Lefebvre's notion of spatial practice and de Certeau's *espace*, these pluralised Londons and Romes are subjective interpretations of space that are shaped and performed by those cities' inhabitants, individuals whose constant engagement with and interpretation of the space around them casts them as actors and

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[104] Lefebvre, p.86. See also M. Merleau-Ponty, *Phenomenology of Perception* [1962], trans. by Colin Smith (London; New York: Routledge, 1994).

[105] Michel Foucault, 'Of Other Spaces: Utopias and Heterotopias [1967],' trans. by Jay Miskowiec, *Diacritics* 16 (1986), pp.1-9 (p.3).

[106] Lefebvre makes a useful analogy when he compares the diversity of social space—a concept drawing on a similar philosophy to Foucault's notion of heterotopias and utopias—to 'flaky *mille-feuille* pastry' (p.86), a structure composed of many intricate layers, tightly pressed together and sometimes interlinked.

acted-upon in their own private dramas. Foucault is not interested in space in general, however, but instead focuses in on two types of site in particular. The first are *utopias:*

> Utopias are sites with no real place. They are sites that have a general relation of direct or inverted analogy with the real space of Society. They present society itself in a perfected form, or else society turned upside down, but in any case these utopias are fundamentally unreal spaces.[107]

As Foucault and the playful Morean origin of the word indicate, utopias do not really exist,[108] but he offers a more concrete social environment in which these 'fundamentally unreal spaces' can exist:

> There are also, probably in every culture, in every civilization, real places—places that do exist and that are formed in the very founding of society— which are something like counter-sites, a kind of effectively enacted utopia in which the real sites, all the other real sites that can be found within the culture, are simultaneously represented, contested, and inverted. Places of this kind are outside of all places, even though it may be possible to indicate their location in reality.[109]

In Foucault's formulation, the heterotopic 'counter-site,' a place apart from typical space,[110] offers spatial and ideological distance from which the regular spaces of social interaction can be interpreted and interrogated. Interestingly, Foucault offers a variation on the heterotopia in his description of *heterochronies,* 'slices in time [...] absolutely temporal' events that use space contrary to how it is typically employed. He specifically identifies fairgrounds as heterochronic, giving us an obvious link with Jonson's subject, but we might also add that the performance conditions of the Plautine stage itself, which had to take advantage of a given space in an equally restricted timeframe, equally belongs to this category. Whether these heterotopias are located in the physical geographical

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[107] Foucault, p.3.

[108] The word, the namesake of More's satirical tract on a fantastical country (*Utopia,* 1516), is a neologism derived from the ancient Greek οὐ ('not, no', although, to add to More's playfully ambiguous tone, perhaps εu, 'good', 'well'), 'τόπος' ('place') and the Latin suffix '-*ia*.' There were apparently more than a few readers who missed the ludic playfulness of the work and believed the land and More's narrator, Raphael Hythloday, to be genuine (see Duncan, pp.64-66), but learned readers could not have missed the clue on the title page: utopia, quite literally, was 'no-place.' If any further clue was needed, Hythloday also translates from the Greek as a 'speaker of nonsense,' or 'nonsense-peddler.' See 'utopia' n., in *OED*; Thomas More, *Utopia*, in *The Norton Anthology of English Literature: Volume 1*, ed. by Stephen Greenblatt and M.H. Abrams, 8th ed (New York; London: Norton, 2006), pp.521-522 (n.1, n.7).

[109] Foucault, pp.3-4.

[110] Again, 'heterotopia' derives from the Greek: the prefix 'ἕτερος' ('the other of two, other, different'), 'τόπος' ('place') and the Latin suffix '-*ia,*'— a rough translation might be 'the other place.'

hinterland of an urban space (as with early modern London) or in the temporal space of holiday licence (Republican Rome), one can therefore see that both Jonson and Plautus work within similar heterotopian/heterochronic environments. In fact, their hetero-connections go deeper still, as Foucault identifies the theatre itself, 'capable of juxtaposing in a single real place several spaces, several sites that are in themselves incompatible,' is an inherently heterotopian artistic medium.[111] Jonson and Plautus are therefore able to rely on and manipulate the hetereogeneity of both the site and the content of their plays, creating a rapport between both that seems remarkably similar to McLucas' concept of the site-specific *host* and *ghost*.

In the sections that follow I will highlight how Jonson and Plautus share similar dramaturgical techniques in the manner in which they frame their material for the audience, and how these frames serve as a guide for how their spectators should interpret these works. I argue that these introductory sections perform a metatheatrical function by making Jonson and Plautus' audiences more aware than usual of their status as audience members. This statement needs qualification of course, for I do not believe that any audience member in Republican Rome, early modern London, or any other period for that matter, could ever be so engrossed in a performance as to forget completely that they were watching a theatrical presentation. Instead, I maintain that Jonson and Plautus' inductive techniques make their spectators more aware of their status as audience members *in a specific site*, in this case the Hope theatre or the Roman Forum. The two playwrights never let their audiences forget about their real lives or the real urban life that is continuing in the urban space outside out the playing area; this is important, as their plays are intimately concerned with the correct reading of that urban space, and how that correct reading is often bound up with the same sort of guileful energy that finds its stage expression in the *theatrical privilege* of some of its main characters.

Although starting with these inductions might seem sensible, I would like to break from the sequence by considering a remarkable scene in Plautus' *Curculio* (first performed c.194BC).[112] I hope that this will be useful, as this scene contains elements that evoke some of the ideas I have already discussed, and will anticipate much of what follows. *Curculio* is a play that is otherwise almost defiantly unremarkable except that it manages

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[111] Foucault, p.6.

[112] See the play's Loeb editor, who bases this dating on metrical analysis of the plays.

to cram a great number of New Comic theatregrams—estranged siblings, greedy parasites, recognition tokens, swaggering soldiers and star-crossed lovers—within its very modest 729 lines. In accordance with the conventions of the Roman *fabulae palliatae*, the play was probably performed in Hellenic costume, and the conceit was supported by the Greek echo of some of the characters' names (Leaena, Cappadox, Lyco, Therapontigonus).[113] The Hellenic setting is typical to all the plays of Plautus and Terence, and the regular use of Athens as a fictive backdrop provides a fitting reminder of that city's theatrical legacy that looms over the much younger Roman tradition.[114]

The romantic and family-focused plot progression in *Curculio* appears entirely consistent with the 'sharply restricted foreground' of Greek New Comedy, which had moved away from the grander ideas and wider social commentary of Aristophanic Old Comedy towards a refocused emphasis on 'parochial' rather than 'ecumenical' concerns;[115] the content seems safer still for a Roman audience, as these parochial matters were located hundreds of miles away in the land of the cultivated yet disreputable Greeks. However, just as the parasite Curculio has made his first overtures to achieving the task set by his master Phaedromus, who has enlisted his assistance in rescuing his lover Planesium from Cappadox—we find a distinctly Roman character intruding onto the stage. The *dramatis personae* refers to him only as a 'Choragus,' a title used in Rome to denote officials employed by the magistrates in charge of the *ludi* to source and distribute costumes to the performing troupes.[116] This very Roman character is waiting on some costumes he has loaned to Curculio and Phaedromus, and while he does so he gives the audience a brief overview of the area and its denizens:

> Anyone who wants to meet a perjurer should go to the [1] assembly place. Anyone who wants to meet a liar and a braggart must look for him at [2] the temple of Venus Cloacina, and anyone who wants to meet rich and married wasters must look below the [3] colonnaded hall. In the same place there will also be grown-up prostitutes and men who ask for formal guarantees from prospective debtors. Those

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[113] Beacham, pp.23-24.

[114] Athens is the setting for all of Terence's comedies, and most of Plautus', with the exception of *Amphitryon* (Thebes), *Captivi* (somewhere in Aetolia), *Cistellaria* (Sicyon), *Curculio* (Epidaurus), *Menaechmi* (Epidamnus), *Miles Gloriosus* (Epheseus), *Poenulus* (Calydon), *Rudens* (on the coastline near Cyrene), *Vidularia* (unknown).

[115] Hofmeister, 'Polis and *Oikoumenê*,' in *City as Comedy*, ed. by Dobrov p.289.

[116] Marshall, p.31. Stern notes that the term was also used in the Renaissance period to denote a tireman and/or bookholder in the theatre, with the interchangeability of the term indicating that one man could serve in both roles simultaneously (*Rehearsal*, p.96).

who contribute to shared meals are on the [4] fish market. At the [5] lower end of the market decent and wealthy people stroll around; in the middle part of the market next to the [6] open drain are the mere show-offs. Arrogant, over-talkative, and malevolent people are above the [7] Lake, ones who boldly insult their neighbour for no good reason and who have enough that could in all truth be said about themselves. Below the [8] Old Shops there are those who give and receive on interest. Behind the [9] temple of Castor there are those whom you shouldn't trust quickly. In the [10] Tuscan quarter there are those people who sell themselves. In the [11] Velabrum you can meet the miller or the butcher or the soothsayer or those who turn or give others the opportunity to turn. [Rich and married wasters at the [12] house of Leucadia Oppia].
(*Curc.,* ll.470-485, emphasis and numeration added)[117]

Suddenly the Epidauran environment has been overlaid with a distinctly Roman veneer, as the landmarks the Choragus alludes to are in fact those of the *Forum Romanum*.[118] There are two aspects of this speech that are relevant to this chapter: the first is the notion that location can be an index of character (prostitutes and loan sharks gather in one place, the socially unbearable in another, and so on); the second is that ghostly fictional locations can be sometimes overlaid on their real host to give an audience an abrupt reminder of their presence within a real social space.

One should be more alert than normal, moreover, to *Curculio*'s fictive location of Epidaurus, a small city in Greece's East Peleponnese, which is of particular theatrical significance because of the presence there of a stone theatre, built c.330-320BC, and which was acknowledged even in ancient times as remarkable for its beauty and

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[117] Plautus, *Comedies*, ed. and trans. by Wolfgang De Melo, 5 vols, Loeb Classical Library, rpt. (Cambridge, MA; London: Harvard University Press, 2011).
[118] Platner, pp.230-231. Marshall provides a gloss on the areas named in the Choragus' speech (numbers cited in the text above): 1) 'the assembly place' = the Comitium, according to de Milo, the play's Loeb editor, 'the place where certain magistrates could assemble the people on specified days'; 2) 'the temple of Venus Cloacina' = associated with the *Cloaca Maxima,* Rome's system of sewers; 3) 'the colonnaded hall' = probably a reference to the basilica; 4) 'the fish market' = probably a reference to Macellum, a very large market located north-east of the forum; 5) 'the lower end of the market' = the lower forum; 6) 'the open drain' = the Cloaca's open culvert; 7) 'the Lake' = the *Lacus Curtius*; 8) 'the Old Shops' = located at the south side of the forum; 9) 'the temple of Castor' = again, in the southern part of the forum; 10) 'the Tuscan quarter' = according to de Milo, located between the Forum and the Velabrum (*Curc.* n.29); 11) 'the Velabrum' = another market situated between the Capitoline and Palatine hills' (*Curc.* n.29). Marshall takes line 185 the sentence in squared brackets, to be a repetition of line 172 above, but if we accept it we can also add 12) 'the house of Leucadia Oppia' = possibly a brothel situated somewhere on the Forum (*Curc.,* n.31). See Marshall, pp.40-41.

harmonious architecture.[119] This theatre was associated through its connections with Asclepius,[120] the god of healing, to the 'Apolline' forms of epic poetry and sculpture, in contrast to the unrestrained, chaotic 'Dionysiac' forms, which included lyric poetry and music, and in whose theatre the great comedies and tragedies of fifth-century Athens had been performed.[121] The well-established associations between Epidaurus and Hellenic artistry already imbues *Curculio* with an overloaded sense of theatricality, and I therefore think there is something particularly daring in Plautus allowing another theatrical figure—this time from Roman society—to pass into this imaginative space. The audience has already accepted that another city space—foreign, but theatrically resonant—has been overlaid onto their real environment for the duration of the performance, but when the Choragus speaks—his verbal tour including the sites and sights and real Rome into fictive Epidaurus—he gives the sense of the imaginative horizons of Plautus' world bleeding into the physical geography of real Rome and the real actors within it: the theatrical city becomes the city-theatre. This point is especially important, as by allowing play world and outer reality to shimmer in and out of focus on the liminal space of the stage Plautus imbues his apparently un-political material with something quite experientially radical, giving his audience the opportunity to see their society through a lens that inverts its basic social structures and most firmly held ideologies.

The topographical specificity of this section of *Curculio* leads Moore to argue strongly for the play's performance in the *Forum Romanum* itself, on the basis that there would have been added humour in the Choragus-actor being able to gesture to, and for the audience to see, the landmarks to which he was alluding— in fact, it would be 'most unlikely that, if the play were performed at some other location, Plautus would have discussed only this small area.'[122] Marshall suggests that the Choragus' progress through the Forum's landmarks takes the audience on an imaginative S-shaped tour (locations 1-5 moving west

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[119] The ancient account comes from the Greek traveller and geographer Pausanias, who lived in the second century AD (II.27.5). For this quotation and more detail about the Epidauran theatre, see Wiles, *Tragedy in Athens*, pp.39-43.

[120] Wiles*, Tragedy in Athens,* p.40.

[121] The distinction between 'Apolline' and 'Dionysiac' comes from Friedrich Nietzsche, *The Birth of Tragedy*, ed. by Raymond Geuss and Ronald Speirs, trans. by Ronald Speirs, rpt. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), p.30.

[122] Timothy Moore, *The Theatre of Plautus: Playing to the Audience* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1998), p.139. Marshall concurs that this was the likely site of performance, although he also points out that these localised references could easily be altered to accommodate local points of interest if there were a change of venue (pp.41-42).

to east along the northern edge; 5-7 from east to west along the middle; 8-11 from west to east along the south side),[123] a process not unlike Stow's centuries later, which leads its readers on an imaginative east-to-west walking tour through London.[124] In fact the word 'tour' creates a neat dovetail here with de Certeau, who speaks of the 'tour' as an itinerary of movement, implying a subjective and human interaction with space, and which has its most prominent expression in the pilgrimage maps of the medieval period, which were less concerned with documenting the geographical environment than detailing the spiritual journey and landmarks that the route contained.[125] What is radical about the Choragus' speech is that he uses the monuments of represented space as the setting for his own narrative—his representational space, or *espace*—that in its irreverent tone subverts the often sober connotations of the real monuments around him. Plautus uses this moment to encourage a 'double vision' in his audience,[126] breaking any notion of a dramatic illusion to reveal that his fictive Epidaurus is really an imaginative palimpsest that represents the real Rome of his audience. Slater claims that 'non-illusory' techniques such as this form a fundamental part of Plautine dramaturgy, which has metatheatricality at its heart.[127] Similar metatheatrical moments can be traced back to Aristophanes—in the *parabaseis*, in characters' direct address to the audience, in the occasional intrusion of performers into the spectators' area—but Slater views these as 'isolated phenomena,' techniques used to forward an opinion or get a laugh, but not in themselves an essential part of the fabric of the plays that contained them.[128] Whether one accepts or does not accept Slater's comment on the 'isolation' of these phenomena in relation to Aristophanes, the Plautine stress on metatheatricality—of repeatedly drawing attention to the artifice of the performative moment—also lends particular significance to *Curculio*'s Epidauran setting, since the city served as a potent symbol for fourth-century (Apolline) Greek artistry, and through its Greek associations, to a civilisation with more effete and decadent characteristics than the those that real Romans cared to recognise in their own.

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[123] Marshall, pp.40-41.

[124] Stow, p.158.

[125] De Certeau, p.120; Smith, *Cartographic Imagination,* pp.2-3.

[126] Beacham, p.35; also Wolfgang Riehle, 'Shakespeare's Reception of Plautus Reconsidered,' in *Shakespeare and the Classics,* ed. by Martindale and Taylor, pp.109-121.

[127] Niall W. Slater, *Plautus in Performance: The Theatre of the Mind* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1985), p.12.

[128] Slater, *Plautus in Performance,* p.14.

Bennett, drawing on theories of Brecht, reception studies, and semiotics, speaks of theatrical events being predicated upon a 'contract,' spoken or not, in which both actors and audience members accept their roles in the performance context, and engage in an interactive process in which each group responds to the other. She argues that every performance condition is composed of an outer frame, which 'contains all those cultural elements which create and inform the theatrical event,' and an inner frame that 'contains the dramatic production in a particular playing space;' the audience, occupying the middle ground between reality outside of the performance space and the inner fiction of the play world, exist at 'point of intersection' of these frames.[129] The philosophical weight of Roman comedy is often denigrated when compared to the politically-oriented Old Comedy of Aristophanes, the claim being that tough censorship laws made them little more than light artistic confections, part of a programme of quasi-religious festivals that were a precursor to the spectacular *panem et circusens* entertainments of the later Imperial period, that sought to entertain rather than edify.[130] However, Slater and Bennett's theories, when added to those already articulated on site-specificity, help us to discern a more radical element to Plautus, because by repeatedly blurring the distinction between fictive Greece and real Rome, Plautus allows his championing of theatrical techniques to extend out in to the real world of his audience. His spectators may laugh at the characters' onstage antics, aware that they occupy an outer frame distinct from the imaginative space of the characters, but by widening the sphere of his characters' influence, so that a figure like the Choragus can make reference to the physical landmarks that surround the performance space, making the boundary between 'real' outer and 'unreal' inner frames gossamer thin, Plautus might be suggesting that his spectators are more part of the play world, and therefore more subject to the controlling influence of his characters, than they may have originally thought.

*Curculio* is a prominent, but by no means unique, example of Plautus' technique of eliding Greece and Rome—barely a play goes by without reference to that most Roman of civic spaces, the forum,[131] and his depiction of slaves, prostitutes and the absolute authority of

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[129] Susan Bennett, *Theatre Audiences: A Theory of Production and Reception,* rpt. (London; New York: Routledge, 1994), pp.148-149.

[130] Segal, pp.9-10.

[131] The word 'forum' in its various cases appears 90 times in 19 of Plautus' plays (absent only in *Stichus* and the fragmentary *Vidularium*); the distribution is as follows: *Amphitryon* (1); *Asinaria* (10); *Aulularia* (4); *Bacchides* (3); *Captivi* (5); *Casina* (4); *Cistellaria* (1); *Curculio* (6); *Epidicus* (5); *Menaechmi* (8);

the *pater familias* also show the stamp of Roman attitudes. The Plautine elision of reality and fiction typically begins early in his plays' prologues. For instance, the Prologue Speaker to *Truculentus* asks for the audience's indulgence in allowing Plautus 'a tiny piece of space from your great and beautiful city, so that he may bring Athens there without engineers' ('*perparvam partem* […] *loci / de vostris magnis atque amoenis moenibus, / Athenas quo sine architectis conferat*': *Truc.,* ll.1-3); and the Prologue to *Menaechmi* is even more brazen about the Hellenic setting—in this instance Epidamnus, a Greek colony in modern-day Albania—being merely a convenient surface illusion:

> This is what writers do in comedies: they claim that
> everything took place in Athens, intending that it should
> seem more Greek to you. I shall say what happened
> nowhere except where it is said to have happened. This
> city is Epidamnus as long as this play is being staged.
> When another is staged it'll become another town.
> (*Men.,* ll.7-73)[132]

Here Plautus gives the impression that his setting is irrelevant and ephemeral: it is Greek because that is what 'writers do in comedies' ('*poetae faciunt in comoediis*') and it will only remain so 'as long as this play is being staged' ('*dum haec agitur fabula*'). The implication is that one should not pay attention to precise locational details because they are merely conventional—a play might be set at Epidamnus today, but tomorrow it could just as easily be Athens, Epheseus, or Epidaurus—but according to Segal these claims are a convenient convention that Plautus used to sneak subversive material past the censors: '[t]he constant protestation that these plays are 'Athenian' is less a geographical than a psychological phenomenon. Calling a character Greek is merely a convenient way of licensing behaviour that is un-Roman.'[133] Anderson is suspicious of Slater's claims of Plautine metatheatricality because he believes that the word 'metatheatrical' implies a greater epistemological profundity than can be found in the Roman playwright's work. Instead, he claims that Plautus' intention is to undermine his New Comic sources,

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*Mercator* (2); *Miles Gloriosus* (7); *Mostellaria* (7); *Persa* (4); *Poenulus* (1); *Pseudolus* (13); *Rudens* (3); *Trinummus* (5); *Truculentus* (1); see Gonzalez Lodge, *Lexicon Plautinum* (Leipzig: Teubneri, 1924), p.634. Cf. 17 occurrences in 5 of Terence's 6 plays: *Adelphi* (5); *Andria* (5); *Eunuchus* (1); *Hecyra* (1); *Phormio* (5); see Edgar B. Jenkins, *Index Verborum Terentianus* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1932), p.64.
[132] The large span in line length is due to ll.72-76 of the prologue being inserted in between ll.10-11 in the Loeb edition.
[133] Segal, p.36.

'deconstructing' the plays of Menander, Diphilus and Philemon in his own adaptations so as to point up their genre's conventions and expose its artificiality:

> If we must flaunt this voguish term 'metatheatre', we must confine its usage; and I would particularly emphasise, then, that Plautus' purpose is to distinguish the highly artificial theatre of Athenian comedy, which he has appropriated and altered, from the earthy, roguish comedy of swindles, sex, and sousing which he is staging. As he exposes the theatrical texture of Greek comedy, he moves to another level of theatre, true, but not one that disturbs his Roman audience and leaves it doubtful about reality. On the contrary, the new theatrical level achieved by Plautus confirms the audience in their basic Roman preconceptions: it's better to be Roman than Greek, to live in contemporary Rome than in the incredible, effete Athens of which Menander and his contemporaries wrote.[134]

I think this is an acceptable moderation of Slater's standpoint; the plays thus express ontological truths not about the nature of reality, but rather about what it is to be Roman, and this is managed through Plautus' deliberate inversion and parodies of his Greek models. To achieve this end the supposedly irrelevant Greek setting is deceptively central.

What makes Plautus so subversive is that his plays, which are concerned with clever slaves triumphing over their masters and young sons going against the will of their fathers, have at their heart an inversion of traditional Roman values.[135] Critics, employing the carnivalistic 'safety-valve' theory, often argue that this Plautine inversion was only tolerated because the plays were produced as entertainments within a festival context, traditionally periods of greater licence, and that ultimately this saturnalian frame undermines any hope of the *fabulae palliatae* holding relevance in non-festive Rome.[136] Perhaps this does not give Plautus enough credit though. It may be worth speculating about the impact that Plautus may have had on his audience: he presents them with examples of irreverent, 'unRoman' behaviour, conveniently disguised within the Greek clothing of his *fabulae palliatae*,[137] but by constantly drawing attention to his own theatrical artifice, and allowing elements of 'real' Rome to bleed into his fictive Greek

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[134] Anderson, p.139.

[135] Segal, *passim.*

[136] Segal, p.8; Beacham, p.38. Several centuries later, Horace presents a vignette of festive licence in *Sat.* II.vii, which sees the speaker's slave, Davus, using 'the licence December [i.e. the Saturnalia] allows' ('*libertate Decembri*') to impart some uncomfortable home truths to his master. The master's final threat that his slave his slave should stop talking in order that he does not 'make the ninth labourer on my Sabine farm' ('*accedes opera agro nona Sabino*':II.vii.118) indicates that while he abides by the permissiveness of the holiday atmosphere for now, this licence has its limits.

[137] Anderson, p.135.

worlds, he makes regular connections between the two, and thereby implies a different way of looking at society—one that his spectators would never be shown through the patriarchal units of the family and senate—the private and public ideological channels through which conceptions of Roman virtue and the revered *mos maiorem* ('custom of one's ancestors') were promulgated.

# VI

Bearing in mind these notions of performer-audience contracts, 'double vision' and subversive views on society I now return to Jonson, who, using techniques whose effects are similar to Plautus' prologic introductions, reveals an interest in manipulating the conceptual heterogeneity of the playing space right from the start. Even Jonson's deliberate use of the title 'Induction' rather than 'Prologue' speaks volumes about his curiously spatial and kinetic conception of his play's relationship with its audience. 'Induction' (from the Latin preposition '*in-*' and the verb '*ducere':* 'to lead'),[138] suggests the playwright acting as a guide to his audience, the active sense of its etymological meaning giving the impression of the audience being physical moved, or led, towards something. (How interesting though that an alternative translation to '*ducere'* is 'to guide'— etymologically speaking, one could say that Jonson's deliberate use of inductions turns the tables on the 'guides not commanders' sentiment mentioned in the Introduction.)

It is in the Induction that we first see Jonson operating within the Lefebvrean 'interstices' between representational and representations of space, taking the Jonsonian 'third way' which places the playwright as surrogate for authority, his views as monumental in his play's imaginative environment as those of the physical landmarks of the real London outside the playhouse. His no-nonsense approach to the expectations he has of his audience—although to some extent playful—reveals his desire to retain control over the theatrical experience. Critics who see Jonson as a literary rather than a dramatic playwright, bending the performative elements of his theatrical career to the monologising force of his texts,[139] could make much of the visual symbolism of stage giving way to page

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[138] See 'induction,' n., and 'induce,' n., in *OED Online* <www.oed.com> [date accessed 23 June 2015].

[139] This is a characteristic most often seen lying behind Jonson's audacious decision to publish his plays in his 1616 Folio, a publication that sought to submit his entire plays and poems to an overarching artistic teleology. See in particular Riddell, 'Ben Jonson's Folio,' in *Cambridge Companion to Ben Jonson,*

as the Induction's Stage-Keeper, a figure temptingly analogous to Plautus' Choragus, surrenders the stage to a Book-Holder and Scrivener, who proceed to deliver their Articles of Agreement to the audience. The garrulous Stage-Keeper's reference to Jonson, who hides 'behind the arras' (Ind.8) and has already 'kicked me three or four times about the tiring-house' (Ind.27-28), and the Book-Keeper's contemptuous remark that other's 'judgement' should be reserved for '[s]weeping the stage' or 'gathering up the broken apples for the bears within' (Ind.49-50), insists on the reality of performance conditions that is recognisably Plautine.[140] Indeed, Jonson takes the Plautine technique of eliding real and fictive settings a step further when the Scrivener bases his claim for decorum on the smell of the playhouse corresponding to that of Smithfield. This claim to olfactory verisimilitude in observance of the unity of place directly contradicts the Stage-Keeper's earlier statement that Jonson 'has not hit the humours' in his depiction of the Fair, and that an audience member 'were e'en as good go to Virginia for anything there is of Smithfield' (Ind.10-11). Like Plautus before him, Jonson is not interested in the superficial realism of the illusionistic space of the stage. Instead, he acknowledges his performance environment and points out its naturalistic limitations— it will only be Smithfield, the site of the real Fair, 'as long as this play is being staged' (cf. *Men.*, l.72)—but in doing so he also highlights the reality of the performance environment and, ironically, uses it to bolster the reality of his own fictive setting.

One can also detect an echo of Roman influence in Jonson's allusion to the economic contract between audience and playwright, which is given an absurdly legalistic emphasis in the Induction's Articles of Agreement that represents 'the spectators or hearers' and 'the author of *Bartholomew Fair*' as parties on either side of a covenant that is to be enacted 'at the Hope on the Bankside' on 'the one and thirtieth day of October, 1614' (Ind.62-65)—one of many details that tie in with the Plautine technique of temporal and geographic specificity. Similar to the Roman playwrights' appeal for attention, Jonson's expectations of his audience are explicitly stated: the Scrivener requires that they 'do for

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ed. by Harp and Stewart, *passim*; Loxley, *Criticcal Guide* p.40; Martindale and Martindale, *Shakespeare and the Uses of Antiquity,* p.169; Stephen Orgel, 'What Is A Text?,' in *Staging the Renaissance,* ed. by Kastan and Stallybrass, pp.83-87.
[140] Cf. the epilogue to *Cistellaria* (ll.783-784), which gives us a glimpse of the real scenes behind the *scaena frons* that are also suggestive of the offstage violence that could occur in the actors' lives away from the gaze of the public: 'When this is done, they'll put / away their costumes. Then anyone who made a mistake / will get a beating and anyone who made no mistake will / get a drink' (*'ubi id erit factum, ornamenta ponent; postidea loci / qui deliquit vapulabit, qui non deliquit bibet'*).

themselves severally covenant and agree to remain in the place their money or friends have put them in, with patience, for the space of two hours and a half, and somewhat more' (Ind.73-77), and that each spectator within this period 'exercise[s] his own judgement' (Ind.94-95).

Alongside the Plautine echoes, the Scrivener's emphasis 'that every man here exercise his own judgement, and not censure by contagion, or upon trust, from another's voice or face that sits by him' (Ind.94-96) makes an appeal to the audience's intellectual engagement that recalls the Terentian prologue. Although both Roman playwrights make frequent appeals to their audience's judicial capacities,[141] the legalistic spin of the Induction seems to recall in particular the Prologue Speaker to Terence's *Heauton Timorumenos*, who claims that the playwright 'meant me to be a pleader ['*oratorem*'], not only a speaker of this part. He has made you the court ['*iudicium*'] and me the advocate ['*actorem*']' (*Haut.,* ll.10-12). There is a delightful ambivalence in the language of this statement that elides performance and legalistic judgements together,[142] representing the audience members as arbiters of taste but also as jury members in the 'trial' of character between Terence and a 'malevolent old poet' ('*malevolus vetus poeta*': *Haut.,* l.22) that this piece of theatre professes to be.[143] We see a similar playfulness of language in the Stage-Keeper's request for the judgement of the '*understanding* gentlemen o' the ground' (Ind.47-48, emphasis added) that refers both to those in the standing part of the yard— who, literally, stood under the height of the raised stage—and to the audience's general capacity to interpret the play properly. According to Maus, the representation of the audience as 'judges' is characteristic of Jonson's style, certainly in line with the attitudes of moralising Latin authors like Horace or Seneca, and is of a piece with the stage trials and calls for audiences as 'censors' that we have already encountered in chapter 3.[144] Possibly his judicial comparisons bear the mark of Terentian influence, too, but in *Bartholomew Fair* he sends the idea in an unusual direction by linking it clearly to the economic basis of the theatrical transaction. The Scrivener, after claiming that Jonson has now 'departed with his right'

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[141] References to audience members as judges occur in the prologues to all of Terence's comedies and in Plautus' *Amphitruo* and *Captivi*.

[142] According to *LS*, '*actor*' can be interpreted as a 'performer' (IIA) 'plaintiff' (IIB), or 'public speaker' (IIC); '*iudicium*' as a 'judicial investigation' (I), 'court of justice' (IIA), or 'judgement/discernment' away from a legal context IIIB); '*orator*' as 'speaker' (I), 'spokesman' (II), or 'suppliant' (III). 'pleader,' 'orator,' or 'performer.'

[143] The '*malevolus vetus poeta*' in question was probably the comic poet Luscus Lavinius, who makes a regular appearance as an antagonist in Terence's prologues.

[144] Maus, pp.133-134.

over the play, makes a direct correlation between monetary investment and capacity for judgement:

> SCRIVENER:                                      [...] it shall be
> lawful for any man to judge his six penn'orth, his twelve
> penn'orth, so to his eighteen pence, two shillings, half a
> crown, to the value of his place—provided always his place
> get not above his wit. And if he pay for half a dozen, he may
> censure for all of them too, so that he will undertake that they
> shall be silent. He shall put in for censures here as they do
> for lots at the lottery; marry, if he drop but sixpence at the
> door, and will censure a crown's worth, it is thought there
> is no conscience or justice in that.
> (*Bart. Fair,* Ind.83-93)

On the face of it, the statement seems unfairly plutocratic, making the extent of the audience's right to respond commensurate with their price of admission. Judging by the entrance prices, all of Jonson's Hope audience appears to have been reasonably privileged—Hibbard remarks that the Scrivener's allusion to the lowest 'six penn'orth' entrance fee is 'remarkably high,' comparable to those at the hall playhouses[145]—but by grading their value as spectators by the prices they have paid he imposes the same sort of stratification found in the structure of real London society. However, Jonson's overt elitism is covertly critical, as its implication that each audience member may comment 'provided always his place get not above his wit' illustrates that the playwright has expectations of his audience as well. Although apparently acknowledging and accepting London's socio-economic order, the Scrivener's comment issues an intellectual challenge to this hierarchy within the theatrical space by implying that those who have paid a higher entrance price, and who therefore represent the 'better sort', have to match their spending power with brain power.[146]

Zucker has recently made some interesting observations concerning the 'spatial and social engagements' of Jacobean city comedy being used to test its characters' levels of epistemological and proprioceptive 'competency and incompetency,' and how this testing

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[145] Ben Jonson, *Bartholomew Fair,* ed. by G.R. Hibbard, rpt., New Mermaid (London; New York: Black, 1994), Ind.85-87n.; for a comparison of prices between playhouses, see Gurr, *Playgoing,* pp.17-19; for more on the special nature of first performances, see Stern, *Rehearsal,* pp.113-118, and 'Small-Beer Health,' pp.172-175.
[146] Brown, pp.155-156.

maps onto an implicit test of the 'urban competencies' of its watching audience.[147] The Induction seems to me to prepare Jonson's audience for their own test of 'urban competency,' and in examining the rest of the play, I will follow both Mardock and Zucker in suggesting that Jonson presents his audience with characters who are remarkably incompetent at interpreting their surroundings, concentrating particularly on Justice Overdo, Bartholomew Cokes, and Quarlous. I will argue that when these figures are exposed to those who are aware of their environment and their place within it, embodying the sort of judicial capacities that Jonson wants his own spectators to have, their failures to be 'understanding gentlemen,' to demonstrate their own 'urban competency,' are drawn out into the open. The play's Induction primes Jonson's real spectators to appreciate this, and to reject it at their peril; as with *Every Man Out*, Jonson presents his audience with a stage mirror in the main body of the play, with the added benefit that the temporal and geographical specificity of its subject makes it even more recognisable. The guiding influence of a Mitis, Cordatus, or Asper is gone; instead, Jonson relies on his audience's own judicial capacities, allowing them to decide whether they recognise their own reflections in the fools or the wits of his fictive Fair.

# VII

Mardock believes that Jonson's depiction of London in his plays is, like the monumentalising agenda of his Folio, another manifestation of his desire to retain interpretive and personal control over his work, and which in *Bartholomew Fair* is articulated in an eminently performative manner:

> *Bartholomew Fair* allowed Jonson to articulate his ideal of authorship, and indeed of selfhood, not through the textualising strategies of the Folio, but through an exploration of the authorial processes involved in producing theatrical space. Where the Folio textualises and reifies Jonson's authority, *Bartholomew Fair* stages it. It depends, more than any other play in Jonson's canon, on the space of the playhouse, on the power of theatre to control urban space, to establish Jonson as the privileged interpreter of London. In *Bartholomew Fair* he does not 'leave the loathéd stage,' but pursues with no little enthusiasm another strategy to control the meaning of

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[147] Adam Zucker, *The Places of Wit in Early Modern English Comedy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp.54-55.

Jonson's continuing control is hinted at from the beginning of the play, with the image of him hiding 'behind the arras,' marshalling his actors and dictating terms to his audience, anxious to orchestrate happenings not only on the stage but in the auditorium that surrounds it. The term 'orchestrate' is particularly apposite, as the play's apparent chaos belies the fact that each of its Acts are carefully divided into six scenes, giving the play five 'distinctive and uninterrupted arc[s] of action, with the stage decisively cleared only at the end' of each movement.[149] The overall effect is 'a series of crowdings and emptyings' of the stage that Williams sees as typical of Jonson's 'satiric choreography',[150] which while giving the impression of chaos and dissolution as characters wander from London to the Fair, divide and regroup, and relationships change and alter, always keeps the action firmly within the control of the 'offstage' Jonson, the true puppet-master and master architect within the dramatic structure of his imaginative city.

I would like to add to Mardock's de Certeauean reading by suggesting that the Jonsonian 'third way' is partly derived from Plautine dramaturgy, which reveals a similar tendency for orchestration. Like Jonson, Plautus is a 'privileged interpreter' of his city, able to raise and drop the Hellenic illusion at will, and in his references to the physical *lieu* of real Rome within the artificial *espace* of his play world he exerts an authority not only over his Greek material—which he has hijacked and filled with particularly Roman resonances—or over his audience's real surroundings—whose architectural features are embedded into the fictive setting of his plays—but also in the way his theatrically privileged characters are able to manipulate their environment.

As with the comedies of Menander, Roman comedy eschews multiple staging levels in favour of operating largely on a horizontal plane, the stage space its characters occupy representing the street in front of several houses (signified by the *scaena frons*) and which lead off stage right and left, out of the sight of the audience, typically to the imaginative spaces of the forum/city centre or to the country/harbour.[151] Such an arrangement leaves

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[148] Mardock, p.97.
[149] Creaser, 'Introduction [*Bartholomew Fair*],' in *CWBJ,* IV,  p.261.
[150] Williams, p.138; cf. chapter 1, section V.
[151] Marshall states that '[o]n the Roman comic stage it seems to be *typical* for the exit stage left to lead to the urban centre (the forum), and the exit stage right to lead to the harbour and the countryside'

the space of the Roman stage at a 'point of intersection,' the street lying between the private sphere of the house and the public (offstage) space of the city,[152] and this stage 'polarises local and foreign' by placing forum-country or forum-harbour (city and not-city) at either end of the offstage horizontal axis.[153] One could perhaps see the imaginative urban space of the New Comic stage as occupying that exact interstitial zone that Lefebvre placed between represented and representational space, the action within the neutral stage space serving as a metaphor for its characters' negotiations between the private, non-authoritative space of the home and the wider, authority-controlled environments of the wider world. This is an arrangement that Plautus manipulates, taking advantage of the New Comic stage's claustrophobic and agoraphobic implications:

> Plautine stage space is confined but within it there is room to manoeuvre, overhear, spy, etc.; it also has large horizons. Characters leave the visible area purposefully, heading to the forum or often to the harbour (and of course they can come back).[154]

The effect of New Comedy's characters' constant shifting from public to private and onstage to offstage is that the audience are given a sense of life going on beyond the limited confines of the stage, and indeed one can detect Plautus using this to great effect in the Choragus scene in *Curculio.* Lyne also follows the spatial theorists when he sees that, on the New Comic stage, 'location [is] something that is created by people within it, rather than something that precedes them.'[155] The winners in Plautine comedy are those with the theatrical privilege to manipulate these locations and other characters—their superiority indicated dramaturgically through their use of asides and eavesdropping, and the manner in which they frequently control other characters' access to and interpretation of the stage space and the events unfolding upon it. This element is so fundamental to Plautine dramaturgy that one could choose examples from any of the playwright's works to illustrate the point. However, in the final section of this chapter I

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(p.50, emphasis added). However, similar to the Greek staging conventions mentioned in chapter 1, p.80, he also points out that these offstage locations and their directions were conventional, not obligatory, and that occasionally playwrights saw fit to reverse the locations (as in Terence's *Andria*), or even offer an 'alternate offstage geography' (as in Plautus' *Rudens*), with city and harbour notionally located in the same area of offstage space (p.55).

[152] Gail Kern Paster, 'The City in Plautus and Middleton,' *Renaissance Drama* 6 (1973), pp. 29-44 (pp.32-33).

[153] Marshall, p.51.

[154] Raphael Lyne, 'Shakespeare, Plautus, and the Discovery of New Comic Space,' in *Shakespeare and the Classics,* ed. by Martindale and Taylor, pp.122-138 (p.123).

[155] Lyne, 'New Comic Space,' in *Shakespeare and the Classics,* ed. by Martindale and Taylor, p.131.

would like to focus specifically on *Pseudolus*, as its titular character provides a sort of hyperactive version of the Plautine technique of theatrical privilege.[156] I argue that the imaginative space controlled by Pseudolus extends off the horizon of the stage, implicating other social spaces like the harbour and forum, even the wider natural expanse of the countryside. These are all spaces—one must remember—that Plautus' audience could recognise in their own world, and the effect of their references, as with that of the Choragus speech, is to imply that Pseudolus' cunning and influence extends out into the real city occupied by the audience itself.

Pseudolus' dominance of his play is evident even by the crudest of measurements. *Pseudolus*' Loeb editor divides the play into 22 scenes (cited for convenience in the table below), out of which Pseudolus is present in 15, including a number of solo *cantica* (ll.394-414, 561-573a, 574-593, 667-693, 758-766, 1017-1037, 1246-1284) that clearly demonstrate Plautus' faith in both the character's appeal and his actor's abilities. His line count far outweighs that of any other character onstage, but more importantly, he also has the majority of theatrically privileged moments, which I define as asides (A), direct address (D) and eavesdropping on other characters (E), as shown in table 4.1.

No other character comes close to this range of theatrically privileged moments—in fact, the only other of significance comes in ll.1063-1102, when the pimp Ballio and the *senex* Simo eavesdrop and comment on Harpax, thinking he has been sent by Pseudolus to con the pimp out of Phoenicium, Calidorus' girlfriend. Even here, though, the absent slave's theatrical dominance haunts the scene, as the eavesdroppers' comments are framed by the audience's knowledge that Harpax *is* in fact genuine, and that Ballio and Simo, while thinking they are ahead of Pseudolus, have already been tricked.

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[156] Slater, *Plautus in Performance,* pp.118-119. Slater sees *Epidicus, Persa, Asinaria, Casina,* and *Bacchides* as the other plays that exploit this dramaturgical effect most fundamentally.

Table 4.1. Significant Action(s) involving Pseudolus (P).

| Act/Scene | Significant Action(s) involving Pseudolus |
|---|---|
| I.i (ll.2-132) | Pseudolus (P) promises Calidorus that he will help find the money to buy his lover, Phoenicium; P and Calidorus stand aside as Ballio enters [E1] |
| I.ii (ll.133-229) | P and Calidorus react angrily to Ballio's behaviour [A1] |
| I.iv (ll.394-414) | P says he needs to become a 'poet' in order to get money [D1]; he stands aside when he sees Simo and Callipho approach [E2] |
| I.v (ll.415 - 573a) | P comments on the *senes'* discussion [A2]; he tells the audience he does not know how to complete his plan [D2] |
| II.i (ll.574-593) | P re-enters to tell the audience he has a plan [D3] |
| II.ii (ll.594-666) | Harpax enters, and P comments about him [A3] |
| II.iii (ll.667-693) | P announces he is on track [D4] |
| II.iv (ll.694-766 | P says he is confident in victory [D5] |
| IV.i (ll.905-955) | P and Simia watch Ballio exit his house [E3] |
| IV.ii (ll.956 - 1016) | Simia tricks Ballio out of Phoenicium while P watches and comments [E4, A4] |
| IV.iii (ll.1017-1037) | P fears that Simia will turn on him [D6] |

The eavesdropping scene does much to establish Pseudolus—and through him Plautus—as masters of the play's architectonics. Pseudolus insists several times to the audience that he does not know what he is doing or how he will complete his mission ('*quo id sim facturus pacto nil etiam scio,*' 'I don't know anything certain yet about how I'll do this': ll.561—573a), and is even forced to change tack when Harpax enters in order to buy his master's girlfriend ('*novo consilio nunc mihi opus est, / nova res subito mi haec obiecta est,*' 'Now I need a new plan; this new situation has been thrown my way suddenly:' ll.601-601a). All these hesitations and about turns are intensified by the apparent chaos of the play's plot progression, its characters constantly moving on and offstage, exiting and entering houses, leaving for and returning from the forum and marketplace (cf. Simo at l.415, l.561, and l.1063; Ballio l.380, l.790, and l.904), the stage filling and emptying as Plautus' characters attempt to manage public and private concerns. Nevertheless, like the controlling force that Jonson exerts on *Bartholomew Fair,* this apparent chaos is brought under the guiding hand of Pseudolus, whose theatrical superiority is signalled by the fact that he seems to lurk constantly, either physically or imaginatively, on the edge of the

play's action. Pseudolus has far more instances of direct address to the audience than any other character (approximately 150 lines from the play's 1335),[157] which help to ensure the updates on the plot's progression are constantly mediated through him. His exit at l.573a (I.v) to think of a plan and then immediate re-entry at l.574 (II.i) is surprising—this seems to be the only moment in Roman comedy where a character who exits one scene is also present at the beginning of the next[158]—but it does give the audience a sense of the slave's irrepressible energy through his willingness to burst out onto the stage with or without the approval of convention. Furthermore, Pseudolus' plans are instigated and augmented through his eavesdropping in several key scenes: ll.3-229 (I.i-ii), where he and his young master Calidorus spy on the pimp Ballio; l.415ff. (I.v), where Pseudolus listens in on the *senes* Simo and Callipho discussing Calidorus and Pseudolus himself; and ll.956-1016 (IV.ii), where Pseudolus watches Simia, his artful trickster accomplice, con Ballio into handing over Calidorus' girlfriend.

Pseudolus' presence, real or imagined, therefore exerts a constant influence over the interstitial zone of the stage, and implies his control over the private domestic sphere (represented by the *scaena frons*) and the public offstage sphere. This is illustrated by the ease with which he can divert Harpax, the emissary of a Macedonian officer, away from Ballio's house, asking him 'to dispense with knocking' at the door ('*compendium ego te facere pultandi volo*': l.605) and to hand over his letter authorising the handover of Phoenicium to the bearer. Harpax, as a Macedonian who is 'stopping by outside here in the third inn' ('*ego devortor extra portam huc in tabernam tertiam*': l.670) is representative of those inhabitants of Plautus' imaginative world that lie outside the narrow confines of the stage space, and Pseudolus' supreme command of the *espace* of the onstage area means that he exerts an influence on how this outsider interprets it and

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[157] These instances include solo addresses and asides to the audience. Lines (with Loeb act/scene divisions included for convenience) are as follows: ll.394-414 [I.iv]; 422-426, 435, 443-444, 453-454 [I.v]; 574-593 [II.i]; 657-693 [II.iii]; 702, 759-766 [II.iv]; 1019-1037 [IV.iii]; 1246-1284 [V.i]; 1333-1335b [V.ii]

[158] The exit and re-entry is not quite as rapid as it might appear on the page, as Pseudolus tells the audience that 'The flute player will entertain you here in the meantime' (*Pseud.,* l.573a). As a side observation, this moment is interesting for two reasons: firstly because it is one of the rare moments in extant Roman comedy where the accompanying musician is acknowledged—Terence never does this, perhaps because he was reaching for a more illusionistic mode of presentation in his own comedies, but other examples can be found in Plautus (*Cas.* l.797, *Epid.* l.394, *Stich.* ll.683-775). Secondly, the *tibicen*'s musical intermission is believed to indicate the choral break that separated Acts I and II in Plautus' Greek New Comic original(s). See Duckworth, pp.99-100; and Marshall, pp.113-114, who also notes that some scholarship since Duckworth has called into question the presence of this intermission (pp.203-205).

the characters who inhabit it. Moreover, when Harpax reappears at l.1103 (IV.vii) to claim the slave girl from Ballio, we find that Pseudolus' control of *espace* works the other way, too, as both Ballio and Simo misread the emissary as an 'informer' sent by the cunning slave ('*sycophanta*': l.1200, translation mine), and make further fools of themselves by trying to humiliate the genuine Harpax while the audience is left imagining the ever-present Pseudolus laughing just out of sight of the stage, the impression being that the character's control of theatrical *espace* has now extended to every area of his imaginative city.

The following extract illustrates several aspects of Pseudolus' theatrical privilege that help the character's complete dominance of the stage. Before this scene, the titular character has sworn to help his young master Calidorus retrieve his lover from the pimp Ballio. Pseudolus warns the audience that everyone 'should be on their guard against me today and that they shouldn't trust me' ('*in hunc diem a me ut caveant, ne credant mihi*': l.128), only for Calidorus to draw him to one side because he sees that Ballio is about to enter:

> A:
> CALIDORUS: Hush! Please be quiet.
> PSEUDOLUS: What's the matter?
> CALIDORUS: The pimp's door has just creaked.
> PSEUDOLUS: I only wish it was his shins.
> (*Pseud.,* ll.130-131)

Ballio then delivers an almost uninterrupted monody (ll.133-158, 159-193), in which he curses his slaves, and, after instructing that they prepare his house for his birthday celebrations, calls his prostitutes out and demands they obtain birthday gifts for him from their clients. Calidorus is incensed by this:

> B:
> CALIDORUS: (to Pseudolus) Can you hear what the criminal is saying?
> Doesn't he seem boastful to you?
> PSEUDOLUS: Yes, and nasty to boot. But be quiet and pay attention.
> (*Pseud.,* ll.194-195a)

The pimp then addresses the second of his prostitutes (ll.196-201), which angers Calidorus further and elicits an impassioned speech from Pseudolus, which his young master tries to silence:

> C:
> CALIDORUS: Bah! Be quiet.
> PSEUDOLUS: What's the matter?

> CALIDORUS: You obey me badly by drowning out his speech.
> PSEUDOLUS: I'm quiet.
> CALIDORUS: But I'd much prefer you to be quiet rather than just say
> that you're quiet.
> (*Pseud.*, ll.207-209)

Ballio then makes demands of the last of his prostitutes (ll.209-229), including Calidorus' mistress, and leaves both Calidorus and Pseudolus to plot against him:

> D:
> CALIDORUS: Pseudolus, can't you hear what he's saying?
> PSEUDOLUS: Yes master, I can and I'm paying attention.
> CALIDORUS: What do you advise me to send him so that he won't
> prostitute my girlfriend here?
> PSEUDOLUS: Don't worry at all. Be calm. I'll take care of myself and
> you. For a long time now Ballio and I have been each other's well-
> wishers and our friendship is old. Today on his birthday I'll send him a
> big and full-grown thrashing.
> (*Pseud.*, ll.230-234)

The scene has been admired since antiquity for the virtuoso performance it demands of the actor playing Ballio,[159] and Slater is right to say that, except for the frequent interjections of Calidorus and Pseudolus, it would be entirely dominated by the pimp,[160] whose theatrical control is signalled by his *canticum* delivery, a lyrical style that Plautus often deploys to give characters especially dramatic first entrances.[161] The crucial point, though, is that Ballio's dramatic superiority *is* undercut by the presence of the two unseen characters. The pimp is unaware of both his onstage audience and their real counterparts, which places him in an 'illusionistic space' that highlights his status as a dramatic construct;[162] in contrast, Calidorus and Pseudolus occupy an outer, more self-aware frame, and come closer to the real audience in terms of their consciousness of the theatrical spectacle and their ability to comment upon it.

Although both characters are here imbued with a sense of theatrical privilege, Calidorus does not maintain his superior position for long—he exits at l.758, just over halfway through the play, never to be seen again, and this scene is the only one in which he appears to be in any position of superiority over anyone. By contrast, the way Pseudolus is

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[159] Slater, *Plautus in Performance,* pp.124-125.

[160] Slater, *Plautus in Performance,* p.122.

[161] Anderson, pp.120-121; Timothy J. Moore, 'Music and Structure in Roman Comedy,' *The American Journal of Philology* 11:2 (1998), pp.245-273.

[162] Slater, *Plautus in Performance,* p.11.

portrayed and portrays himself in the four extracts flag up a few important points about his authority that last until the play's conclusion. Pseudolus' remarks about Ballio's shins in extract A (a reference to a typically unpleasant punishment meted out to slaves who attempted escape),[163] and the interplay where Calidorus and Pseudolus alternate between telling each other to be quiet (B, C), serve to undercut Ballio's virtuoso performance: in A, this is effected by Pseudolus comparing the pimp to a slave before he has even entered, which lowers the pimp's status through a disparaging social reference and indicates that Pseudolus does not fear him; and B and C give the actors playing master and slave the opportunity to upstage Ballio through comic business centred on one trying to silence the other (an episode that is full of potential to become another of Andrews' 'elastic' dramaturgical units).[164] In this scene Pseudolus' theatrical privilege is augmented by a comic deflation of other characters and  opportunities to raise his own laughs at the expense of the audience's attention on Ballio. One should also add the authority he exerts in D when he promises that he will 'send [Ballio] a big and full-grown thrashing' ('*mittam* […] *malam rem magnam et maturam*'), a promise that he (metaphorically) keeps through his utter ruination of the pimp at the play's close.

This scene is an excellent example of Plautus' tendency to prioritise those characters who are 'theatrically self-conscious,' who occupy a space within their play closer to the real world of the audience than an illusionistic one, and who are consequently able to display superiority over other characters by demonstrating a greater self-awareness and ability to undercut the stage action for comic effect. At this point, I would like to reformulate the terminology surrounding these characters by emphasising that they are in control of theatrical *espace*: an awareness of the artificiality of their surroundings allows them to bend it to their will, represented here by their ability to observe and undercut another character's actions, and is illustrated elsewhere by their consummate ability to orchestrate the play's events to ensure the ultimate triumph of their aims.

Paster notes that the city comedies of Middleton show a debt to Plautus in the way they constantly hint at an 'anonymous community' of a wider fictive London beyond the confines of the stage, lending colour and depth to the motivations and actions of the

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[163] See *Pseud.,* l.131n.

[164] Cf. chapter 1, sections V-VI, and chapter 5, section III.

characters that walk before the audience.[165] She acknowledges that this tendency is also present in Jonson's city comedies,[166] and this is perhaps nowhere truer than in *Bartholomew Fair*. The play includes more references to specific parts of London than any other of his plays,[167] and demands one of the largest cast of actors of the early modern stage—its requirements for stall vendors, cutpurses, tapsters, roarers, bawds, porters, a 'mistress o' the game,' passengers, and boys indicating the playwright's desire to recreate the bustle and crowded atmosphere of the real Fair (and which is also recreated in those documents referenced in the opening section of this chapter) as closely as possible. Within this chaotic environment knowledge of *espace* becomes a marker of whether one becomes a gull or a guller, and it is in the setting of most of the play that Ursula and her companions have the advantage. Their customers are visitors to the Fair's microcosmic society, and their haphazard movements around it—diverted to gingerbread stalls and pig booths, from ballad singers to puppet shows—is a symptom of their inability to remain 'grounded,' which is the cause of their undoing. In contrast, the Fair's inhabitants are '*fixed* spectators'—gathered around physical markers like the pig booth and Leatherhead and Trash's stalls—a visual indication that they 'know their place, stay in it, and judge accordingly rather than being wrapped up in the action.'[168] Indeed, Waith has offered a plausible staging for the Hope performance that suggests that the kinetic contrast between peripatetic Londoners and grounded Fair folk is made more apparent by the use of set. He argues that, in line with Elizabethan/Jacobean convention, Littlewit's house in Act I would most likely have been performed on a bare stage, with the transition to Smithfield indicated by Leatherhead and Trash's stalls, the stocks and Ursula's booth— which were probably set up during Overdo's soliloquy in II.i.[169] The audience has already been reminded of the Hope's olfactory verisimilitude to the Fair, but in the introduction of these temporary structures this sense of realism is joined by visual representation. The overall effect is to give the Fair a sense of embodiment that stands in stark contrast to the non-specific locale of Littlewit's house; it is more phenomenologically 'real' than the outer London of Act I, and the physical presence of structures around which the Fair's inhabitants gather creates a striking image of their integration within their environment.

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[165] Paster, 'The City in Plautus and Middleton,' pp.30-32.
[166] Paster, *Idea of the City,* p.7
[167] See Chalfant, p.24, who counts 46 separate locations within London.
[168] Mardock, p.104. Emphasis in original.
[169] Eugene M. Waith, 'The Staging of *Bartholomew Fair,' Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900* 2 (1962), pp.181-195 (p.184ff.).

Additionally, the cognitive dissonance induced by the Fair's solidity is joined to the Jonsonian-Plautine interest in eliding real and fictive environments, which also extends to the status of the audience themselves, leading them to question if they are on the side of the gullers or the gulled. The *dramatis personae* of Jonson's play can be divided into two groups: the citizens of 'inner' London—the Littlewits; Dame Purecraft; Busy; the two gallants, Winwife and Quarlous, Cokes and his 'man,' Wasp; the Overdos and their ward, Grace—and the citizens of the Fair itself—including Ursula the 'pig woman'; Leatherhead, hobby-horse seller and puppeteer; Edgworth, the cutpurse; Nightingale, the ballad singer; as well as an accompanying cast of vendors, criminals, and layabouts. Mardock believes that *Bartholomew Fair* is 'an explicit contest of urban literacy, of how to read the city,' and that those who triumph at the play's end (who are, with the exception of Quarlous, almost entirely the Fair's inhabitants) 'are those characters in the play, and by the Induction's extension, the observers in the audience, who, like Jonson himself, have achieved the theatrical and authorial ability to reshape the authorial environment to their own ends, to exceed the passivity of the ignorant spectator.'[170]

This effect is achieved most obviously in the general progression of the plot: most of the play's inner Londoners enter the Fair completely unprepared, and consequently find themselves (amongst other indignities) relieved of their purses, cheated out of marriage, or nearly driven into prostitution. Their discomfitures are orchestrated by the Fair's inhabitants, who take advantage of their familiarity with their surroundings and with each other to relieve their unwitting gulls of as much money and dignity as possible. To return to the points I made in section III, what I think is most striking is that the imaginative journey the London citizens made from the London proper of Act I into the liminal zone of the Fair in the rest of the play is more or less *the same journey* from authority-controlled City to licentious Liberty that many of Jonson's real London theatregoers could have taken to get to the Hope theatre. The spatial arrangements of the Renaissance stage, surrounded by audience on three sides (four, if one counts the lord's room above the tiring house), perhaps increases that same audience's inclination to feel a sense of collusion and identity with those *platea* characters, whose non-illusionistic use of asides identifies them as occupying the same metadramatic space, endowed with the same levels of awareness of self and the scene as a whole. The gulled characters are those who do not

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[170] Mardock, p.98.

possess the same self-awareness, and are therefore not able to break out of the illusionistic bubble of the play world as easily as those occupying the *platea*, so the phenomenological experience of an audience watching the tricks played on them by characters occupying the same theoretical outer frame to them creates an identification between gullers and audience. What is one to make, therefore, of the fact that many of the Hope audience had likely travelled from the same geographical area and hailed from the same social class as Jonson's City-dwellers, and who Jonson frequently encourages to side against their own kind with the Fair-characters who occupy the theatrically privileged and mediatory conceptual space of the *platea*?[171] I am being overly-simplistic in this, of course—Quarlous and Edgworth, two of the play's most successfully self-aware characters, are both City-dwellers, and the audience are certainly not meant to side with Overdo, who Jonson seems to have endowed with *platea* status in order to expose the extent of his folly. Nevertheless, it is generally accurate to say that for the majority of the play it is the Fair's inhabitants to whom the audience are most exposed through devices like asides and eavesdropping, both of which imply a level of collusion and equality with the spectators, and that such an association with individuals lifted from coney-catching literature gives the impression that Jonson favours dramatically those representatives of licentiousness and subversion over the representatives of authority.

# VIII

Appropriately enough for a play so concerned with theatrical privilege and the correct reading of one's environment, Jonson is prepared to throw his audience a dramaturgical red herring, offering them a character that gives off all the signals of being the sort of 'understander' he wants them to emulate. He does so in the figure of Justice Overdo, whose frequent soliloquies and asides to the audience prime us to read him as an

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[171] In referring to the *platea* as a 'conceptual space' I follow Lin's modification on Weimann's *locus-platea* spatial model that I used uncritically in chapter 3. Lin suggests that rather than following Weimann's rather strict designation of *locus* and *platea* 'as functions of stage geography, social legitimacy, or actor-audience interactivity' characters who are 'most aware of theatrical 'semiotics' and who showcase their ability to manipulate such signifiers are privileged by the performance medium' (p.294). The essence of Lin's argument is, therefore, that characters do not need to stand on near the edge of the stage (the physical *platea*) to be *platea*-characters, instead, the very fact that they possess the privileges of self-awareness and mediation between characters and audience means that they always occupy the edge (or conceptual *platea*) of the theatrical event itself. See Erika T. Lin, 'Performance Practice and Theatrical Privilege: Rethinking Weimann's Concepts of *Locus* and *Platea*,' *New Theatre Quarterly* 22:3 (2006), pp.283-298; also Leo Salingar, 'Crowd and Public in *Bartholomew Fair*,' *Renaissance Drama* 10 (1979) pp.141-159.

interstitial character cut from the same cloth as Pseudolus. Indeed, the suggestion of Overdo's theatrical privilege and the comparisons with the Roman slave runs deeper. Overdo's willingness to travel through the Fair incognito in order to spy out and record 'enormities' in his little black book recalls the person theatregram of the 'disguised duke,' a trope that, although by 1614 a tired cliché in romantically-inclined plots,[172] brought with it an expectation of benevolent authority and perceptive judgement. The disguised duke, a *platea* character, occupies a liminal position in the stage action: in disguise, he is able to move between scenes at will, behaving and commenting in a way that removes him from society; but in his capacity to throw off his disguise and renew his old authoritative role at the play's close he finally reveals himself to be firmly enmeshed in the social fabric. Although he is at the opposite end of the spectrum, Overdo's social liminality in some ways echoes Pseudolus', who as a slave occupied a curious ontological hinterland in Roman society: socially anonymous, frequently regarded as chattel, but also indispensable (the slave's status will be explored further in chapter 5). Indeed, aside from Overdo's dramaturgical function, another parallel might be drawn from the fact that Overdo occupies an intermediary position between outer London and inner Fair. As the husband of Mistress Overdo and the protector of Grace Wellborn, he belongs socially to London proper; but professionally, as the 'sometimes' judge who sits at the Fair's 'court of Pie-Powders' (*Bart. Fair,* II.i.40-42), he reveals his professional allegiances to this microcosmic society. Overdo's disguised authority and Pseudolus' outsider/insider slave status therefore make both characters theatrical amphibians, able to move between scenarios and characters with a greater ease than those others

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[172] Barton, p.204. The theatregram seems to have been particularly in vogue in the opening years of James' reign—notable examples are to be found in Shakespeare's *Measure for Measure* (performed 1604)*,* Marston's *The Malcontent* (c.1603) and *Parasiaster: or, The Fawn* (performed c.1604), and Middleton's *The Phoenix* (c.1603-1604). The 'Disguised Ruler' motif, frequently attached to legends surrounding the Roman Emperor Alexander Severus, had been popular in moralising literature throughout the sixteenth century, but the brief fashion of this trope in dramatic works might well have been connected to the accession of King James, whose views on absolute authority held parallels with the interfering, but ultimately benign, intentions of the disguised dukes. James had reportedly indulged in similar behaviour when he secretly visited the Exchange in March 1604 along with Queen Anne, although their cover was quickly blown (detailed in Gilbert Dugdale's *The Time Triumphant* (1604), see *Bart. Fair,* Longer Notes, II.9-20). Creaser sees Overdo's ineffectual presence as partly a burlesque of this trope (and possibly a gentle teasing of James' own excursion to the Exchange?), but also as a more scornful attack on Sir Thomas Myddelton, 'a Welsh puritan grocer who rose to become sheriff of London, alderman and father of the city, and an energetically puritan mayor in 1613-14' (*Bart. Fair,* Longer Notes, Ind.106-107). For more on the appearance of the 'Disguised Ruler/Duke' in literature and drama of the period, see J.W. Lever, 'Introduction [*Measure for Measure*],' in William Shakespeare, *Measure for Measure,* ed. by J.W. Lever, Arden 2, rpt. (London: Thomson, 2006), pp. xi-xcviii (pp.xliv-li).

who are more constrained by their social roles.

Unfortunately for the Justice, it is here that the comparisons with Pseudolus end. Overdo's justification for donning a disguise because 'thus has the wise magistrate done in all ages' (II.i.8) may seem high-minded, but he singularly fails every interpretative test that is thrown his way. It is ironic that the magistrate, who was so quick to identify Ursula's booth as the 'womb and bed of enormity' (II.i.102), and to presume criminality in the pig woman and her patrons, can only look but does not see: he fails to identify Edgworth, 'so civil a young man,' as a cutpurse (II.iv); he uses spurious logic to blame himself for his own beating by Wasp (III.iii); mistakes the disguised Quarlous for the madman Troubleall (V.ii); and finally even fails to recognise his own wife in the guise of a prostitute (V.vi). Like Plautus, Jonson prioritises those who bend their fictive surroundings to their will, and his Justice, who fails the interpretative test of the wise magistrate, is suitably chastened at the play's close for failing to live up to the expectations demanded by the conventions he wished to exploit.

Overdo has fallen precisely into making the sort of errors of seeing and judgement that Jonson warns his audience about in the Induction, and the playwright provides another chastening example in Bartholomew Cokes, the idiotic squire who proves equally incapable of interpreting the Fair and its inhabitants. Whereas Overdo embarked on his *espace*-interpreting exercise for professional reasons, though, Cokes' desire to acquaint himself with the Fair assumes a more proprietary air: 'I call't my Fair because of Bartholomew: you know my name is Bartholomew, and Bartholomew Fair' (I.v.60-61). Cokes' logic of ownership is obviously foolish, but it helps to underline his simplicity, as well as establishing a link between this character and the Fair environment.

Cokes' foolishness is different to Overdo's for another reason: whereas the Justice attempts to apply his intellect to an unknown environment, turning *lieu* to *espace*, Cokes— in name and deed—reveals himself as a consumer who is enthusiastically aware of his physical surroundings but intellectually disengaged from what any of it means. This is signalled first by Wasp, Cokes' despairing servant, who narrates how his master 'walked London to shew the city to the gentlewoman [Grace Wellborn] he shall marry' (I.iv.103-104), and who 'would name you all the signs over, as he went, aloud; and where he spied a parrot or monkey, there he was pitched with the little long-coats [children] about him'

(I.iv.108-111). The quotation reveals Cokes' interpretive naivety—he is content to let his 'reading' of the city extend no further than a literal reading and naïve repetition or 'naming' of its (literal) signs—and already alerts us that he will fail to pass Jonson's, and by extension Plautus', more rigorous test of 'urban literacy.' His ingenuousness is displayed further in his tendency to be distracted by childish diversions, and perhaps there is a further indication of his foolishness in the metonymic reference to his juvenile co-audience members as 'long-coats,' as a parti-coloured version of this garment was the traditional clothing of the fool.[173] Clearly it is not just in Overdo, disguised as a madman, that one can glimpse the ghost of the Fair's ancient founder moving through Jonson's fictive Smithfield.

Mardock sees Wasp's outburst highlighting some significant features of his master's personality, his 'incapacity to converse beyond reading street signs aloud is analogous to his incapacity to move physically beyond street novelties,' indicating a character of superficial intellect.[174] In fact, Wasp's criticism of his master moves from his exterior behaviour to the interior, indicating that the mental landscape of the human Bartholomew is filled with the same nick-nacks and gewgaws one would expect to find in his fairground namesake:

> Would the Fair and all the drums and rattles in't were i' your belly for me; they are already i' your brain. He that had the means to travel your head, now, should meet finer sights than any are i' the Fair, and make a fine voyage on't, to see it all hung with cockle-shells, pebbles, fine wheat-straws, and here and there a chicken's feather and a cobweb.
> (*Bart. Fair,* I.v.83-88)

Wasp's outburst is important, as it makes the link between Cokes and the Fair—already hinted at in their shared name—absolutely explicit in the minds of the audience, depicting the intellectual space of the former and the social space of the latter sharing a similar preoccupation with airy nothings. Overdo's problem is that he thinks rather than engages; Cokes is exactly the opposite, and both lack the capacity to be the sort of judgemental 'understanders' that Jonson wants his real audience to be.

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[173] Interestingly, although this outfit was frequently used in iconographical depictions of the fool, it does not appear to have been worn in Jonson's period: see David Wiles, *Shakespeare's Clown: Actor and Text in the Elizabethan Playhouse* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), who states that 'nowhere in sixteenth-century Europe are real court jesters pictured as wearing the motley and costume outfit' (p. 183).

[174] Mardock, p.99.

As one moves with Cokes into Jonson's Fair, it becomes apparent that Wasp is correct in his characterisation. Considering Jonson's typical care with naming his characters after qualities they possess,[175] it is significant that Cokes shares his forename not only with the Fair but with its patron, St Bartholomew, the Apostle who was flayed alive,[176] and whose saint's day was the 'four-and-twentieth of August,' the very day on which the play's action is set (*Bart. Fair,* I.i.7). Cokes' connection to his saintly predecessor is suggested symbolically as he moves through the Fair's environment, where—deprived of one purse (II.vi); then another (III.v); then his cloak, hat, sword, and goods he bought at the Fair (IV.ii); and then, finally, his betrothed (V.vi)—the audience witness a sort of social flaying, as the esquire is stripped of his money, the badges of his rank, and his anticipated marriage. Whereas Cokes' earlier connection of the Fair with his own name indicates that the character sees a form of ownership over the environment, in Roman comic terms he represents those dupes—the *senex,* the *miles gloriosus*, the *leno*—who are targeted by those with theatrical privilege, and who prove to have no control over the theatrical *espace* in which they move. If one were to continue with a metatheatrical reading of Cokes' journey, one might point again to the parallels that Cokes holds with the real audience watching him: both journey to this heterotopic site from London proper, both are likely to hail from social levels that possess the disposable income to visit such sites, and both have their visit bound within the compass of a single day—Cokes on the 24 August, the audience on the 31 October. Perhaps in this context the comparison between Cokes and audience serves as a warning to the latter group—Jonson hinting to his public that, while these exterior details may be similar, they need to make sure that their own interpretation of the theatrical event is more sophisticated than that of their onstage representative.

I would like to conclude by highlighting a few instances where Cokes falls foul of theatrically privileged characters. The first is in II.vi, when Cokes stops to hear the disguised Overdo orating on 'that tawny weed, tobacco' (II.vi.20), during which time he has the first of his purses stolen by Edgworth. Cokes' pecuniary loss is a direct result of his

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[175] Cf. Jackson, pp.57-68, who sees Jonson's character names as a form of 'poetic predestination' (p.66); and Barton, p.234, who refers to 'characternyms' in the playwright's work.

[176] A. Le Houllier, 'Bartholomew, Apostle, St.,' in *New Catholic Encyclopedia,* 2 vols (Washington: Catholic University of America, 1967), II, p.132.

fixation on the Fair's distractions—delighted by Overdo's oration, the esquire does not notice Edgworth's attentions:

> COKES: Who would ha' missed this, sister?
> MISTRESS OVERDO: Not anybody but Numps.
> COKES: He does not understand.
> EDGWORTH: [*Aside*] Nor you feel.   *He picketh his purse.*
> (*Bart. Fair,* II.vi.43-46)

The irony in this moment is palpable. Cokes accuses 'Numps' (Wasp) of not 'understanding' the entertainment value of Overdo's speech, but the Induction has already primed us to interpret this word as carrying a different meaning, referring to the real audience's intellectual engagement with Jonson's play. There is a further irony in Mistress Overdo joining Cokes in the criticism of Wasp, as she too does not 'understand' that the madman giving the speech is her own husband. Both characters therefore lay false claims to a superior understanding of their situation in comparison to Wasp, who had earlier dismissed Overdo's oration as a waste of time:

> COKES: This is a brave fellow, Numps, let's hear him.
> WASP: 'Sblood, how brave is he? In a guarded coat? You were best truck with him; e'en strip, and truck presently, it will become you. Why will you hear him? Because he is an ass, and may be akin to the Cokeses?
> (*Bart. Fair,* II.vi.14-18)

It is curious that once again Wasp has made a connection between Cokes-as-audience -member, sideshow entertainments, and folly—Overdo is described '[i]n a guarded coat,' the outfit of a fool, and Wasp's insistence that his master should 'truck [exchange clothes] with' the speaker implies that listening to 'Mad Arthur's' words will make him 'become' a fool too, almost through osmosis. One is reminded of Holbein's illustrations to the 1515 edition of Erasmus' *Praise of Folly,* a text that Jonson knew well,[177] and which features an image of a motleyed Folly addressing an audience in similar dress (see Fig. 4.6), the implication being, similar to Wasp's point, that foolishness attracts its own kind.

Despite Mistress Overdo and Cokes' dismissal of Wasp's judgement, his prediction is validated when Cokes fails to 'feel' Edgworth picking his purse at the precise moment he and Mistress Overdo are discussing Wasp's inability to 'understand' the Overdo sideshow.

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[177] Duncan, pp.203-213.

Here Cokes fails to 'understand' in a far more profound sense than Wasp; whereas his servant sees Overdo's oration as a trifling distraction, and therefore not registering its capacity to give pleasure, Cokes misreads his entire surroundings, not realising a lack of attention can lead to theft by the Fair's more unscrupulous patrons. To make matters worse, Cokes does not learn from his mistake, but instead tries to seize the initiative by setting his second purse as bait for any would-be thieves:

> I would ha' him come again now, and but offer at it. Sister, will you
> take notice of a good jest? I will put it just where th'other was, and if
> we ha' good luck, you shall see a delicate fine trap to catch the
> cutpurse nibbling.
> (*Bart. Fair*, II.vi.101-104)

Similar to Overdo, Cokes' plan comes unstuck when he is exposed to those who are far better at reading the environment than he is. This is clearly shown in III.v when, following his earlier declaration that it would be a 'good jest' to set a trap for thieves by placing his second purse in the same place as the first, Cokes is himself ensnared by the teamwork of Edgworth and Nightingale the ballad-singer. Once again, Cokes is lured into being an unthinking, foolish audience member, and Jonson develops the irony of the scene so that it produces in miniature the very Plautine tension between theatrically unaware and privileged characters that suffuses his entire play:

> COKES: How dost thou call it? A Caveat Against Cutpurses! A good
> jest, i'faith. I would fain see that demon, your cutpurse you talk of,
> that delicate-handed devil. They say he walks here-about; I would see
> him walk now. Look you, sister, here, here, let him come, sister, and
> welcome.
> *He shews his purse boastingly*
> Ballad-man, does any cutpurses haunt hereabout? Pray thee raise me
> one or two; begin and shew me one.
> NIGHTINGALE: Sir, this is a spell against 'em.
> (*Bart. Fair*, III.v.30-35)

Fig. 4.6. 'Folly Speaks.' Han Holbein's illustration to Erasmus' *Praise of Folly* (1515). From Desiderius Erasmus, *Praise of Folly* (New York: Eckler, 1922), p.28.

Cokes could not have made himself more of a target if he tried. He has already announced where his purse will be and now all focuses all his attention on Nightingale's song—a song, moreover, that ironically warns its listeners against falling into the sort of trap that is about to ensnare Cokes—and his exchange with the ballad-singer forms the centre-piece of a scene that, similar to the Paul's Walk scene in *Every Man Out,* is observed by a series of characters who become increasingly theatrically self-aware the further they are from direct involvement in the action. Fig. 4.7, rather than being representative of actual staging, illustrates this dynamic metaphorically , with the arrow on the diagram indicating that the scene's characters become more engrossed in the 'illusionistic space' the closer they get to attending on Nightingale and his song.

Fig. 4.7. Diagram outlining the different levels of theatrical privilege in *Bart. Fair,* III.v. (NB: Trash and Leatherhead are onstage during this scene as well, but have been discounted due to their lack of direct involvement in the action.)
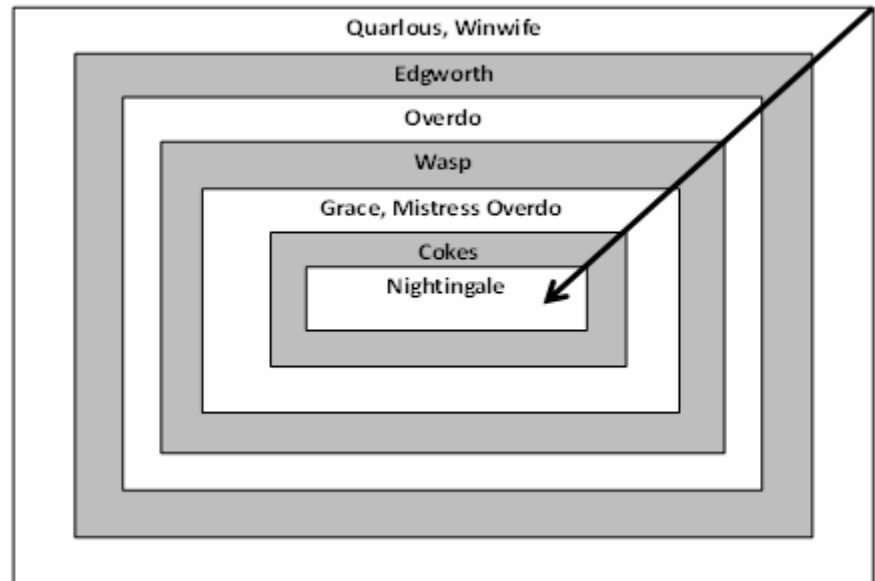


Nightingale himself, as an accomplice to Edgworth, is not as wrapped up in the scene as his position would suggest, but his song and Cokes' absorbed engagement with it occupies the centre of the scene's illusionistic space, similar to the dynamic shown in *Pseudolus* where the unaware Ballio is observed by Pseudolus and Calidorus. Grace and Mistress Overdo do not contribute much to the scene apart from the occasional comment on Cokes' behaviour—as does Wasp, who is much more vocal in his disapproval. The final three frames, however, are the most interesting in terms of theatrical superiority: Overdo, believing he is in command of the situation, is actually less in control than Edgworth, the man whom he believes he is watching over, and Edgworth in turn is observed by Quarlous and Winwife. The pair are actually visitors to the Fair, but what distinguishes them from less alert fairgoers is their ability to 'read' their environment, allowing them to spot the performances of others and to respond in turn.

> COKES: Sister, I am an ass, I cannot keep my purse?
> *[He shews his purse] again*
> On, on, I pray thee, friend.
> *[While COKES listens to the song] EDGWORTH gets up to him, and tickles him in the ear with a straw twice, to draw his hand out of his pocket*
> [Nightingale sings]

> WINWIFE: Will you see sport? Look, there's a fellow gathers up to
> him, mark.
> [Nightingale sings]
> QUARLOUS: Good i'faith! O, he has lighted on the wrong pocket.
> [Nightingale sings]
> WINWIFE: He has it! 'Fore God, he is a brave fellow; pity he should be
> detected.
> [Nightingale sings]
> ALL: An excellent ballad! An excellent ballad!
> (*Bart. Fair,* III.v.143-161)

Their theatrical control in this scene is shown by the fact that they are not observed by anyone else but are able to spot and comment on Edgworth's robbing of Cokes, and of Nightingale's collusion.[178] While the other characters are occupied with the ballad, they are the only pair to spot Edgworth's more furtive game, and their commentary on the cutpurse's endeavours and delight at his final victory reveals their appreciation of these fellow manipulators. Quarlous in particular maintains the theatrical upper hand until the play's close, and, tellingly, he achieves his victory by manipulation of theatrical signs that—as used by Edgworth and Nightingale, and the theatrically privileged characters of Plautine comedy—trap the unwary.

To be tricked out of his purse on two separate occasions unequivocally identifies Cokes as an unobservant idiot who is unable to read the theatrical *espace* around him. The significance of these scenes may go beyond mere comedy, though, as Brown has some interesting observations on how they also either implicate the audience itself in Edgworth's crime or reveal them as equally unobservant. He notes that in the theft of II.i while the Edgworth actor 'may farcically draw spectators' attention through a look or a gesture [...] the actual moment of the theft may even have been partially obscured from inattentive playgoers by the frantic movement of bodies on the stage.'[179] There is some justification of this point if we consider two stage directions—both from the original Second Folio: one, from II.i, rather blandly states that Edgworth '*picketh his* [Cokes'] *purse*' while the other is not looking; the second, from III.v, goes into more detail, saying that '*EDGWORTH gets up to him, and tickles him in the ear with a straw twice, to draw his hand*

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[178] See *Bart. Fair,* III.v.149-150. 154, 157-158, 165-167. Although these exchanges are not marked as asides, one can imagine the pair standing behind the other characters at the edge of the stage (in Weimann's spatially-defined version of the *platea* space?), a staging option that, although not necessarily requiring direct address, would place them in closer proximity to one side of the audience and therefore more likely to encourage a sense of rapport.

[179] Brown, p.160.

*out of his pocket.'* If we accept that both stage directions are Jonson's, the understatement of the former does rather imply that the action was meant to be similarly unobtrusive, and in a scene crowded with numerous characters it is very easy to imagine that some audience members would have seen the theft and others would not. Moreover, Brown sees the silence of the directions in III.v as a metaphor for the chaos of the scene and the audience's need to stay alert: despite Jonson's careful notation of how Edgworth distracts his mark's attention, there is no actual record of the purse and handkerchief being lifted and passed on to Nightingale. Winwife's observance of the crime, '[t]hat conveyance was better than all, did you see't?' (III.v.143), is as much for the audience's benefit as Quarlous', as the crowded stage picture means that it is unlikely that every member of the audience would be able to see Cokes relieved of his purse directly.[180] I have already mentioned that the audience's close proximity to the play's *platea* characters, as well as the links made between the Hope and Smithfield, implies a sense of communality with the Fair's inhabitants, which is set jarringly against the fact that many of this same audience would probably identify themselves more closely with its visitors. The cognitive dissonance that this effect produces is perhaps intensified by these pick-pocketing scenes, as the audience becomes further divided among itself into those who witness Edgworth's crimes—and are therefore to a certain extent colluding in it experientially— and those who do not, and have to rely on the observations of characters like Winwife. This Jonsonian technique, which allows for a greater degree of experiential difference among the play's spectators, is perhaps a refined version of the Plautine version of theatrical collusion—deprived of a thrust stage or crowded scenes the Pseudolus actor (the play's most consistent mediatory character) is able to set up a much more unambiguous rapport between himself and his audience. Nevertheless, one might argue that Jonson and Plautus are striving for the same basic dramaturgical effect—that the audience have to 'pick a side'— and whether this effect comes in the more nuanced form of *Bartholomew Fair* or in the more straightforward mediation of Pseudolus, both playwrights champion the idea that only certain interpreters of theatrical *espace* are correct, and that those who do not belong to this group are either performative or interpretive failures.

Overdo and Cokes may find their experiences in the play more Foul than Fair, but the gallants Quarlous and Winwife seem in some respects to be the heirs of Plautine theatrical

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[180] Brown, p.160. The Cambridge editor places these moments at III.v.127 SD.3 and III.v.140 SD.1.

privilege. As shown by table 4.2 below, Quarlous and Winwife's large number of asides (A) and eavesdropping episodes (E)—more than any other character, with the possible exception of Overdo—identify them as theatrically privileged characters with the same dramaturgical function and control of theatrical *espace* as Pseudolus. Unlike Overdo, who possesses an ironically ineffectual version of Plautine theatrical privilege, Quarlous' successful manipulation of marriage certificates and his own disguises gives him a Pseudolean control over the narrative, allowing himself to function rather like a *deus ex machina* by untangling the play's knot: the corrector Overdo is corrected, Winwife wins Grace, and Quarlous achieves a lucrative marriage to Dame Purecraft.

Table 4.2. Significant Action(s) involving Quarlous (Q) and Winwife (W).

| Act/Scene | Action(s) |
|---|---|
| I.iv | Quarlous (Q) and Winwife (W) discuss Wasp [A1] |
| I.v | Q and W discuss Wasp again [A2] and decide that Cokes, Grace, Mistress Overdo and Wasp will make 'excellent creeping sport' [A3] |
| II.v | Q and W await the arrival of Cokes' party; they engage in a game of vapours at Ursula's stall |
| III.ii | Q and W watch Busy, Littlewit, Dame Purecraft and Win [E1], and discuss Wasp in particular [A4]; Q tells W to 'lay aboard' Purecraft [A5] |
| III.iii | Q and W stand aside to watch Overdo [E2] |
| III.iv | Q and W watch and comment as Cokes, Mistress Overdo, Grace and Wasp move among the stalls [E3, A6]; they draw Grace aside |
| III.v | Q and W watch and comment while Cokes' pocket is picked [E4, A7]; both talk to Grace |
| IV.iii | Q and W fight over Grace |
| IV.iv | Q, W, Edgworth and Grace watch a game of vapours at Ursula's stall [E5], during which the marriage licence is stolen |
| IV.vi | Q picks up the marriage licence from Edgworth; Q also sees and comments on Overdo in the stocks [E6, A8] |
| V.ii | Q finds out that Grace has chosen W to marry; Overdo speaks to Q, mistaking him for Troubleall |
| V.vi | Q acts as *deus ex machina* to resolve the play |

Indeed, it is in V.vi that Quarlous reveals his true Plautine credentials when he exhorts Overdo to 'remember you are but Adam, flesh and blood! You have your frailty' (V.vi.93-94).[181] It is Quarlous, not Overdo, as the character-playwright who manipulates others to achieve his desired outcomes, who finally proves most Pseudolean. In fact, the disparity between the two characters' manipulation of *espace* is made most prominent when, after

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[181]Quarlous completely strips away the Justice's authority, he bids him '[f]orget your other name of Overdo' (*Bart. Fair,* V.vi.94-95) and in changing him from 'Adam Overdo' to merely 'Adam' the Justice is stripped of the patriarchal links supplied by his surname and instead reduced to a single name; a name, moreover, that deliberately alludes to the first man, devoid of ancestry, a figure who lives only for the present and future.

revealing the marriage licence which the Justice has unknowingly signed, and after Mistress Overdo has made her undignified reappearance, dressed as a prostitute and vomiting everywhere, Quarlous tells the magistrate to 'stand not you fixed here, like a stake in Finsbury to be shot at, or the whipping post i' the Fair' (V.vi.90-92). Mardock sees this as a moment where Overdo is marked 'not [as] an interpreter of place, but a dumb, fixed marker of place:'[182] metamorphosed as a target for archery or an aid for corporal punishment, the magistrate has ironically achieved the sort of immovable fixity enjoyed by Ursula and the other stallholders of the Fair, and which marks these characters as more authoritative interpreters of their surroundings. The crucial difference though, is that as stake or post Overdo is a passive instrument, denied the sort of human agency Ursula, Edgworth or Leatherhead can exert on their surrounding from their fixed positions within the Fair; ironically for the 'sometimes' magistrate, he becomes instead an object against which others exert their power.

If one were to continue with the *Pseudolus* comparison, one would see that Overdo's final situation parallels that of the *senex* Simo, who is forced into a humiliating capitulation to his slave when Pseudolus instructs him to place the money his master promises him on his shoulder and to 'follow me this way' ('*me consequere hac*': l.1315).[183] Not only does the sight of master following slave invert their normal relationship, but Pseudolus' parading of his spoils of war along with the cry of '*Vae victis*' ('woe to the conquered': l.1317) also carries a humorous echo of the Roman triumph—a procession in which a victorious general paraded his spoils of war, including slaves, and which, crucially, would have probably wound its route through the Roman Forum—the very site, moreover, in which Plautus' play was likely performed. At the play's end Plautus therefore imbues his comic *ghost* site with resonances that specifically recall its *host*, and in Simo's request, '[w]hy don't you invite the spectators as well?' ('*quin vocas / spectators simul*?': ll.1331-1332), there is a sense that his audience will join this comic inverted procession, their exit from the playing space forming a triumphal route that elides fictive and real worlds. A similar phenomenon occurs in *Bartholomew Fair,* where Overdo's invitation for his fellow characters to come 'home with me to my house to supper' is joined by Cokes' excitable addition, 'we'll ha' the rest o'the play at home' (*Bart. Fair,* V.vi.92, 95), and implies a

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[182] Mardock, p.101.

[183] Cf. a similar moment of inversion in *Rud.* l.1280*,* where the young lover Plesidippus lets his 'patron' ('*patrone*'), his slave Trachalio, lead him off to the marriage that concludes the play.

similar procession of fictive characters out into the city at large. In both plays, therefore, Plautus and Jonson hint at the consequences of their performances not ending with the conclusion of the theatrical event, but that in some sense the city beyond the playhouse or performance space has been permanently impressed with the triumphal procession of their subversive characters. The Plautine and Jonsonian 'third way', their own irreverent interpretation of urban *espace,* has been taken out into the represented space of their authority-controlled cities, and with it a sense that their liberty-taking will also follow their audiences home, and back into their own lives.

# IX

This chapter has aimed to demonstrate that although it may be true that *Bartholomew Fair* has no specific source, Jonson's play imitates Roman comic dramaturgy in several important respects. The first of these is the play's contaminative Induction—part Aristophanic *parabasis,* part Plautine exercise in site specificity, part Terentian appeal for discerning spectators—that in its efforts to forge a link between fictive Fair and real performance space, and to instil the right sort of 'understanding' in its audience, provides the anamorphic perspective from which the play's message can be understood. This message was also inspired by the Roman comics, who, unlike their Old Comic predecessors, eschewed overt political or social commentary—a reflection of the changing tastes of their audience, the intolerance and danger that would greet such inclusions, and the changed use to which drama was put in their society.

Plautus' winners are those who, like the *servus callidus,* Pseudolus, embrace the inherent performativity of their environment, exploiting theatrical conventions like asides and eavesdropping and time and again winning over less astute characters whose theatrical dimness is consonant with their inability to step out of their fictive surroundings. Plautus prioritises those who can control the theatrical space; Jonson does this too (although, as chapter 5 will emphasise, he had misgivings about who deserved to have such theatrical privilege), and he emulated another Plautine technique by blurring the distinction between control of theatrical space with the physical *espace* of early modern London. The Fair's inhabitants are frequently the winners in the skirmishes with their visitors, and Jonson pairs their intellectual command with a command of space, physically situating

them within booths and stalls, the implication being that their control of *espace* is as tangible as the physical markers of *lieu* that surround them. The Induction's emphasis on the similarities between the real environment of the Hope theatre and the fictive environment of the Fair is intended to encourage the audience to see themselves as similar to these characters. In contrast, Jonson's fictional London fairgoers—ironically more representative of the real audience than the Fair's inhabitants—are able to rely on no familiar landmarks, but instead wander through the Fair's attractions and are gradually picked off one by one, the victims of various tricks.

The two most prominent victims out of the London visitors are Overdo and Cokes, who together represent the sort of errors of interpretation and lack of theatrical awareness that Jonson warns against in his Induction. They are cautionary examples to Jonson's audience, and it is in this emphasis on correct theatrical interpretation and judgement, on how an effective reading of a theatrical situation also entails an effective reading of social space, that Jonson shows his clearest link to Roman comedy. *Bartholomew Fair* might not make any grand political statements, but in imitating the tendency of Roman comedy to point out the artificiality of the theatrical event, and by so doing drawing the audience's attention to themselves as people with an interpretive job to perform, Jonson uses his play to challenge the intellect of his spectators, inviting them to become successful readers of theatrical *espace* along with his theatrically privileged characters, and to take this newfound interpretative ability out into the real social space of the *theatrum urbis* of early modern London.

# Chapter 5

# A Servant, But Who Is Master? Broken Theatregrams in *Every Man In His Humour, Volpone,* and *The Devil Is An Ass*

## I

The previous chapters have identified how Jonson's appropriation of the ancients was not limited to textual echoes but rather extended to more general dramaturgical elements—including tropes of character and character grouping, dramatic structure, and spatial practices that encompass movement onstage and the relation of play, audience, and playhouse to London proper—whose employment can only be fully appreciated when his plays are considered in their performance context. My concern has been to highlight how these originally classical elements have changed as they moved into the early modern period and were moulded by Jonson's creative processes. This metamorphosis was not total—after all, enough traces of the original Greek or Latin sources need to remain for us to identify Jonson's borrowings in the first place—but it has been interesting to consider how social and cultural pressures altered the DNA of these originally classical elements to produce a dramatic progeny of character units, plot dynamics, and spatial practices that have the curious characteristic of retaining their ancient lineage while also bearing the unmistakeable features of Father Ben. To change the metaphor, such pouring of new wine into old bottles was reflective of the imitative, contaminative creative techniques of the early modern period in general, but the precocious speed and skill with which Jonson was able to master this technique is indicative that he was a far superior vintner than most.

Hitherto I have emphasised how far these ancient dramaturgical practices have travelled through the millennia, from fifth-century Athens or Republican Rome through to early modern London, but part of this final chapter will consider a much more modest period of time. I will focus on the theatregram of the *servus*, specifically that of the *servus callidus* ('cunning slave')—a character type whose precise incarnation in the Renaissance reflects those found in the Roman comedies, particularly those of Plautus[1]—and I will examine

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[1] Examples can be traced back as far as Aristophanes, however. Xanthias (*Frogs*) and Carion (*Wealth*) are good instances of proto-*callidi,* although they do not possess all the attributes of their Roman successors.

how this figure moves, adapts and changes through several key plays in Jonson's career. I begin with Musco in the Quarto (Q) *Every Man In His Humour*, and will consider how this servant character is Jonson's most unambiguous use of the *servus callidus*, with the playwright's retention of the theatregram's key traits—deference to a young master, brash self-confidence, trickery, disguise, and irreverence—being confirmation of the character's continuing vitality and indicative of a young playwright who at this stage of his career did not wish to tamper too much with something that was not broken. I argue, however, that when he came to revise the play into what would become known as the Folio (F) version, Jonson was no longer satisfied with his presentation of the irrepressible Musco. Brainworm, the servant's anglicised incarnation, is no less entertaining than his Italian cousin, but he has had his theatrical control curbed in a few important respects; I suggest that these alterations are a result of the more mature Jonson, writing for a courtly readership (and probably for a court performance), and who realised that there were aspects of the ancient *servus* that were too disquieting for the rarefied circles for which his work was intended.

My view is that Q *Every Man In* is a text that was performed early in Jonson's career (no later than 1598), whereas F is a reworking made during his more mature phase (sometime between 1605-1612—because F makes some alterations that I think are important for a performance at court, I follow Bevington in favouring 1605),[2] and that these two plays provide an interesting test case of how Jonson's thinking changed over these years. The sense that Jonson became increasingly dissatisfied with the *servus callidus* as his career advanced is strengthened when one considers his adaptation of the theatregram in the characters of Mosca in *Volpone* (performed c.1605-1606) and Pug in *The Devil Is An Ass*

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[2] The precise time when the switch was made between the Q and F versions of *Every Man In* is unclear. Q was first performed in 1598, and although stagings of the play after F's publication in 1616 are almost unanimously of the revised rather than the original version scholars are not absolutely certain about when F's performance premier may have been, although the period most frequently favoured is sometime between 2 February 1605 (the date of its first recorded court performance) and 1612 (the Cambridge editor favours the earlier date). As opposed to F, therefore, with Q we have a playtext that was unequivocally both written and performed in Jonson's early career, and as such can be taken for evidence on how the younger Jonson engaged with his classical sources. This is important, as I see Musco as the closest match to the Roman *servus callidus*—endowed with theatrical privilege, a creator of rapport with the audience, cunning, resourceful, but ultimately loyal to his (young) master—and that this fairly loyal act of *imitatio* can be ascribed to the earlier phase of the playwright's career in which he may not have developed the boldness (or, perhaps the inclination) to depart too much from his sources. For a summary of the ongoing dating debate over *EMI* F, see David Bevington, 'Introduction [*Every Man In His Humour,* Folio Version],' in *CWBJ,* I, pp.619-626, (pp.619-621); also Dutton, *Shakespeare, Court Dramatist*, pp.94-95.

(performed 1616), two plays that are near if not exact contemporaries to the F *Every Man In*. In *Volpone* and *Devil*, Jonson's servile characters are actually a result of characterological *contaminatio*—Mosca is a descendant of the Roman traditions of the *servus* and *parasitus*, as well as the Vice and Vice-related figures of contemporary theatre; whereas Pug claims kinship with early modern devil plays alongside the Roman slave. I suggest that the Jonsonian *contaminatio* that created these two characters is—as seen in the changes between Musco and Brainworm—another manifestation of Jonson's dissatisfaction with the conventions surrounding the *servus*. With Mosca, Jonson allows the subversive energies of the *servus callidus* free rein: the character's treachery makes him a *servus insidiosus* ('treacherous slave,' my definition), and sends the play's action into the realm of tragedy. With Pug, Jonson makes the servant a pathetic rather than a tragic figure, and his depiction of the hapless devil's failed attempts to fulfil his cunning remit recalls the behaviour of Parmeno in Terence's *Hecyra*, another character whose dramatic function is to be consistently side-lined. Both reworkings have different emphases, but both display Jonson's impulse to engage with but ultimately to improve upon and move beyond his ancient models.

Jonson's characterological innovations are part of the playwright's continuing interest in confounding his audience's aesthetic expectations, and despite his (somewhat disingenuous) claims to the contrary, he was not averse to pushing at the boundaries of genre itself in order to do so, sometimes (as was the case with *Sejanus*, *Catiline*, and *The New Inn*) with disastrous box office results. I will suggest that the hybridising force exerted on the theatregram in these four plays (especially the last two) is frequently tied up with Jonson's experiments with genre, although each play reveals a different facet of this experimentation. Across the two versions of *Every Man In* we see an increasing unease with the glibness of the New Comic slave in an early modern world; in *Volpone*, this unease is taken a step further by Mosca, a sort of dark mirror-image of the earlier Musco, who serves as a useful characterological barometer for the play's general movement from comic to tragic modes; finally in *Devil* we find a character and a play that, although tonally lighter than the previous, expresses through Pug's failed mission a dissatisfaction with the *servus* type that is even more pronounced than that found in Musco and Brainworm. My argument is that Jonson's hybridising is a result of his realisation that the unadulterated Roman *servus callidus* could not, perhaps should not, be present in the theatre of the early modern age: Renaissance London was not Republican Rome, and the playwright's

reappraisal of the cunning slave is an attempt to adapt this ancient figure to the requirements and restrictions of a strange new world.

My intention for this final chapter, somewhat perversely, is to raise some difficult questions about the theatregram. As a conceptual model it has served as a useful springboard in my previous discussions, but it contains an interesting paradox in that it signifies a dramaturgical element that is simultaneously static (containing a number of key features that identify it) and shifting (able to move into new dramatic and cultural contexts, and combinable with other dramaturgical elements). I ask here: is the fluid solidity of the theatregram reconcilable? I offer the provocation that whereas the theatregram of the *servus callidus* remains recognisable in his earliest *Every Man In His Humour*, in his revised version and in his two later plays it becomes increasingly 'broken,' with the departures Jonson makes from his model being of greater significance than the elements that remain. Such an approach is not meant to undermine the concept of the theatregram completely, but serves to illustrate that whereas it is a useful tool for macro-analysis—helping us to understand and trace the movement of dramaturgical units not necessarily limited to text—on the micro-level of close textual analysis it reveals its limitations.

Jonson, true to his motto, was a dramaturgical '*explorator*,' and in following him on his creative journey across these four plays I will take a similarly meandering route. Beginning with a historical comparison of the role and position of the slave and servant in their respective societies, my analysis will take in Jonson's Plautine and Terentian sources; their Italian descendants, the *commedia erudita* and *commedia dell'arte*; the native English morality and devil play; and the separate (but distantly related) Aristotelian and *de casibus* tragic traditions. Such a wide-ranging use of sources is, I think, justified, as it emphasises the large range of creative influence that was brought to bear on Jonson's work. It also helps justify my title's question of 'who is master' over the Jonsonian servant: as a theatrical type with specific association and behaviours, does the slave/servant have a life of its own, the independent, 'detachable' nature of the theatregram meaning that the playwright's dramaturgical choices were limited by convention? Or does Jonson's contamination of sources circumvent his characters' conventionality, his combination of elements from different traditions creating something new from an assemblage of the old? I will suggest that it is this second proposition rather than the first that is more

apparent in the plays under discussion, but the immense creative and moral difficulties this created are aptly represented by the labyrinthine, intersecting and diverting routes of inspiration that Jonson routinely followed in order to write them.

<div align="center">II</div>

I will begin by providing some context on the slave in Roman society and on their onstage depictions, and will compare these figures to the early modern servant, a social grouping that—while in many ways not similar at all—hold some important parallels with the ancient *servi* that Jonson would exploit to dramatic effect. These introductory remarks are necessary because it will help establish, firstly, why Jonson chose to include servant figures in the first place, and secondly will also offer some suggestions as to why he chose to move increasingly away from the type.

Comic slaves, in inverse proportion to their real social status, were very important to the Roman stage: at a very rough count, there are approximately fifty *servi* and *servae* in Plautus and approximately fifteen in Terence, making the role one of the most frequently reproduced elements in the two playwrights' work and giving a clear indication of their popularity in performance. The explanations for the centrality of the slave in the extant plays—especially in Plautus'—are various, including that they embodied, particularly in their cunning incarnation, the topsy-turvy saturnalian atmosphere of the *ludi* in which they were performed;[3] that their social inferiority allows them to provide cruder, more scatological forms of humour that would appear indecorous in non-servile characters;[4] or even that their real function in Roman society, moving between the public and private spheres at the behest of their masters, made them structurally useful as realistic linking figures who could help move along plays that are so reliant on exchanges between *oikos* and *polis* (or, more accurately for their Roman audience, *domus* and *respublica*).[5]

Perhaps the most interesting theory on the slave's centrality has been provided by McCarthy, who suggests that the Roman playwrights exploited to comic effect some of the strange paradoxes produced by the *dominus-servus* system, such as the need for the slave

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[3] Segal (see chapter 4, fn. 6), but also McCarthy, pp.17-18.
[4] C. Stace, 'The Slaves of Plautus,' *Greece and Rome* 15 (1968), pp.64-77 (p.68).
[5] Fitzgerald, *Slavery,* p.5.

to be 'as much as possible an extension of their master's persona and yet exercising judgement and skills of their own,' and also that the rewards frequently given to good slaves (which reached their apogee in the act of manumission) conferred a degree of negotiation and exchange on a relationship that, being notionally based on one party possessing absolute and perpetual control over another, should not have had to rely on such compromises.[6] The slave's degree of control in their relationship with their master should not be overstated, but in Plautus' comedies in particular one sees the grotesquely exaggerated consequences of a socio-economic arrangement that, while never in reality conferring huge benefits upon the dominated, still had the capacity to be 'very labour-intensive for the dominant.'[7] Indeed, McCarthy makes another crucial point in emphasising that in Republican Rome such power exchanges extended beyond the particulars of the master-slave relationship, as the designation of an individual as 'dominant' was highly reliant on context. In reality, 'the finely calibrated scale' of the Roman social order meant that any member of Plautus or Terence's original audience—rich or poor, male or female, free or slave—would have been beholden to someone higher up the pecking order than them,[8] and could therefore identify with the slave's need to obey orders and please a master.[9] From this reading, McCarthy argues that:

> The clever slave in comedy serves as a talisman against anxieties
> having to do specifically with slavery but also, more broadly, against
> the anxieties that arose from the constant need to jockey for position
> in the many minutely gradated hierarchies that ordered Roman
> society.[10]

It is McCarthy's 'clever slave' that one should keep specifically in mind when approaching Duckworth's description of the Roman comic slave, a summary that remains one of the most succinct and comprehensive of this character type:

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[6] McCarthy, pp.19-20, 24-25.

[7] McCarthy, p.25; See also Keith Bradley, *Slavery and Society at Rome* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp.115-117, who states that slaves had a number of well-established techniques for low-level disruption, including '[t]ruancy, dilatoriness, lying, dissembling, stealing, causing damage, [and] feigning sickness' (p.117).

[8] One thinks in particular of the patron-client system, in which clients, already in the pay of a richer citizen or hopeful of entering it, spent much of their time demonstrating—through visits, the performance of services, or artistic dedications—their continuing loyalty and respect, which was not always reciprocated. A more equitable, benevolent version of the patron-client system can be glimpsed in Horace's *Odes* in the poet's frequent addresses to his sponsor Maecenas, but see Juvenal V, and Martial's *Epigrams,* especially V.xxii, VI.lxxxviii, X.lxxiv, which capture the drudgery and frustration of this way of life.

[9] McCarthy, p.19.

[10] McCarthy, pp.19-20.

Almost all the slaves have one characteristic in common—talkativeness; from this stems their boastfulness and self-glorification, their impudence and insolence, their inquisitiveness, indiscretion, and love of gossip, their fondness for moralising. A free and easy attitude prevails in their dealing with others and they show little respect towards their elders and betters. They are often lazy and indifferent, fond of good food and drink, and they do not hesitate to lie, cheat, and steal when it seems necessary—usually for the benefit of their young master rather than for their own personal advantage, but not always.[11]

The description fits *servi* and *servae* of all types in Roman comedy, but it is really in the *callidus* variant that one finds the greatest concentration of these traits. There is general agreement that the most developed, entertaining, and dramatically central of these *servi callidi* can be found in eight of Plautus' plays (Libanus in *Asinaria,* Chrysalus in *Bacchides,* Palaestrio in *Miles Gloriosus,* Tranio in *Mostellaria,* Toxilius in *Persa,* Milphio in *Poenulus*, and the title characters of *Epidicus* and *Pseudolus*) and two of Terence's (Parmeno in *Eunuchus,* Davus in *Andria*).[12] Between them, these ten characters exhibit *servus* characteristics most common to the *callidus*,[13] including switches between brash self-confidence and complete despair;[14] a tendency to fall into an elevated rhetorical style, including comparisons of their plots to military escapades (they marshal '*copiae'* ['forces'] against '*inimicos'* ['enemies'], seek '*praeda*' ['plunder'], and so on) and themselves to triumphing generals ('*imperatores'*), famous or mythological figures;[15] to slapstick and elastic gags (such as the 'door scene' in *Mostellaria*);[16] a delight in linguistic playfulness

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[11] Duckworth, p.249.

[12] Consensus on the most important *servi callidi* can be found in the emphases of Beacham, Slater, Segal, Fraenkel, and Moore, who focus much of their attention on these characters.

[13] Examples in the following footnotes are elaborated more fully by Francesca Schironi, 'The Trickster Onstage: The Cunning Slave from Plautus to *Commedia dell'Arte,'* in *Ancient Comedy and Reception: Essays in Honour of Jeffrey Henderson,* ed. by S. Douglas Olson (Berlin; New York: De Gruyter, 2013)*,* pp. 447-478 (p.449ff.).

[14] For examples of confidence, see Pseudolus (*Pseud.,* ll.574-576), Tranio (*Most.,* ll.409-418), Toxilus (*Pers.,* ll.449-458; 480-481), and Parmeno (*Eun.,* l.936ff.—although, in this instance the slave's confidence is misplaced). For examples of slaves expressing doubts, see Libanus (*Asin.,* ll.249-264), Epidicus (*Epid.,* ll.96-100), Pseudolus (*Pseud.,* ll.423-426), Tranio (*Most.,* ll.676-679), Davus (*An.,* l.598).

[15] Perhaps the most extensive comparisons between the slave's schemes and military action is made by Chrysalus (*Bacch,,* ll.709-11; 1069-1074), but see also Pseudolus in *Pseud.,* ll.579-589, 761-73, and especially l.1317, where the slave utters the ominous '*vae victis'* ('woe to the conquered'); Libanus in *Asin.,* ll.554-556; and Palaestrio in *Mil.,* ll.267, 596-608, 815. Most boldly of all, some Plautine slaves even claimed deification for themselves (*Bacch.,* l.638; *Epid.,* ll.675-676), an act that, even from a free citizen, would have seemed 'totally unthinkable' and 'un-Roman' to a Republic that was yet to experience the apotheosising excesses of the later Imperial period (Slater, *Theatre of Plautus,* pp.132-133).

[16] Plautus, *Most.* ll.431-531.

(such as Chrysalus' play on his 'golden boy' name in *Bacchides*);[17] and frequent references that show a metatheatrical awareness of plays and their conventions.[18] These characters are only the prime specimens of the slave *genus,* however, and in fact one finds many instances of *callidi* who play more of a supporting role in their plays, and more still who, while *servi,* and while exhibiting some of the characteristics listed above, are more accurately described as *boni* ('good')*, inepti* ('useless')*,* or *ignavi* ('lazy')*.*[19]

It must also be noted that when one thinks of the stereotype of the *servus callidus* one is often thinking about the Plautine variant rather than the Terentian—the latter playwright, with the (partial) exception of Parmeno and Davus, eschewed the inversionistic attitudes and knockabout comedy of the earlier playwright's slaves in favour of generally blander versions that served the more refined, genteel tone of his comedies.[20] Parmeno in *Eunuchus*, for instance, does provide the cunning plan that Chaerea should dress as a eunuch in order to gain access to the object of his desire, Pamphilia, but quickly claims he was 'just joking' ('*iocabar equidem*': l.378) when it becomes apparent that the *adulescens* has taken him seriously, and panics when the scheme is put into action—'I'm ruined! Wretched me, what have I done?' ('*perii! quid ego egi miser?*': *Eun.* l.378, translation mine). On balance, the events that Parmeno's scheme inspires are worthy of their Plautine equivalents, but the slave's prevarications, and his eventual fooling by Pythias in the final Act of the play (l.1002ff.), are certainly not. The distinction between Plautine and

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[17] 'Chrysalus, the golden boy, needs gold,' '*opus est chryso Chrysalo*': *Bacch.* l.240.

[18] For self-aware references to comic conventions, see *Most.,* ll.1149-1151; *Poen.,* l.427; *Stich.,* ll.1149-1151.

[19] See Stace, who claims that out of the large amount of slaves in Plautus' plays fourteen can be regarded as central to their plays' plots. He categorises these important slaves into three groups: *servi callidi* (as above); 'deceived slaves' (Sosia in *Amphitruo,* Olympio in *Casina,* Sceledrus in *Miles Gloriosus*); and 'slaves of special interest' (Tyndarus in *Captivi,* Gripus in *Rudens,* Truculentus in *Truculentus*) (pp.66-67). Aside from these characters, Stace designates the remaining Plautine slaves as 'ordinary' comic slaves (such as Lampadio in *Cistellaria,* Messenio in *Menaechmi,* Trachalio in *Rudens*) and 'very minor' slaves (including Thesprio in *Epidicus,* Grumio in *Mostellaria*) (p.68). Even when slaves assumed a role of secondary importance in their play's plot, though, they still performed essential functions either as protatic characters or in helping in narrative progression (p.70).

[20] C.W. Amerasinghe ('The Part of the Slave in Terence's Drama,' *Greece and Rome* 19 (1950), pp.62-72) argues that Terence was never really enthusiastic about the slave in his plays, and that his dramatic career was marked by a movement from 'half-hearted acceptance of convention' in his portrayal of the character in his earlier plays (p.63), to a disregard for the character as he grew in confidence in his later plays, in which the slave was frequently depicted as inept or irrelevant. Even the Terentian *callidi* are not exempt, with Amerasinghe seeing Davus as not being in possession of the character's usual cunning, and Parmeno as 'lukewarm in his master's cause' (p.66). Interestingly though, the article notes a return to prominence for the slave in the *Adelphoe,* which Amerasinghe argues was the result of the initial failure of *Hecyra,* an unusually serious play in which the slave hardly figures at all. If this argument is correct, it suggests that the slave was still a popular figure, and that Terence, despite his artistic misgivings, was forced to relent and give the public what it wanted in his next offering.

Terentian *callidi* is an important point to make, as the Plautine variant of the character had the earliest and strongest impact on the Renaissance stage: in 1484 *Aulularia* was the first Latin comedy to be given a public performance during the period, with other high profile performances following in 1485 (*Asinaria*) and 1486 (*Menaechmi*).[21] Aside from these original language and adapted performances of his plays, Plautus also exerted a strong creative influence on the playwrights of the *commedia erudita,* an Italian theatrical form that flourished in the early part of the sixteenth century, and whose deliberate attempt to re-present classical tropes and ideas in vernacular plays paved the way for classically-inspired comedies throughout Europe during the rest of the period.[22] Despite Terence's dominance in the critical and literary receptions of Latin comedy during the Renaissance, it was therefore the Plautine version of the *callidus* that theatre-makers and audiences were most likely to be familiar with in performance. Consequently, in the discussion that follows on the *servus callidus* in *Every Man In* I will consequently be making reference mainly to Plautus' creations, although we shall have cause to revisit the Terentian slave as we move onto Jonson's later plays.

But why was this ancient character type, hailing from a social caste that was—at least officially—no longer recognised in early modern England, of any interest to Jonson or his contemporary playwrights? There is the obvious fact that the Roman *servus* had already exerted an impact on more recent dramatic works, with the writers of the early sixteenth-century *commedia erudita* and the performers of the *commedia dell'arte*—both of which exercised a considerable degree of influence on later dramatists and theatre-makers throughout western Europe—putting the character to various uses. One might argue that Jonson and his English contemporaries were responding at least in part to these Italianate sources and to their subsequent appropriation in English literature and drama rather than the Roman tradition that lay behind them—for prominent examples of this appropriation, one thinks of Gascoigne's influential *Supposes* (performed 1566, published 1577; a translation of Ludovico Ariosto's *Suppositi,* 1509), Marston's *What You Will* (performed

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[21] See appendix B, entries 5, 8, and 11.

[22] Schironi, pp.459-461, highlights that the playwrights of the early-sixteenth-century *commedia erudita*—who formed the earliest and most concentrated group in which classical theatrical models were explicitly copied, were particularly fascinated with the Plautine *servi callidi.* This interest would eventually wane (p.460), but their early interest in Plautine over Terentian slaves would have a great impact on the presentation of this character in subsequent generations of playwrights. Andrews, *Scripts and Scenarios,* provides a good overview of the development, spread, and influence of the *commedia erudita* and the *commedia dell'arte* through the sixteenth century and beyond (*passim*).

1601; based on Sforza Oddi's *I morti vivi*), Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night* (performed c.1601-1602; partly based on Intronati's *Gl'ingannati*).[23] Indeed, the wealth of what Henke refers to as 'cultural and theatrical homologies' shared between Italy and England in the sixteenth century means it is very likely that characteristics of the *servus* would have been filtered just as much through this contemporary Italianate tradition as through the more rarefied, intellectually elitist routes of the Roman dramatists' published works and the performance of their plays at academic institutions and grand civic occasions.[24] Schironi is also surely right in saying that part of the continuing interest in the lowly slave is that it chimes well with a deep element of comedy that prioritises the inversionistic and carnivalesque, and that while the specifics of slavery may have been alien to a Renaissance audience, the pattern of the lowly triumphing over the high was a familiar one, and could indeed be traced in other comic traditions of medieval plays, mystery cycles, Tudor interludes, European folklore, Italian novellae and drama, not to mention the comedies of Aristophanes and Menander.[25] It would therefore be fair to say that the *servus* cannot be traced to any one particular source, or even group of sources, but was rather present in and disseminated by a wide range of intertexts, both early and modern, giving the character type an ubiquitous cultural presence that Jonson would have been unable to avoid.

If the general outline of the slave character was still readily recognisable in cultural and literary analogues, it was also not difficult to translate many aspects of the *servus* into a social type that embodied the nearest form of servitude in early modern society: the servant. The ubiquity of Roman stage *servi* is matched by that of the servant on the Renaissance stage—indeed, this ubiquity is so pronounced that Berger, Bradford and Sondergard chose to omit servants, messengers, pages, and maids from their index of early modern characters for fear of expanding their catalogue to unwieldy proportions.[26]

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[23] See Henke, *Pastoral Transformations,* esp. pp.16-23, who also speaks about the Italian influence on the tragicomic genre and pastoral mode that produced English works like Sidney's *Arcadia*, but which had themselves been partly influenced by New Comic models.

[24] Henke, *Pastoral Transformations,* p.31.

[25] Schirini, 'The Trickster Onstage*,'* in *Ancient Comedy and Reception*, ed. by Olson,p.447. See also Waith, *Patterns and Perspectives,* pp.78-79, who outlines the opinions of Freud and his followers on the matter; also Bakhtin, *Rabelais, passim,* and J. Huizinga, *Homo Ludens: A Study of the Play-Element in Culture* (London: Routledge, 1959), esp. pp.1-27, 46-75.

[26] Thomas L. Berger, William C. Bradford, and Sidney L. Sondergard, 'Introduction,' in *An Index of Characters in Early Modern English Drama Printed Plays, 1500-1660*, ed. by Thomas L. Berger, William C. Bradford, and Sidney L. Sondergard (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp.1-14.

As with the stage slave, the sheer numbers of servants on the early modern stage is representative of the omnipresence of this group in the workings of their society, and we will see that they hold similarities in other respects that make Jonson's *combinatio* of the two types logical.

There are of course some glaring differences between Renaissance servants and Roman slaves that must be acknowledged first. The most important difference rests on exactly what 'servitude' meant for these two groups. The Renaissance 'servant' could conceivably refer to persons from every level of the social strata—the term was often loosely applied, and writers of the period included among their number domestic servants, apprentices, ladies-in-waiting, gentlemen ushers, players, and even at its broadest definition monks, courtiers, and kings.[27] This wide application of 'servant' in the Renaissance was freighted with Biblical connotations (writers like Ling and Gouge, cited in the footnote below, certainly use it in this context), and considering that Jonson's age was still grounded in the rigid hierarchies of the medieval feudal system, which was defined by strict levels of social gradation most memorably enshrined in the concept of the Great Chain of Being, one sees a parallel with the 'finely calibrated scale' of the Roman social order. For my purposes, though, 'servant' refers specifically to the domestic variety. Sharpe provides a good definition:

> [T]he term 'servant' normally denoted a person hired by the year […]
> living in the employer's household, usually, in sub-gentry households

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[27] See Mark Thornton Burnett, *Masters and Servants in English Renaissance Drama and Culture: Authority and Obedience* (Basingstoke; London: Macmillan, 1997), pp.2-3, who cites, among others, the following texts (page citations and parenthetical descriptions are mine): E.K. Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage,* 4 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1923), II.208; IV.263-264, 296, 334 (numerous Elizabethan documents naming players as servants); Stefano Guazzo, *The Civile Conversation,* trans. by George Pettie (London, 1581), Book II, pp. 49, 51, 53 (refers to kings and emperors as servants), *Early English Books Online,* http://eebo.chadwyck.com/search?ACTION=GOTO&SOURCE=var_spell.cfg&FILE=../session/1474294623_21109&SEARCHSCREEN=CITATIONS&DISPLAY=AUTHOR&ECCO=default&SIZE=default [date accessed 19 Sep 2016]; Nicholas Ling, *Politeuphuia wits common wealth* (London, 1597), T2ᵛ-T3ʳ (insists that all must be obedient servants to the 'common-weale'), *Early English Books Online,* <http://eebo.chadwyck.com/search/full_rec?SOURCE=pgimages.cfg&ACTION=ByID&ID=99844215&FILE=../session/1474297995_29842&SEARCHSCREEN=param(SEARCHSCREEN)&VID=9006&PAGENO=143&ZOOM=FIT&VIEWPORT=&SEARCHCONFIG=var_spell.cfg&DISPLAY=param(DISPLAY)&HIGHLIGHT_KEYWORD=undefined> [date accessed 19 Sep 2016]; William Gouge, *Of domesticall duties* (London, 1622) A2 3ʳ (husbands and wives as each other's servants), B4ʳ (claims that all Christians should 'serve' and submit to one another), *Early English Books Online,* < http://eebo.chadwyck.com/search/fulltext?SOURCE=var_spell.cfg&FILE=../session/1474296889_27541&ACTION=ByID&ID=D00000998390470000&DISPLAY=AUTHOR&WARN=Y&SIZE=2050> [date accessed 19 Sep 2016].

at least, eating with the employer's family, and 'paid' overwhelmingly
in board rather than cash.[28]

By this definition (and following Burnett) I include apprentices as a form of domestic servant, as they too were 'hired' for a fixed period (although theirs was typical longer than a year), often lived with their master or mistress and were given board and lodgings as the main form of remuneration for their work. Like the Roman slave, the domestic servant was therefore frequently an integral part of their employer's economic concerns, they worked and often lived in close proximity to their employer's family (to the extent that they were often viewed as family members themselves),[29] and their behaviour was often carefully regulated. Such service, however, was mutually advantageous: the reflected glory of the great families or institutions to which they were attached often conferred a certain status upon the servant, and their servitude was frequently predicated upon financial support or maintenance. Additionally, as was the case with apprentices, or with the children of lesser nobles serving in the great aristocratic houses or at court, there was a sense that the period of subordination was a finite one, and that would be followed by the rewards of increased skills, wages, or social advancement in later life.[30] Therefore, although Renaissance servitude frequently conferred at least a degree of subordination and social anonymity there was a sense for many that there was light at the end of the tunnel. Even for those who worked as servants for all of their professional lives the role was a worthy one, and provided a source of income that allowed for a degree of financial independence that might even offer, for the lucky few, the possibility of finding a spouse and starting a family of their own.[31]

Such a situation was not true of the slave. Fitzgerald notes that, unlike the situation in the US antebellum South, Roman slavery 'was not racial in essence:' slaves were frequently prisoners of war, captured by pirates or slavers, or born into slave families, so were representative of a much wider spectrum of racial, ethnic, and social origins.[32] Ironically,

[28] Sharpe, p.211. See also John Hajnal, 'Two Kinds of Preindustrial Household Formation System,' *Population and Development Review* 8 (1982), pp.449-494 (p.473).

[29] Sharpe, p.60; Hajnal, p.473. Gouge talks of the 'mutuall and reciprocall bond' between master and servant, and elsewhere depicts the servant as a member of family life (*Of domesticall duties,* M3[v]) [date accessed 19 September 2016].

[30] Burnett, p.16.

[31] Sharpe, p.211.

[32] Fitzgerald, *Slavery,* p.3; also Andrew Drummond, 'The World of Rome,' in *The Penguin Encyclopedia of Classical Civilisations,* ed. by Arthur Cotterel (London: Penguin, 1993), pp.81-146 (pp.120-123);

the varied origins of the Roman slave meant that they hailed from a similarly broad social cross-section as the Renaissance servant (when 'servant' is used in its widest sense), but this is where demographic comparisons end: the slave was legally their master's property,[33] and the period of service and the conditions under which they worked were much harsher than that of the servant. Admittedly, the practice of manumission meant that slaves had the prospect of an end to their servitude, and Roman society was full of successful freedmen (especially in the literary world: Terence was an ex-slave, as was Plautus and Livius Andronicus, and Horace was the son of a freedman),[34] but this practice was not widespread, and far more died as slaves than were emancipated.[35] The lot of the domestic slave was also not necessarily harsh, and undoubtedly many masters and mistresses adopted similar stances to Seneca and Pliny the Younger, who were solicitous for their slaves' welfare, often to the point of feeling familial attachment.[36] The crucial distinction, though, is that such liberal attitudes were not mandatory. For every benevolent master there was probably a cruel one, liable to follow the opinion of Varro that slaves are 'instruments of the speaking type' ('*instrumenti genus vocale*,' translation mine),[37] and the surviving literature supplies examples of slaves being abandoned when

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George Long and William Smith, 'Servus,' in *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities,* 2nd ed. (London: Murray, 1882), pp.1034-1042 (pp.1038-1040).

[33] Keith Bradley, 'Freedom and Slavery,' in *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Studies,* ed. by Alessandro Barchiesi and Walter Scheidel (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp.624-635 (p.628).

[34] The socially eminent freedman was a source of contempt for some. Juvenal detested them, in particular manumitted Greeks (See III.60-61, where his speaker declares he 'cannot stand a Greekified Rome' ('*non possum ferre* […] *Graecam Urbem*')), and Petronius' depiction of the extravagantly rich freedman Trimalchio in his *Satyricon* is an unflattering portrait of a character whose crassness and vulgarity serves a synecdoche for his servile origins.

[35] In the later Imperial period, Augustus even 'introduced formal restrictions designed to curb the indiscriminate freeing of slaves.' Drummond, 'The World of Rome,' in *The Penguin Encyclopedia of Classical Civilisations,* ed. by Cotterel, p.123; see also Bradley, 'Freedom and Slavery,' p.632.

[36] See Seneca, *De Ira,* II.xxiv.20, Plutarch, *Cato Maior,* XX.3, Pliny the Younger, *Epist.*; also Horace, *Epode* II.i.142 and Plutarch, *Coriolanus,* XXIV, which show slaves taking a part (albeit a subordinate one) in prayers and meals alongside their masters.

[37] Varro, *Rerum Rusticarum,* in Cato, Varro, *On Agriculture,* trans. by W.D. Hooper and Harrison Boyd Ash, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1934), I.xvii.1. Fitzgerald discusses the paradox inherent in Roman attitudes to slavery, which allowed an acknowledgement of the slave's humanity to exist side-by-side with the idea that they were property that a master or mistress could treat with impunity. He cites particularly notorious references to slavery, including Varro's description (cited above), Aristotle's view that a slave was 'an animate piece of property' (*Politics,* 1253b), as well as the unpleasant scene in Juvenal where a wife demands a slave be crucified for a trivial crime, and when met with resistance from her husband, asks 'You idiot! Is a slave a person? All right, let's accept that he hasn't done anything. But it's my wish and my command. Let my will be reason enough' (VI.222-223). One must agree with Fitzgerald that the statement in Juvenal is meant to appear excessively cruel in order to establish the wife as particularly monstrous, but it at least points to the savage treatment that slaves potentially *could* be subjected to under a brutal master or mistress. See Fitzgerald, *Slavery,* pp.6-7.

they fell sick,[38] condemned to cruel and unusual deaths at the whims of their masters,[39] or—if they had the misfortune to be agricultural rather than domestic slaves—worked to death down mines or in rural mills.[40] Laws would eventually be passed to give slaves more legal protection,[41] but in Plautus and Terence's time they could be beaten, tortured, or executed with relative impunity, and the violence of their lives is ably represented in the threats made against *servi* and *servae* in the two playwrights' comedies.[42] Life for many Renaissance servants was surely tough, but their remunerative relationship with their superiors, their free status and protection under the law meant that they could not, notionally at least, be subject to the same levels of dependence, privation and punishment as the Roman slave.[43] It is here, and in the stark, and potentially unending, divide between freedom and servility in Roman society that the situation of the early modern servant departs so noticeably.

Despite these quite obvious differences in social and legal status, conditions of labour, and social position, the parallels between Roman slave and Renaissance servant also require outlining. The first similarity is, most obviously, that each was under the authority of a master or mistress; notionally this subservience was voluntary on the part of the servant, but in an age where the practice of apprenticeships or serving one's time in the households of one's superiors were fundamental components to local and national economies,[44] one wonders how much 'free choice' was actually involved. In fact, the severe demands made of the early modern servant, many of whom were between the

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[38] Suetonius, *Life of Cladius* XXV.ii refers to some slave owners abandoning their slaves on the island of Aesculapius, the god of healing, and to Claudian's attempt to end this practice by issuing a decree 'that all such slaves were free, and that if they recovered, they should not return to the control of their master; but if anyone preferred to kill such a slave rather than to abandon him, he was liable to the charge of murder.' Suetonius, *Lives of the Caesars,* trans. by J.C. Rolfe, 2 vols, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1914), II.

[39] Pliny the Elder, *HN,* IX.xxxix, has a particularly unpleasant story about the equestrian Vedius Pollo, who would throw slaves to be eaten alive by lampreys. See Pliny the Elder, *Natural History,* trans. by H. Rackham, 10 vols, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1940), III.

[40] See, for example, Diodorus Siculus, *Diodorus of Siculus,* trans. by Francis R. Walton, 12 vols. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1967), III, V.xxxviii.1. A hint of this fate worse than death can be detected in the Roman comedies, where slaves are frequently threatened with being sent to the mill if they do not behave (see *Epid.* l.121; *Most.,* l.18). Predictably for the comic worlds of Plautus and Terence, though, these threats often fall on deaf ears.

[41] Suetonius, *Cl.,* XXV.

[42] Geta, a slave in Terence's *Phormio* who ponders punishment at his master's hands, gives some examples: 'grinding in the mill, beatings, fetters, working on the farm,' and his admission that 'none of these will take me by surprise' suggests their relative banality (ll.249-250). For other examples, see *Bacch.,* ll.360-362; *Asin.,* ll.300-301; *Capt.* l.605; *Merc.* ll.396-397. See Fitzgerald, *Slavery,* pp.32-50.

[43] Burnett, pp.34-35.

[44] Sharpe, pp.209-210.

ages of ten and thirty, and who were often required to remain unmarried, to observe strict regimens of behaviour, and to expect punishment if they displeased their masters,[45] holds similarities with the prohibitions placed on the Roman slave.[46] There are of course wide disparities in the quality of this servitude, most obviously of degree (the Roman slave's lot was undoubtedly harsher), but in both periods one can, through the median example, rather than the extreme, discern a similar pattern of behavioural containment that brings the two together.

A second point of convergence relates to the ubiquity of servants and slaves in Roman and early modern societies. Burnett, drawing on the work of Coward, Griffiths, and Hajnal, states that servants could be found in just under a third (29%) of households in Jonson's period, and that 'a substantial proportion of young people of both sexes could expect to be servants at some stage in their lives;'[47] Sharpe, voicing general scholarly consensus, also states that servants 'were an inescapable, and perhaps distinctive, feature of the early modern English household.'[48] Slaves maintained a similar omnipresence in Roman society too, although details about them are much more difficult to ascertain. *Pace* the Roman comic dramatists, and a few scattered instances in the work of later writers like Horace (cf. *Sat.* II.vii), slaves went largely unacknowledged socially, culturally, and demographically in Republican Rome—as Fitzgerald puts it, 'slavery was too much of an unquestioned part of the way of things for the experience of the slave to be conceived as an object of interest.'[49] It is therefore impossible to quantify precisely the total slave population, but estimates put slave numbers in the Republic at around two or three million by the end of the first century BC, approximately 30-40% (again, around a third) of the whole population.[50] Despite their lowly status, then, servants and slaves shared a similar ubiquity in their respective societies, and they were essential elements of its domestic and economic functionalities; it is therefore perhaps unsurprising that they are also so prominent in the theatres that reflected and were created by each of their eras.

A final point of comparison between these two groups is that both were periodically the source of great unease for their superiors, who saw their ubiquity, lowly status and

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[45] See Burnett, pp.14, 28, who refers specifically to apprentices.
[46] Burnett, p.1; Fitzgerald, *Slavery,* pp.1-11.
[47] Burnett, p.1; Hajnal, pp.471-473; see also Sharpe, p.210.
[48] Sharpe, p.60.
[49] Fitzgerald, *Slavery,* p.2.
[50] Fitzgerald, *Slavery,* p.3.

relative lack of stake in society as a potent cocktail for social unrest.[51] Out of every group within the early modern service industry, apprentices had the greatest reputation for disorder. One of their most infamous outbursts came in the May Day riots of 1517, but there were also notable disturbances in London between 1594-1597 (1595 alone saw twelve separate riots) and in 1621, as well as an especially violent bout of disorder in 1617, during which Christopher Beeston's Cockpit Theatre was destroyed.[52] Many apprentice riots had a political or racist dimension to them—the May Day riots, for instance, were partially incited by xenophobia, and included violence against French and Flemish merchants and the Spanish ambassador—and the language used in condemning such behaviour in contemporary publications and proclamations indicates that the unruliness of apprentices was perceived as a significant threat to public order. An anonymous pamphleteer in 1595, for instance, who claims he 'hath sometime beene a Prentise in this Citie,' certainly thought so, and he attacks some of his fellows who have 'vtterly forgot' 'the duties of a childe, a servant and a subiect' in their rioting the year previously that had resulted in the deaths of five people, arguing that their recent behaviour has been tantamount to 'insurrection,' the small number of apprentices involved seeking 'to disturbe Englands peace.'[53] Such a view is voiced through official channels as well: a proclamation of 1590 following a 'very great outrage lately committed by some apprentices and others being masterless men and vagrant persons' orders for a curfew to be enforced upon them in the name of public order.[54] Suzuki points out that this proclamation and ones that follow it make an explicit link between apprentices, vagabonds, and masterless men, portraying them as 'criminal elements threatening the social order with violence,'[55] but I also think it noteworthy that this curfew is imposed on 'journeymen,' and 'servants' as well, implying a fear of more general insurrection from the

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[51] Burnett, pp.88-89. See also Andrews, *Scripts and Scenarios,* pp.220-228, who discusses worries about Counter-Reformation worries about the corruption of society and the theatre's perceived role in this corruption.

[52] Burnett, pp.15-18, 44; Mihoko Suzuki, 'The London Apprentice Riots of the 1590s and the Fiction of Thomas Deloney,' *Criticism* 38:2 (1996), pp.181-217 (p.182).

[53] *A students lamentation that hath sometime been in London an apprentice for the rebellious tumults lately in the citie hapning* (London, 1595), <http://eebo.chadwyck.com/search/fulltext?SOURCE=var_spell.cfg&ACTION=ByID&ID=D00000998417380000&WARN=N&SIZE=26&FILE=../session/1474475523_12198&SEARCHSCREEN=CITATIONS&DISPLAY=AUTHOR> [date accessed 21 Sep 2016], A4^r, B^r, B4r.

[54] Suzuki, p.181, emphasis added.

[55] Suzuki, p.182.

lower orders.[56] The large number of punishments meted out to apprentices over the years—which often consisted of whipping and pillorying, but extended to hanging, drawing, and quartering—is further evidence not only of the varying scale of these offences but also of the seriousness with which they were treated by the authorities.[57]

I do not wish to iron out the differences or exaggerate the similarities between slaves and servants, or even between domestic servants and apprentices, by saying that these groups are *exactly* the same, but I would like to emphasise that they occupied a similar grey area of society, in the popular consciousness at least, that was never too far away from trouble. The sense of trouble is particularly understandable from the perspective of Roman society, in which slaves had such a large presence, and the outraged accounts in Tacitus, Pliny, Seneca, and Cicero concerning the murder by slaves of prominent Roman citizens, and the predictably brutal recriminations against the slaves that had perpetrated them, is testament to the fact that these fears were not always unfounded.[58] Of course, the accounts named above all come from either the late Republic periods (Cicero) or the Imperial (Tacitus, Pliny, Seneca), and are therefore at least a hundred years distant from the periods occupied by Plautus and Terence. One should also heed Bradley's points that, while slave insurrections were not uncommon in any period of the Roman Empire, and while they had the capacity to break out occasionally in spectacular fashion, as was the case in the three Servile Wars of the late Republic (c.141-132BC; 104-100BC; 73-71BC),[59] these revolts eventually fell apart due to the lack of

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[56] Quoted in Suzuki, p.181.

[57] Suzuki, p.184.

[58] Cf. Tacitus, *Annals,* trans. by Grant, , XIV.42-45 (narrates the story of prefect Pedanius Secundus being murdered by one of his own slaves, and of the execution of all four hundred of his household's slaves in recrimination); Pliny, *Letters,* trans. by Betty Radice, 2 vols. (Cambridge, MA; London: Harvard University Press, 1989), I, III.xiv (on the murder of the senator and ex-praetor Larcius Macedo by his slaves, which is greeted with horror despite Livy's acknowledgement that Macedo was a 'cruel and overbearing master'); the murder of Macedo also mentioned by Cicero (*Brutus,* LXXXV) and Seneca (*Natural Questions,* I.xvi).

[59] The First and Second Servile Wars took place in Sicily, whereas the much more famous Third War (often referred to as the Spartacan War) began in Capua and eventually spread over the entire Italian peninsula. All three wars were established by one or several minor uprisings, with the numbers of revolters increasing as the slaves' successes grew and they were joined by new recruits and/or by other slaves from separate pockets of insurrection. The numbers involved in each revolt were considerable: certainly tens of thousands for the First and Second, and possibly over a hundred thousand for the Third. The main historical sources for the Wars are: Diodorus Siculus, XXXIV-XXXVI (First and Second War); Plutarch, *Lives,* trans. by Bernadotte Perrin, 10 vols. (London; New York: Heinemann; Macmillan, 1914), II,. VIII-XI (Third War); Appian, *Roman History,* trans. by Horace White, 4 vols. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1969), I, I.116-120 (Third War). All three writers wrote their accounts several centuries after the events they describe, although they all seem to have drawn on works (including by Livy and Sallust) that are now lost. See also Bradley, *Slavery and Rebellion,* pp.46-101.

cohesiveness among its perpetrators.[60]

Both observations might encourage us to think that the evidence against slaves is too temporally distant to apply to the Rome of Plautus or Terence, or that the lack of servile cohesion meant that these revolts never posed too great a threat to the social order. Nevertheless, lack of cohesion does not mean that the spectre of slave insurrection did not haunt their masters, and the conditions that instigated the Servile Wars of the late Republic certainly did not appear overnight. As I have said, I do not wish to stretch the comparisons between slaves and servants too far, but I would argue that both groups had the potential for anti-social—even violent—behaviour, and that their sheer numbers and omnipresence would have only added to their masters' unease. Martial provides a typically pithy vignette to illustrate this nervousness when his persona describes being shaved by his slave-barber:

> What if my barber, with razor drawn above my throat, were to ask
> for freedom and wealth? I would promise, for he is not a barber,
> asking at such a time, but a bandit; fear is a peremptory thing. But
> once the razor is safely in its curved case, I shall break the barber's
> legs and hands together.
> (XI.lviii.5-10)[61]

The speaker may threaten violence to follow (which in itself speaks volumes about the *dominus-servus* relationship), but in the moment of the slave-barber holding the blade to his master's throat Martial communicates the dangers that lie in the close familiarity between free and enslaved. It is a wonderfully economical image, but one that I think resonates as well with the early modern servant as it does with the Roman slave: the close relationship of both groups with figures of authority and every aspect of the social order was a potential source for the greatest trust and the greatest threat, and is a tension that Jonson consistently exploited and interrogated in his own servile characters.

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[60] Bradley, *Slavery and Rebellion,* p.130.
[61] Martial, *Epigrams,* ed. and trans. by D.R. Shackleton Bailey, 3 vols. (Cambridge, MA; London: Harvard University Press, 1993), XI.lviii.5-10.

# III

In the analysis that follows I would like to emphasise that it was the points of convergence between slave and servant—their loyalty to a superior, their social diffuseness, their essential role in domestic and public concerns, their liminal status and consequently (to some at least) their potential for civic disorder—that were most emphasised in the depiction of servile characters made by Jonson and his theatrical contemporaries. Burnett's description of the servant figure in the popular cultural imaginary of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries echoes the Roman comic *servus*, and captures how real world uneasiness can be communicated in the comic mode through the character's irreverence: '[d]eflating lofty attitudes with bawdy and skilled in disguise, he often takes delight in declaring physical needs, hatching ingenious schemes and confounding magisterial authorities.'[62] As a result, it comes as no surprise that popular imaginings of the early modern servant and their presentation on stage saw contemporary views and classical dramatic models acting dialectically, the popularity and characteristics of both traditions drawing on and enhancing one another.[63]

In this opening section I will use Musco as an example of Jonson's most unambiguous *servus callidus*, exploring how this ancient theatregram was assimilated into the early modern age by highlighting aspects of Musco's character and behaviour that compare to the ancient (especially Plautine) archetype. This act of *imitatio* was not without its ethical complications, however, and I will suggest that in his reincarnation as Brainworm in the Folio *Every Man In* Jonson exposes some of his uneasiness about Musco through amendments that qualify the praise heaped on the servant and attempt to impose a more consistent moral message on the play itself. An interpretation of Musco and Brainworm as *servi callidi* is not in itself novel,[64] but an overview of this character, especially his incarnation in the earlier play, is useful for two reasons: firstly, in demonstrating not only how key characteristics of the Roman slave were largely assimilable to an early modern

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[62] Burnett, p.79.
[63] Burnett, p.79.
[64] Duckworth, discussing the Folio version in a chapter on Roman comedy's influence on Shakespeare and Jonson, readily identifies Brainworm as 'the wily servant, engage[d] in trickery both to gain money and for sheer love of amusement;' he also sees Old Knowell as a *senex*, Young Knowell as an *adulescens*, and Bobadill as a *miles gloriosus* (p.421). See also Northrop Frye, *Anatomy of Criticism: Four Essays* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1957), pp.163-165; Baskervill, pp.107, 132.

context; secondly, because it provides a test case, against which the more radical revisions of the *servi* of *Volpone* and *The Devil Is An Ass* can be compared and better appreciated.

Musco's New Comic heritage is indicated right from the establishing events of Act I, during which Lorenzo Senior intercepts a letter for his son, Lorenzo Junior, in which Junior's friend Prospero invites the young man to Florence in order to show him 'two of the most perfect, rare, and absolute true gulls that ever thou saw'st' (*EMI* (Q), I.i.138-139). Shocked at the tone of its contents, but aware that direct parental intervention would be unlikely '[t]o stay the hot and lusty course of youth' (I.i.187), Lorenzo Senior aims to follow his son discreetly, resolving to 'study by some milder drift / To call my son unto a happier shrift' (I.i.192-193). Bidding his servant Musco not to reveal to his son that he has read his letter, Lorenzo Senior departs, but the audience only has to wait until the very next line of the following scene ('Yes, sir, on my word, he opened it and read the contents': II.i.1) to discover that the servant has betrayed his old master, with the speed of the betrayal being used to deliberate comic effect. From its opening, which shows Musco apparently obeying a *pater familias* (I.i), but really deferring to this master's son (I.ii), the play therefore falls in line with the typical New Comic pattern of *servus callidus* and *adulescens* ('young man') facing off against the blocking figure of the *senex* ('old man,' usually the father of the *adulescens*).[65] Jonson, in deference to his interest in humoral- rather than romance-driven plots, offers a modulation on the familiar pattern by having the *senex* seek to block his son not from a reputation-damaging love interest but from the shameful pastime of 'jeering folly and fantastic humour' (I.i.171) as exhibited in Junior and Prospero's desire to meet up to compare their collection of idiotic companions. From this perspective, the interfering yet well-intentioned Lorenzo Senior might be viewed with more sympathy than his Roman counterparts,[66] but in essence the play's opening movement has set up the familiar battle between older and younger

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[65] The theatregram of the blocking father figure became a trope in the Renaissance, and stemmed at least in part from New Comedy (Miola, *Shakespeare and Classical Comedy,* esp. pp. 89,123-125), but see Duckworth, pp.242-249, who argues that negative generalisations regarding the character are often far from the truth when compared with Plautine and Terentian comedy: 'to look upon the *senex* as a stock type of the curmudgeonly father, always harsh (*iratus, saevus, severus*) and readily deceived (*credulus*), is far from accurate; as a parent the *senex* is often lenient and easy-going; as a husband he is less attractive: critical of his wife, often quarrelsome, he does not balk at infidelity; as a friend he is willing to undergo surprising risks to assist others in their difficulties. The all-inclusive term 'old man' is very misleading' (pp.242-243).
[66] Barton, p.53, claims that Jonson's characterisation of Lorenzo Senior 'makes it clear that he both likes and respects him,' and that the rewrites that he makes for his incarnation as Knowell Senior in the Folio version were intended to increase his positive presentation.

generations, with the crafty slave working firmly in the interests of the latter, that is so central to New Comic plots.

II.i sees Musco entering disguised as a soldier and delivering a monologue recapping the preceding action and announcing his intentions. The passage is worth quoting at length, as it not only sets the servant's agenda but also raises several salient features that can be compared directly to the *servus callidus*:

> MUSCO: 'Sblood, I cannot choose but laugh to see myself translated thus, from a poor creature to a creator; for now must I create an intolerable sort of lies, or else my profession loses his grace. And yet the lie to a man of my coat is as ominous as the *fico*. Oh, sir, it holds for good policy to have that outwardly in vilest estimation that inwardly is most dear to us. So much for my borrowed shape. Well, the truth is that my master [Lorenzo Senior] intends to follow his son dryfoot to Florence this morning. Now I, knowing of this conspiracy, and the rather to insinuate with my young master—for so must we that are blue-waiters or men of service do, or else perhaps we may wear motley at the year's end, and who wears motley you know—I have got me afore in this disguise, determining here to lie in *ambuscado* and intercept him in the midway. If I can but get his cloak, his purse, his hat—nay, anything so I can stay his journey, *rex regum,* I am made for ever, i'faith. Well, now must I practise to get the true garb of one of these lance-knights [*He adopts a military posture*.].
> (*EMI* (Q), II.i.1-14)

This monologue is an excellent illustration of Duckworth's point about the slave's talkativeness. Monologues are a conspicuous feature of the Plautine slave,[67] and, while Musco does not indulge in them to the same extent as his Roman counterparts, there are other moments in the play, as here, where he takes great delight in explaining his deeds and intentions at length.[68] Aside from the manner of his address, the content of Musco's speech is also revealing. Of particular importance is his claim that he has 'translated' himself in his soldier's disguise, a term that carries resonances not only of the profound changes of Ovidian metamorphosis,[69] but also of artistic invention, marking Musco's

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[67] Duckworth states that in Plautus *servi* deliver the greatest percentage of monologues (44%), followed by *senes* (25%), and *adulscentes* (11%); these statistics are reversed in Terence: *adulescentes* (33%), *senes* (27%) and *servi* (23%). According to Duckworth, this change in practice comes from 'Terence's desire to eliminate comic effect and use monologues primarily for the development of the plot and announcement of future action' (p.106).

[68] The only other example of a monologue by Musco (V.ii.1-6) is much shorter, but cf. V.iii.131-153, where he takes great pleasure in recounting his exploits to Doctor Clement.

[69] Cf. Bottom's asinine metamorphosis and Quince's cry, '[b]less thee, Bottom, bless thee. Thou art translated!' (*MND,* III.i.105), a scene that seems partly inspired by Ovid's tale of Midas in

movement from 'creature to creator'—in fact, this last phrase enacts the servant's protean qualities on a phonetic level, as the antithetical meanings of the words are ironically juxtaposed by the homologising effect of the alliteration, the liquid movement of the words' final syllables providing a verbal echo of Musco's fluid identity. It is useful to recall that Musco's presentation of himself as a 'creator' echoes Jonson's awareness that the poet is a 'maker, or a feigner' (*Discoveries,* ll.1665-1666).[70] In chapter 1 I drew attention to the term 'poet' connecting Aristophanes to Jonson, but in the context of the *servus callidus* we can perhaps draw out another connection to Roman comedy through Pseudolus, who declares that his task requires such a level of invention that 'I shall now become a poet' ('*nunc ego poeta fiam*': *Pseud.,* l.404).[71] Musco does indeed take to the making and feigning remit of the poet with relish: his actions through the rest of the play include disguising himself first as a soldier (II.i-IV.i), as Clement's clerk Peto (IV.iv), and finally as a sergeant (V.ii), during which time he delights in duping not only Lorenzo Senior (II.ii) but also his son (II.iii), delivers fantastical, embroidered narratives (IV.i.24-38), until finally, with a flourish, he elects to 'uncase and appear in mine own proper nature,' revealing his exploits to Doctor Clement and the assembled company (V.iii.114-115). The servant's actorly abilities have been endorsed previous to this point by Lorenzo Junior, who admits that Musco has so 'writhen himself into the habit' of his soldierly alter-ego that 'the world cannot produce his rival' in disguise (III.ii.9-10,27-28), with 'writhen' ('writhed, i.e. contorted, twisted out of regular shape') again enforcing his shape-shifting abilities.[72] Cognate moments concerning disguise and deception are readily available in the Roman plays, although, despite the *callidus* frequently being implicated in these moments, the act of disguise does not always involve them personally[73]—in fact, in this aspect of his personality Baskervill sees Musco as closer to the Zanni of *commedia dell'arte*, or

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*Metamorphoses* XI. Brainworm is even more explicit than Musco in his Ovidian allusions when he tells Knowell 'this has been the day of my metamorphosis!' (*EMI* (F), V.iii.68).

[70] See chapter 1, fn.40.

[71] There are only two other instances in which the word 'poeta' is used in the Plautine corpus: *Asinaria* IV.i.3, *Casina* V.i.7, in both cases the term is used to refer to the creative cunning of three characters (the Parasite in *Asinaria*, Myrrhina and Pardalisca in *Casina*), none of whom are slaves. See also chapter 3, fn. 78, which notes that the term 'Poeta' is assigned the lines for the *plaudite* in some MS versions of *Cistellaria, Epidicus, Pera,* and *Poenulus.*

[72] Ben Jonson, *Every Man In His Humour,* ed. by Robert S. Miola, Revels (Manchester; New York: Manchester University Press, 2000), III.ii.9n.

[73] Examples of disguise include Pseudolus pretending to be 'Syrus'; Chaerea's impersonation of the eunuch in *Eunuchus;* Chalinus's travesty act as the slave-bride in *Casina;* Pleusicles' disguise as a sailor in *Miles Gloriosus;* Collybiscus' disguise, at the prompting of the slave Milphio, in *Poenulus* (l.578f.). For further discussion of the role of disguise in Roman comedy, see Marshall, pp.59-61.

the picaresque heroes of medieval literature and Elizabethan coney-catching pamphlets.[74] Nonetheless, it is in Musco's joy of playing at his 'conspiracy,' a quality present most obviously in Pseudolus and his *callidi* brethren but also demonstrated in their lesser cousins, that marks him most generally as a variant on his Roman ancestor.

Chrysalus also serves as another model, as Musco's soldierly appearance, his talk of an '*ambuscado,*' and his vaunting language are all reminiscent of the slave's tendency to lapse into hyperbolic, militaristic comparisons. Chrysalus announces early in his play that he will 'devise some stratagem to get some gold for our master's lovesick son' ('*inde ego hodie aliquam machinabor machinam, / unde aurum efficiam amanti erili filio*': *Bacch.,* ll.232-233), and his later speech, delivered in high-flown heroic diction—in which he compares his 'famous deed' ('*facinus maximum'*: l.925) to the siege of Troy, with his master refigured as Troy itself, Pistoclerus as Epeus, Mnesilochus to Sinon and Paris, and himself as Agamemnon and Ulysses (ll.937-945)—confers the same dignity and grandeur to his escapades that Musco seeks in his description of himself as '*rex regum*' ['king of kings'] (*EMI* (Q), V.ii.4), an overblown opinion that is eventually validated in Clement's judgement that he has a 'heroic spirit' (V.iii.380).

Similar to many of his fellows, Chrysalus concocts his schemes in the interests of his young master, although there is an accompanying sense that his love of mischief is a competing motivation. Musco certainly enjoys the 'sport' (IV.i.45) of his scheming too, but he also acknowledges that he acts in order to 'insinuate' himself with Lorenzo Junior. The servant may be working on behalf of his young master, but his choice of verb might lead one to interpret his motivation as cynical—he acts in his own interests, changing allegiance to the rising star of Junior, aware that the older man's is in the descendant. If one is to read his behaviour as cynical, though, it is at least realistic, as Musco's admission that he could do this or potentially fall out of favour with the younger generation and 'wear motley at the year's end'—becoming, like the fools who wore it, a figure of fun and a social outcast, even another of the 'masterless men' that Elizabeth's officers so ruthlessly prosecuted—exposes the precarious economic realities that the early modern servant faced.

Such an inclusion makes an interesting contrast to the slave's presentation of their own situation in Roman comedy, which although on the face of it much direr than that of the

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[74] Baskervill, pp.30, 132.

early modern servant, is actually shown in a more positive, and therefore more unrealistic, light. It is an odd fact that the Roman slave, spoken to with the most appalling language and threatened with the most barbaric of punishments, almost invariably does not seem particularly eager to escape from his servile state.[75] In fact, the slave's lack of eagerness verges on reluctance, even hostility: Milphio persistently dismisses his young master's promise to free him in a scene that could easily be elasticated for comic effect (*Poen.,* ll.410-447); Epidicus, who receives his freedom onstage, tells his master 'I give you this indulgence unwillingly, but I'm forced by necessity' ('*invitus do hanc veniam tibi, / nisi necessitate cogar'*: *Epid.,* ll.730-731); and when Messenio is offered his freedom by the wrong Menaechmus the slave still refers to the man (whom, he thinks, was his erstwhile master) as his 'patron' ('*patrone*') and asks him 'not to command me any less than when I was your slave' ('*ne minus imperes mihi quam quom tuos servos fui'*: *Men.,* ll.1032-1033).

 Segal, in reference to the Plautine *servus*, argues that such reactions stem from the dramatic slave's desire to 'take a liberty rather than receive it.'[76] What these slaves really want to hear is the '*oro te'* ('I beg you') from their master's lips, and Segal cites the exchange in III.iii of *Asinaria* between the slaves Libanus and Leonida with their young master Argyrippus as a prime example of this act. The scene shows the *adulescens* moving through various phases of obsequiousness: starting with personal flattery, firstly by himself (*Asin.,* ll.650-653), and then joined by his *meretrix* lover, Philaenium, who is encouraged to tune this flattery to an erotic key (ll.666-696); then moving on to physical deference in rubbing the slaves' knees (ll.670-671) and carrying Libanus on his back (ll.699- 702); until finally, and most daringly, the slaves asks to be worshipped as 'Salvation' and 'Fortune' (ll.712-715).[77] The tone of this whole scene is irreverent but fun, and the behaviour of Libanus, Leonida and their fellows all shows the love of play and praise, rather than reward, that underlines the Plautine slave's activity. Against these motivators the threat of violence hardly figures, and one should probably avoid the intrusion of overly modern sensibilities in this area. A Roman audience, so used to the concept and realities of slavery, could not have been profoundly troubled by reminders of its violent side, and Segal is no doubt right in arguing that the slave's preference to hear their masters beg and flatter rather than release them is in keeping

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[75] Segal, pp.164-165.
[76] Segal, pp.166-167.
[77] See Segal, pp.104-109.

with the light tone of comedies that (as McCarthy suggests) offers a form of vicarious release for all.

But if the general lightness of Roman comedy outshines the danger of punishment, the threat of it still casts a small shadow. The heroic slaves of Plautine comedy may see their scars as badges of honour rather than servility, but the threat of violence, like Musco's fears of unemployment, brings not only an element of reality to their onstage activities but also provides another spur to their schemes. And Musco too, despite his ingenuity, is ultimately at the mercy of his superiors. In *Every Man In*'s final scene, when the disguised Musco has brought Giuliano before Clement, the Doctor, hearing that his 'sergeant' has claimed that he 'must arrest' the gentleman (*EMI* (Q), V.iii.84), threatens him with his long sword and claims that he too 'must' start cutting body parts off his enterprising officer. The threat is only a jest—a fittingly eccentric one from a man described as 'the only mad, merry old fellow in Europe' (III.ii.38-39)[78]—but is one that is ultimately born from semantic pedantry and a desire to browbeat one's inferiors:

> CLEMENT: How dost thou now? Dost thou feel thyself well? Hast thou no harm?
> MUSCO: No, I thank God, sir, and Your good Worship.
> CLEMENT: Why, so. I said I must cut off thy legs, and I must cut off thy arms, and I must cut off thy head, but I did not do it. So you said you must arrest this gentleman, but you did not arrest him. You knave, you slave, you rogue! Do you say you 'must' arrest? [*To a Servant*] Sirrah, away with him to the jail [*To Musco*] I'll teach you a trick for your 'must'.
> (*EMI* (Q)*,* V.iii.98-102)

'Knave,' 'slave,' 'rogue': with these epithets ringing in his ears—echoes of the harsh terms hurled at the Roman slave ('*furcifer*,' '*carnufex*,' '*scelus*'[79])—Musco is to be led to jail, to a form of constrained existence that will ironically bring him even closer to the state of his servile cousins. And it is only through the servant's dramatic uncasing, and his revelation of his scheming by putting on of his 'old brazen face,' lest he 'lose the least grain of my fame' (*EMI* (Q)*,* V.iii.105, 107-108), that turns Clement's condemnation to heartfelt admiration: 'I admire thee, I honour thee, and, if thy master or any man here be angry with thee, I shall suspect his wit while I know him for it' (V.iii.174-176). Musco is now a 'merry knave' (V.iii.124), and in his installation as guest of honour at Clement's table,

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[78] Baskervill claims that the Doctor's shrewdness and whimsy lend his character a quality similar to popular anecdotes about Thomas More (p.139).
[79] Plautus, *Mil.,* l.493, *Pseud.* l.707; Terence, *Eun.,* l.670.

clothed in the Doctor's 'own robes' (V.iii.381), one sees a version of what Segal argues was the end product of the Plautine slave's inversionary antics: 'a new—albeit temporary—aristocracy, in which wit, not birth, distinguishes the ruler from the ruled.'[80] Clement's valedictory call to a feast so that the company can 'enjoy the very spirit of mirth and carouse to the health of this heroic spirit' (V.iii.379-380) is an expression of this temporary aristocracy as it encapsulates all that the Plautine slave desires: the prospect of feasting, the validation of his betters, and his deeds compared to a great conqueror's.

If Musco's triumph was in accordance with New Comic convention, though, it seems that there were aspects of this victory that Jonson found troubling. This is apparent in the amendments he made to the Folio text of *Every Man In*, which alongside the most obvious change—the shifting of location from Florence to London—included some significant alterations in the final Act that both helped reduce the problematic immorality of Musco's behaviour and qualify the praise that was heaped upon him. A comparison of altered passages from the two texts (V.iii in Q, V.iii-V.v in F), which are mostly changes in wording, redactions, or excisions of the Q text, illustrate this clearly. The first concerns the manner in which Musco/Brainworm resolve to reveal their identities:

> MUSCO: [*Aside*] Nay, 'sblood, before I go to prison, I'll put on my old brazen face and disclaim in my vocation. I'll discover, that's flat. An I be committed, it shall be for the committing of more villainies than this. Hang me an I lose the least grain of fame.
> (*EMI* (Q),V.iii.105-108)

> BRAINWORM: Nay, sir, if you will commit me, it shall be committing more than this. I will not lose, by my travail, any grain of my fame, certain.
> (*EMI* (F), V.iii.47-48)

Both speeches express a similar artistic anxiety—proud of their abilities (a 'vocation' to Musco, 'travail' to Brainworm), the servants are concerned that they will lose the 'fame' of their deeds, a worry greater than the threat of incarceration—and both are shortly followed by a throwing off of their disguise. However, the manner in which this anxiety is expressed is markedly different. Musco announces his intentions in an aside, his choice of addressing the audience rather than his fellow characters lending the moment a conspiratorial quality—placing him at the top of the dramatic 'hierarchy of rapport,' a

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[80] Segal, p.104.

position that Moore sees as typically occupied by the Plautine slave[81]—that is at odds with Brainworm, who addresses Clement directly. One gains an impression of sneakiness in Musco's passage much more so than one does in Brainworm's, and Q's servant adds to this impression with language that raises not only the moral ambiguity of his actions but (like the Plautine slave) also gestures towards the penalty he is willing to pay for them: he prefers to '[h]ang' rather than lose his fame (Brainworm opts for a less dramatic 'I will not lose [...] certain'). Furthermore, Musco embrace his 'brazen' real identity by fitting the crime to the punishment in describing his schemes as 'villainies'—such punitive and morally-charged language is notably absent from the F passage, which instead emphasises an increased deference towards the play's authority figures. As opposed to Musco, who appeals to the 'good Master Doctor,' and asks the magistrate to 'let me go hang myself' if his deeds are found wanting (*EMI* (Q)*, V.iii.120,122-123), Brainworm asks the 'excellent Justice' to 'stand strong before me, both with your sword and your balance' (*EMI* (F), V.iii.54-55),[82] a metaphor that conflates the Folio magistrate with the familiar iconographical depiction of Iustitia that is both flattering—although, in the context of Clement's recent sword-waving antics, faintly ridiculous—and deferential: if the servant is to find his neck in a noose, it will be the *Justice's* choice, not his own. Brainworm even asks Knowell Senior for forgiveness: '[s]ir, if you'll pardon me only, I'll glory in all the rest of my exploits' (*EMI* (F), V.iii.58-59); the reference to 'exploits' may have an echo of the Roman slave's inflated sense of his actions, but the request for a *senex*'s clemency is certainly not typical of the *servus callidus,* and is entirely absent from Musco's speech.

One gains a sense in F that Jonson was trying to rein in the potentially dangerous excesses of his earlier servant. The playwright's decision makes some sense if we recall that F may have had its provenance in the revisions made for a court performance on 2 February 1605 (see section I of this chapter). James I, for whom this performance would have been intended, was an authoritarian monarch who had only recently inherited a kingdom still wracked by many of the troubles and uncertainties that characterised the end of Elizabeth's reign, and in this time of heightened anxiety it could well have seemed a dangerous affront to his royal authority for a courtly performance to show Clement (a wise magistrate who—as we saw in *Bartholomew Fair's* Overdo—may have had an element of the King about him) leading a servant offstage as his equal. Perhaps Jonson had the

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[81] Moore, p.33.

[82] Musco also calls for his Clement to 'stand strong before me' (*EMI* (Q) V.iii.121).

debacle surrounding the stage-Elizabeth in the 'unrelished' court performance of *Every Man Out* (see chapter 3, section IV) in the back of his mind too, but one might also discern cause for disquiet in the servant disguising himself for much of the play as a demobilised soldier, a 'decayed, ruinous, worm-eaten gentleman of the round' (*EMI* (F), III.ii.10-11), a type of figure whose presence had become an increasingly common and disruptive in 1590s London, to the point where they were frequently prosecuted according to the strict laws against vagabonds and 'masterless men.'[83] The soldiers returning from wars in the 1590s were 'unemployed, disillusioned, potentially violent,'[84] making Musco's disguise disquieting enough, but by James' reign perhaps the sight of the anglicised Brainworm retaining the upper hand onstage would have been too uncomfortable for a courtly audience to bear—one only has to recall that in just over seven months' time from this putative first performance James and his Parliament would come close to being annihilated by a similarly disenfranchised social group to appreciate the real dangers that lay behind such anxieties.

Furthermore, Dutton has proposed a fascinating theory that early modern playwrights habitually made alterations and additions to their playtexts when they were performed at court, and that the hours of performance during the Revels season, unaffected by the time restrictions of the public playhouses, encouraged these playwrights to produce expansive, 'overly long' versions that have often survived as the most recognisable versions of those plays today.[85] Jonson was especially amenable to writing for the court's pleasure—to the extent that, in the case of *Cynthia's Revels* and *Bartholomew Fair,* Dutton argues that he wrote two completely separate versions of these plays[86]—and one can easily see how he may have wished to temper his play's indelicacies for his kingly audience; even if he had not, the current Master of Revels, Sir George Buc, who oversaw all entertainments performed before the King during the Revels season, would undoubtedly have pointed

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[83] An Act for the Punishment of 'Rogues, Vagabonds and Sturdy Beggars' 9 February 1598 decreed that those found contravening the Act be stripped and whipped. A proclamation was also issued 9 September later in the year, which stated that London's vagabonds could be placed under martial law and executed, underlines the seriousness with which the issue of vagabondage was treated. See Robert S. Miola, 'Introduction [*Every Man In His Humour*], in Jonson, *EMI* (Q), ed. by Miola, pp.1-77 (p.20).

[84] Miola, 'Introduction [*Every Man In His Humour*], in Jonson, *EMI* (Q), ed. by Miola, p.19.

[85] This is essentially the reverse position of the 'allowed book,' 'maximal text' theories of early modern playtexts as favoured by Gurr and Erne, but provides a very compelling justification for why so many plays of the period are simply too long to fit within the two hours' traffic of the public stage. See Andrew Gurr 'Maximal and Minimal Texts: Shakespeare v. The Globe,' *Shakespeare Survey,* 52 (1999), pp.68-87; Lukas Erne, *Shakespeare as Literary Dramatist* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

[86] Dutton, *Court Dramatist,* p.96.

them out to him.[87] It makes sense that Jonson would adapt his play to courtly taste, but regardless of who actually made the decision it is clear that F's servant, although still entertaining, is a much reduced figure. Aside from Brainworm's greater deference to Clement, the reductive impulse is discernible in the length of the servants' narration of their deeds, which shrinks from Musco's two quite lengthy speeches (*EMI* (Q), V.iii.131-153, 164-172), to several short passages (*EMI* (F), V.iii.63-65, 68-72, 75-78, 84-89) interspersed with a greater amount of input from other characters.

Part of this change may be due to the more sophisticated dramatic technique of the older Jonson who revised the F text—Musco's speech, essentially recapping the events of the play, is largely superfluous to an audience that has seen them first-hand, and the frequent interjections of other characters in F gives the passage an increased vitality—but the change also serves to reduce Brainworm's control over the play's closing moments. Jonson's F revisions make his crafty servant less morally dubious, less in command of the scene's action, more deferential than his Florentine cousin, and this overall reduction in Brainworm's *callidus* qualities is complemented by more qualified praise. In Q Musco's victory is total: he has Clement's admiration and honour, and he departs to the feast wearing the Doctor's cloak as a mark of respect. F's Clement is more cautious in his praise—'[t]hou hast done or assisted to nothing, in my judgement, but deserve to be pardoned for the wit o'the offence' (*EMI* (F), V.iii.91-93)—and in his invitation to dinner, presented in the later play as nuptial celebrations for 'Master Bridegroom' Kitely (V.v.72), the Justice addresses Brainworm with words that have erotic rather than respectful connotations: '[h]ere is my mistress: Brainworm! To whom all my addresses of courtship shall have their reference' (*EMI* (F), V.v.73-74). In this revealing change, Jonson greatly reduces the extent to which Brainworm's capers are endorsed by the play's central authority figure: it is the play's lovers, rather than its trickster, who takes the position of honour at the table, and Clement's casting of the servant as his 'mistress' has an effeminising and (in accordance with the sexual politics of the age) a subordinating effect.[88]

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[87] For more on Buc, see Dutton, *Court Dramatist,* pp.57-59.

[88] Oddly, Digangi sees this moment in F as a move away from 'the festively homoerotic inversion of master and servant' that he sees represented by Q's Clement bestowing his cloak upon Musco; I would argue that in F's amended ending this homoerotic charge is actually increased. See Mario DiGangi, 'Asses and Wits: The Homoerotics of Mastery in Satiric Comedy,' *English Literary Renaissance* 25:2 (1995), pp.179-208, (p.191).

Neither Musco nor many of the Roman *servi callidi* is used to this treatment. One of the central conflicts of *Every Man In* is the issue of what constitutes good and bad art—this is most clearly seen in Lorenzo Senior's moralising on poetry (*EMI* (Q), V.iii.260-291), but is discerned more generally in the fact that the play's winners and losers are defined by the quality of the fictions they create (the witty and ingenious Lorenzo Junior, Prospero, and Musco triumph, while the play's poetasters, braggart soldiers, and paranoid husbands—all fantasists in their way—do not).[89] Barton argues that the Doctor clothing Musco—the play's artist *par excellence*—in judicial robes gives Q's conclusion a sense of 'poetic justice—but not at all in the later, moral sense of that term,' and that the changes in F outlined above reflect the playwright's feelings that his character's original triumph was 'a little worrying and glib.'[90] Perhaps in the shifts in tone and emphasis between Q and F one gains an impression of the adjustments an early modern playwright had to make in order to habilitate the Roman *servus* into the ideological framework of a society that was no longer accustomed to see its figures of authority undermined on the public stage, even within the small compass of the theatrical event. As Dutton admits, it cannot be proven that *Every Man In* F was written for a courtly performance, but the changes made to adapt the wily, amoral servant of Q's Musco to the entertaining but eventually tamed Brainworm of F accords with Jonson's sense of courtly decorum and with his own anxiety to please the sort of elite audience that he thought most deserving of his art. If one does not accept a courtly performance for the altered *Every Man In*, the Folio in which it first appeared is itself a monument to Jonson's courtly aspirations, its plays prefaced by dedications to members of the nobility, and its entertainments and masques documenting Jonson's close professional involvement with aristocratic and royal patrons. Even *if* the play's F version received its first outing in print rather than performance (which I doubt), Jonson would still have reason to tone down the irreverence of Musco in favour of a *servus* whose entertaining (yet ultimately controllable) qualities would be more amenable to the tastes of those members of aristocratic and royal stock whom he so assiduously courted.

As already stated, it would be a mistake to read too much into the threats of violence and disenfranchisement that lie behind the actions of the slave and servant: their predicaments were conventional, and in their very conventionality the threat posed by these New Comic plots and their early modern successors was much attenuated, the

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[89] Barton, pp.54-56.
[90] Barton, p.56.

audience's attention focused not on whether the *callidus* would escape punishment but on the manner in which he would achieve it. It would also be a mistake to read too much into Musco's centrality to the plot of *Every Man In*.[91] The play's main interest lies in the identification and exposure, ably assisted by Lorenzo Junior and Prospero, of its humoral characters, and Musco's involvement, while no doubt amusing and serving to tangle up the skeins of the narrative still further, forms a complicating rather than an essential function.[92] But if Musco's reduced influence over events makes him a paler version of the great Plautine *callidi* who are so central to the workings of their plots, it is nonetheless in his verbosity, his delight in trickery and disguise, his inflated self-esteem, and his loyalty to young master over old that Musco reveals a close affinity to the *callidus* theatregram: from a characterological perspective, at least, he remains a *servus* through and through. However, on deeper analysis, the play's Folio revisions demonstrate that a relatively uncomplicated act of *imitatio* did not suit Jonson's restless creative or moral temperament for long.[93] The stock figure that Jonson takes as his source needs refinement and revision and, as we turn to Jonson's two later plays it is clear that the playwright wants to play these shapeshifters at their own game by interfering with characterological boundaries still further, changing them into new and unexpected forms.

# IV

Musco might retain the essential outline of the *callidus,* but by the time Jonson came to write *Volpone* (interestingly enough, at around the same time as the earliest proposed date for *Every Man In* F) his depiction of the character had become more complex. The verbal echo of Musco/Mosca—respectively, the Latinate and Italian words for 'fly'[94]— prompts one to see the latter as a reworking of the former, and indeed their points of

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[91] Barton argues that Musco, along with blocking *senex,* stolen marriage, and the japes of young men, are 'vestiges' of a Roman comedy plot rather than an outright imitation of it (p.51). See also Baskervill, p.107.

[92] Barton, pp.54-55.

[93] Barton suggests that Jonson's revisions are partly due to the playwright's conviction that his earlier works were 'hackwork' (p.10), but also adds that in giving the play pride of place at the beginning of his *Works,* and in dedicating it to his intellectual mentor Camden, he evidently thought that its Londonised version had considerable merit. See also Haynes, p.34.

[94] John Florio's *World of Words* (1598), which Jonson had almost certainly read, translates Musco/Mosca as 'any kind of fly' (*EMI* (Q) Number and Names.3n.). For Jonson's use of Florio in the creation of *Volpone*'s setting, see Parker, 'Jonson's Venice,' in *English and Italian Renaissance,* ed. by Mulryne and Shewring , pp.95-112.

comparison extend beyond their insectoid namesake. Both characters share common ground in their close relationship with a master, their deviousness, their constant movement, their love of disguise, and in their play's conclusions being predicated in part upon the unmasking of this disguise. But if the two characters hold similarities in these surface details, one always has a sense that Jonson's later *servus* has a darker interior, with the playful amoralities of Musco's behaviour developing to form a character with much more sinister, even tragic, resonances. In the section that follows I will argue that this complication in Mosca's character is suggested by his more diverse origins, drawn from the Roman *servus* and *parasitus,* as well as native dramatic traditions, and that it is from this *contaminatio* of sources—as well as the ideological and philosophical complications that this classical and early modern hybridity brings with it—that Jonson's later creation derives the moral ambiguity that gives him such an intriguing dramatic vitality.

One gains a sense of Mosca's complexities in his monologue of III.i, in many ways a companion speech to Musco's in *Every Man In* II.i, but one in which the servant's expressions of self-congratulation and artistic pride are expanded to virtuosic proportions:

> MOSCA: I fear I shall begin to grow in love
> With my dear self and my most prosp'rous parts,
> They do so spring and burgeon; I can feel
> A whimsy i'my blood. I know not how,
> Success hath made me wanton. I could skip
> Out of my skin, now, like a subtle snake,
> I am so limber. Oh! Your parasite
> Is a most precious thing, dropped from above,
> Not bred 'mongst clots and clotpolls here on earth.
> I muse the mystery was not made a science,
> it is so liberally professed! [...]
> [...]
> [...] your fine, elegant rascal, that can rise
> And stoop, almost together, like an arrow,
> Shoot through the air as nimbly as a star,
> Turn short as doth a swallow, and be here,
> And there, and here, and yonder, all at once;
> Present to any humour, all occasion,
> And change a visor swifter than a thought.
> (*Volp.,* III.i.1-11, 23-29)

As with Musco's monologue, this speech is the moment in the play in which the audience gains the clearest insight in Mosca's thoughts, and it is striking that once again his creative capacity is emphasised. Like 'creator' Musco, Mosca ennobles his endeavours as a 'mystery,' and he is a 'precious thing,' a 'subtle snake' whose delight in his own ability is

expressed in words that builds from a description of sprightliness ('I could skip out of my skin,' 'I am so limber') to fantastical proportions, with imagery that transcends his human frame, similes drawn from the material, animal and cosmic spheres ('like an arrow,' 'as doth a swallow,' 'like a star') and the rhythmic, staccato conjunction of verbs and adverbs ('rise / And stoop,' 'here, / And there, and here, and yonder') combining to give an impression of omnipotent, omnipresent brilliance. Through such verbal fireworks one gains a sense that the ante has been upped from the crafty servant of *Every Man In*: if Musco regards himself as a sportsman, Mosca is an Olympic athlete.

Mosca's description of himself as a 'subtle snake' is apt for another reason, as it invites comparison not only with skin-shedding, creative slipperiness but also with prelapsarian temptation, an indicator of a moral deviousness that becomes increasingly apparent as one moves through the play. His reference to his face as a 'visor' that can change 'swifter than a thought' is noteworthy in this context, as Jackson observes that the title character of Jonson's later tragedy *Catiline* (1611) also makes frequent reference to his public persona as a 'visor' that he can be taken on and off, an admission that underlines Catiline's duplicitous nature and serves as a metaphor for the two-faced scheming that animates the play at large.[95] Clearly 'visor' had connotations of falsity for Jonson, and it also raises an echo of the Christian dramatic tradition, for two-facedness is a skill mostly explicitly shared with the Vice figure of the morality. Skelton's *Magnyfycence* (performed 1515-1526; published 1530), for instance, features a parade of wicked allegorical characters who corrupt the title character by convincing him that they are actually their corresponding virtues (including Fansy dissimulating as Largesse, Counterfeit Countenaunce as Sad Cyrcumspeccyon, Crafty Conveyaunce as Sure Surveyaunce, and Courtly Abusyon as Lusty Pleasure, amongst others). This antinominal technique—known as '*paradiastole*'[96] or 'vice euphemism'—had been present in the morality genre as far back as the anonymous *Wisdom* (performed c.1400-1450),[97] but was developed further in Skelton's play and in

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[95] Jackson, p.128.

[96] From the Greek suffix '$\pi\alpha\rho\dot{\alpha}$' and noun '$\delta\iota\alpha\sigma\tau o\lambda\dot{\eta}$,' roughly translating as 'side separation.' J.A. Cuddon, *The Penguin Dictionary of Literary Terms and Literary Theory*, rev. by M.A.R. Habib, 5th ed. (London: Penguin, 2014), p.509.

[97] A hint of vice euphemism is shown by Lucyfer, who first enters wearing '*dewyllys [aray] wythowt*' but who shortly leaves the stage *cummyth in ageyn as a goodly galont*' (ll.324SD, 380SD). One might also argue that the corruption of the characters of Mynde, Wyll and Understondyng to Mayntennace, Lust, and Perjury (ll.470-872) is a sort of inverted *paradiastole.* See *Wisdom,* in *Medieval Drama: An Anthology,* ed. by Greg Walker (Malden, MA; Oxford: Blackwell, 2000).

Henry Medwall's near-contemporary *Nature* (performed c.1496; published c.1530-1534).[98] One sees the impact of the Skeltonic/Medwallian vice euphemism in later moralities and morality-type plays like Udall's (?) *Respublica* (performed 1553)*,* the anonymous *Impatient Poverty* (performed c.1547-1558; published 1560)*,* and Wilson's *The Three Ladies of London* (performed 1581; published 1584); it is even deployed, with classicising overtones, in the final masque of *Cynthia's Revels,* where Jonson's foolish courtiers are exposed when they appear representing their opposing virtues.[99] Aside from its contribution to the technique of vice euphemism, *Magnyfycence* provides a further link to *Volpone* in its characterisation of Cloked Colusyon, which according to Cox is 'a convincing progenitor of the later Vice and of innumerable characters inspired by the Vice.'[100] Colusyon's description of his double-dealing ambidexterity has an echo of Mosca's confession*:*

> Double delynge and I be all one;
> Craftynge and haftynge [trickery, cheating] contrived is by me.
> I can dissemble, I can bothe laughe and grone;
> Playne delynge and I can never agre.[101]

Like Skelton's character, who '[t]wo faces in a hode covertly I bere,'[102] visor-changing Mosca thus stands at the end of a long chain of morality and morality-influenced characters whose viciousness, untrustworthiness, or stupidity are underlined by the *paradiastole* technique*,* and it is in the telling image of this mask—an image that Jonson deployed for judgemental purposes in his earlier comical satire and later tragedy—that the playwright communicates his parasite's dangerous two-facedness. As we saw with the subtle shifts in Brainworm's characterisation, Musco is not without his ethical issues, but these are issues of amorality rather than immorality—one never gains the sense, as one does with Mosca, Volpone's 'fine devil' (*Volp.,* V.iii.46), that Jonson's earlier *servus* has particularly diabolic associations or nefarious intentions.

Another important distinction is that in his monologue Mosca refers to himself as a 'parasite' rather than a servant,[103] endowing him with a range of qualities that differ in

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[98] Cox, *Devil and The Sacred,* p.75.

[99] See Jonson, *Cynthia's Revels,* V.vii.1n, where the Cambridge editors suggest that Jonson may have taken this technique from *Magnyfycence* or Udall's *Respublica.*

[100] Cox, *Devil and The Sacred,* p.59.

[101] John Skelton, *Magnyfycence,* in *Medieval Drama,* ed. by Walker, ll.696-699.

[102] Skelton, *Magnyfycence,* in *Medieval Drama,* ed. by Walker l.710.

[103] Mosca is referred to as a parasite far more consistently than any other term: aside from his designation as 'Parasite' in the play's *dramatis personae,* cf. *Volp.,* IV.v.15-16 ('His parasite, his knave, his pander'); V.iii.64 ('parasite slave'); V.vii.1 ('parasite, slave'). In the last two quotations, the term

some respects from the Roman *servus.* Parasitical characters abound in Plautus and Terence,[104] and Duckworth again provides a useful summary of their most frequent qualities:

> Living by his wits and always on the lookout for a free meal, he is at times a professional jokester eager to amuse his prospective host, at times a 'handy man' anxious to win favour by running errands and willing to accept both insult and abuse, at times a flatterer who points up the stupidity of others by his cynical asides.[105]

Clearly, in the figure's lowly position, his errand running, and the theatrical privilege represented by his use of asides, the parasite differs little from the *servus,* and in fact Duckworth notes that the marked personality and behavioural differences between parasites in the extant plays means that it is 'unwise to refer to him as a conventional type.'[106] Several of these *parasiti* are fairly incidental: the Parasite of *Asinaria* helps Diabolus draw up his contract between himself, the meretrix Philaenium and the lena Cleareta, but plays a largely background role in the rest of the play's action; the Soldier's Parasite of *Bacchides* introduces the threat that one of the Bacchis sisters will have to pay off a debt or go off with his master, and then disappears (*Bacch.,* ll.573-605); and Artotrogus' role in *Miles Gloriosus* is confined to switching between grotesque flattery and criticism of the eponymous character through asides in the opening scene. Some, however, are more integral and entertaining. Ergasilus, the parasite in *Captivi,* has a number of large monologues (*Capt.,* ll.69-109; 461-497; 769-781; 901-908) in which he claims others have nicknamed him 'The Prostitute' ('*Scorto*': l.69) for his parasitical behaviour, and he waxes lyrical (particularly at ll.461-497) on the extent of his hunger, with his shamelessness and the depths of his greed clearly being exploited to comic effect. He even takes on some of the characteristics of the *servus* in his theatrical self-awareness: armed with good news for the *senex* Hegio, he decides to 'throw my cloak around my neck the same way slaves in comedy usually do' ('*eodem pacto ut comici servi solent, / coniciam in collum pallium*': ll.778-779); he pretends to not know Hegio in the following scene, and

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'slave' clearly does not refer to Mosca's actual social level, but rather indicates the degrading level of servitude to which his parasitical practices have led him.

[104] Terentian parasites: Phormio (*Phormio*) and Gnatho (*Eunuchus*); Plautine parasites: Gelasimus (*Stichus*), Saturio (*Persa*), Ergasilus (*Captivi*), Artotrogus (*Miles Gloriosus*), Peniculus (*Menaechmi*), and the unnamed parasites of *Asinaria* and *Bacchides*. Duckworth points out that '[t]he parasite had a long tradition in the Greek theatre [..] but it is very possible that Plautus developed and enriched the role, making the parasite one of his most original creations' (p.265).

[105] Duckworth, p.265.

[106] Duckworth, p.266.

over the space of nearly fifty lines (ll.825-871) draws out telling him that Philopolemus has returned from captivity—much to the old man's annoyance, and no doubt to the audience's amusement; and his declaration that the news has made him 'king of kings' ('*regum rex:*' l.825—cf. Musco's description of himself as '*rex regum*' at *EMI* (Q) II.i) endows him with a rhetorical ebullience similar to his *callidi* cousins. One might add Gelasimus in *Stichus*, who dominates the stage for much of the play with several lengthy exchanges with other characters (*Stich.,* ll.235-265; 315-402; 465-496; 582-631) and some amusing monologues in which he discourses on Hunger being his mother (ll.155-196), and on his own status as a '*ridiculus*' ('jester': *Stich.,* l176) willing to sell his jokes to the highest bidder. The *Stichus* parasite's dominance of the stage is surpassed only by Parmeno in *Hecyra* (more on whom below), and is far ahead of the anodyne versions found in *Asinaria, Bacchides,* and *Miles Gloriosus*, and provides an instance of the parasite being just as entertaining as the slave. Taken together, one sees a wide variety in the character and plot function of these parasites, and in the behaviour of the more developed specimens—their theatrical privilege, amusing wit, worldly interests, and lowly positions—there is much that compares directly to the character of the slave.

One suspects that the more theatrically entertaining *parasiti* may have been played by some of the troupes' leading comic actors, perhaps the same actors who performed as *servi* in other plays.[107] If this was indeed the case, in company personnel and performative terms the line between slave and parasite would have been very porous indeed. Nonetheless, within the imaginative world of the play it is the parasite's willingness to be creepingly deferential and self-serving—two qualities that are anathema to many of the dramatic *servi,* especially of the *callidus* variety—that distinguishes him from his slave cousins. One detects shades of such behaviour in Mosca: he is Volpone's 'poor observer' (*Volp.,* I.i.63), who plays on his parasitical nature in his dealing with the magnifico's four gulls (as well as Bonario, whose pity he arouses through a disingenuous monologue about eating his 'careful bread / With too much obsequy': III.ii.21-22), and whose interest in material gain leads to the play's denouement. But if Mosca shows the mercenary streak that distinguishes the Roman *parasitus* from the *servus,* his appreciation of his own creativity identifies him much more firmly with the latter. Granted, a Plautine parasite like Gelasimus, who stages a mock auction of his jokes in *Stichus* (ll.174-195), has pride enough

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[107] Fraenkel, pp.170-172.

in his work to claim that 'no-one will have better' ('*nemo meliores dabit*': l.225, translation mine), but the point is that he utilises them 'to make an auction' ('*facere auctionem*': l.218, translation mine) to fund his lifestyle, recognising them principally for their commercial rather than artistic merits. With one possible exception, the Roman *parasiti* do therefore not offer the same sense of artistic pride and self-regard as their *servi* cousins, and it is in this regard that Mosca seems much more with the latter group than the former.

The one possible exception, and perhaps the closest Roman analogue to Jonson's parasite, is the eponymous hero of Terence's *Phormio*, who like his early modern descendant resists easy categorisation. Phormio is by far the most nuanced and structurally integral of the ancient parasites, perhaps (ironically) due to the fact that he assumes most of the characteristics typically associated with the *servus callidus*: he announces early on that he has devised a plan to rescue his young patrons, Antipho and Phaedria ('*iam instructa sunt mi in corde consilia omnia,*' 'all plans are now drawn up in my mind': *Phorm.,* l.321, translation mine) and, although he subsequently disappears for a long stretch of the play (following l.400 he only reappears at l.828, well into the play's final third), he exerts a Pseudolean control over the rest of the action, orchestrating his plans through his onstage proxy, the slave Geta.[108] Most interestingly, Phormio's scheme rests on an elaborate scam, in which money procured from the *senex* Demipho, father to Antipho—handed over by the old man as dowry to Phormio, hoping to dissolve his son's marriage by forcing the girl to marry the parasite—is actually used to buy Phaedria's girlfriend from the pimp Dorio. The scheme involves a great deal of trust, as Antipho himself realises:

> ANTIPHO: [...] And tell me the next step. If Phormio accepts the dowry, he has to marry her: what happens then?
> GETA: But he won't marry her.
> ANTIPHO: (*with bitter irony*) Of course not. And, when they [Demipho and Chremes, Phaedria's father] ask for the money back, I suppose he'll choose to go to jail for my sake.
> GETA: There's nothing, Antipho, that can't be made worse in the telling. You're omitting the good things and mentioning only the bad. Now listen to the other side. Once he takes the money, he has to marry the girl, as you say: I grant you that. But there will after all be a breathing space while he prepares the wedding, invites the guests, and performs the sacrifices. Meanwhile Phaedria's friends will bring

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[108] John Barsby, the play's Loeb editor ('Introductory Note [*Phormio*],' II. pp.3-7), argues that the 'characterisation of Phormio is unusual and impressive;' Terence's parasite moves beyond the usual motives of greed and the usual mode of flattery to become the play's 'master schemer and plotter,' usurping the position of Geta, 'who might otherwise have played the tricky slave in the play, but is reduced to being Phormio's right-hand man' (pp.4-5).

what they promised [thirty minae, the amount filched from Demipho], and Phormio will pay back the money out of that.
(*Phorm.,* ll.692-704)

The tragic potential of this plan is all too clear. If Phormio were true to the self-serving natures of many of his kinsmen, what would stop him from actually marrying the girl, or using the threat of it as a bargaining chip with which he could extort more money from Antipho, or even Phaedria, for whom the money was intended? Terence could even have created a comic ending from such a development by having the parasite eventually thwarted by Geta, a slave whose dealing with the two *senes* at ll.606-681 gives him a vestige of the *callidus'* cunning. Terence is not averse to bypassing convention in other respects, and could easily have done so here, but neither of these scenarios occurs; instead Phormio, true to his word, follows his scheme to the satisfaction of all parties, the play's conventional ending of an invitation to dinner being all the more fitting because such an event is the *modus vivendi* for the stage parasite.

The Terentian comparison leads on to a necessary and related discussion concerning genre, for if *Phormio'*s central trick teeters on the edge of tragedy, I argue that in *Volpone* Jonson uses a similar situation to give his later play a good shove over the edge. Terence's Phormio could be regarded as a *contaminatio* of the *servus callidus* and the *parasitus,* but it is my contention that Jonson takes this hybridity still further in creating Mosca from a blend of this Terentian model and the native character of the Vice and the vice-derived figures of contemporary theatre. I would therefore like to take the first of my detours by considering how, like Mosca, the play that contains him also has contaminated origins, and that the traditions upon which he draws are often much closer to home than those distant ones of the classical theatre.

The connection between *Volpone* and more contemporary dramatic traditions of the late-fifteenth and sixteenth centuries has long been noted. Critics have highlighted, for instance, the play's debt to native English drama, including that Volpone and Mosca's characteristics and skills—their ability to tempt their victims, their cupidity, immoral attitudes, and rapport with their audience—mark them as descendants of the Vice, a long-standing but still popular stage figure;[109] it is also argued that Celia and Bonario, often

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[109] Berger, Bradford, and Sondergard (p.100) record thirty eight plays (performed approximately between 1496-1634) that include a Vice or Vices in their *dramatis personae,* with the characters' peak coming around about the mid-sixteenth-century (1550s-1570s). The list does not include all vice-like

criticised for their passivity and lack of depth, make more sense as characters when viewed as analogues to the holy innocents and helpless victims of the Corpus Christi and later morality plays;[110] and even that the entire play, predicated upon a beast fable that inclines an audience to allegorical interpretation, recreates the clear-cut plot progression and bold didacticism of the medieval allegory and the early Renaissance interlude.[111] Comparisons have also been made to the *commedia dell'arte,* specifically to Volpone and Mosca's close master-servant relationship paralleling that of Pantalone and his Zanni (although Jonson's magnifico, at least initially, does not imitate Pantalone's tendency to be duped),[112] direct verbal allusions (such as Volpone's reference to Mosca as his 'zany' and to Nano as 'Zan Fritada' (*Volp.,* II.ii.28, 98), or Corvino's calling himself the '*Pantalone di Besogniosi*' and Volpone 'Signor Flaminio' (II.iii.3, 8)), even the play's Venetian setting— regarded by Andrews as the 'principal centre' for *commedia* in the sixteenth century[113]— contributes to the impression that Jonson is painting his work in the hues of the Italian comic form.

Another contemporary play that shares some of *Volpone*'s affinities with *commedia dell'arte*—and a text that Jonson certainly knew well—is Shakespeare's *Othello.*[114]

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characters that are named after other abstractions (such as Clokyd Colusion in *Magnyfycence*); if such figures were taken into account, the list would likely be much larger. Notable plays, with years of first performance, include Medwall's *Nature* plays (1496) *Hycke Scorner* (1513), *Mundus et Infans* (1519), Heywood's *The Play of the Weather* (1528), Lindsay's *The Satire of the Three Estates* (1540), Wever's *Lusty Juventus* (1550), Udall's *Ralph Roister Doister* (1552), *Jack Juggler* (1555), *Tom Tyler and His Wife* (1561), *The Marriage of Wit and Wisdom* (1579), Fletcher's *Four Plays in One* (1613), *Pathomachia* (1617), Carew's *Coelum Britannicum* (1634). The continuing presence of Vices in the later plays, and the publication of earlier works in which they featured, such as *Clyomon and Clamydes* (published 1599), and Linday's *The Satire of the Three Estates* (published 1602), suggests that the character had not as out of fashion as Jonson's depiction of them in *Devil* would suggest (see chapter 5, section V). See also Dessen, *Jonson's Moral Comedy,* p.75; Pineas, 'Morality Vice,' pp.451-459.

[110] Cox, 'Celia, Bonario,' pp.506-511; Dessen, 'Jonson and the Late Morality Tradition'; Dessen, *Jonson's Moral Comedy,* pp.85-88. Dessen's reading of Celia and Bonario is an attempt to be more fair-minded about the characters' role, in contrast to the dismissive view that Bonario is 'the hero leaping through the door to save the little seamstress from the clutches of the villain' (Bacon, 'The Magnetic Field,' p.137); see also Davison, '*Volpone* and The Old Comedy,' *Modern Language Quarterly* 24 (1963), pp. 151-157.

[111] Dessen *Jonson's Moral Comedy*; Philip Brockbank, 'Introduction,' in Jonson, *Volpone,* ed. by Brockbank, p.xxv.

[112] Aside from the Pantalone-Zany pairing of Volpone-Mosca, one might also see shades of the braggart *Capitano* (itself an early modern variant on the classical *miles gloriosus*) in the self-deluding Sir Politic Would-Be, or of the *inamorati* in Celia and Bonario.

[113] Andrews, *Scripts and Scenarios,* p.121.

[114] The connection between *Othello* and *commedia dell'arte* has not been fully explored by the play's major editors, but there has been an increase in scholarship on this in recent years. See Richard Whalen, '*Commedia Dell'Arte* in *Othello*: A Satiric Comedy Ending in Tragedy,' *Brief Chronicles: The Interdisciplinary Journal of Authorship Studies* 3 (2011), pp.71-106, (pp.88, 93-94), who cites, amongst others, Club, Heliodora, and Faherly.

In a thought-provoking article, Tyson points to the facts that the two plays were probably both performed within a year of each other at the Globe by the King's Men (*Othello* perhaps as early as November 1604, *Volpone* either late 1605 or early 1606),[115] that both likely relied on similar if not identical casts (including Richard Burbage, who played Othello and almost certainly Volpone), and that there is some profit in reading Jonson's comedy as a parodic riposte to Shakespeare's tragedy.[116] He cites some persuasive semantic and thematic parallels to support his argument: both plays are set in Venice, portray the fall of men from a high social position, have plots that are largely predicated upon intrigue and deception, include accusations of infidelity made against an innocent young woman and man, connect their protagonists with diabolic and animal imagery, and even include similar episodes where a jealous husband is inflamed with rage over his wife (supposedly, in Desdemona's case; innocently, in Celia's) giving a handkerchief to another man.[117] If one accepts these internal and external links, the placing of these two plays in creative dialogue with one another is another fine example of Carlson's point about the particularly pronounced 'ghosting' effect that can be produced between plays produced by the same company, in the same performance space, and before a similar audience (cf. the Pecunia-Volpone discussion in chapter 1, section V);[118] and it is not difficult to imagine that Jonson, as a playwright whose very medium was so invigorated by these sorts of artful echoes, would have been alert to these spectral possibilities.

Tyson concludes by suggesting that Jonson's play is a corrective to Shakespeare's in the same manner as the satyr play that followed the tragic trilogies performed at the ancient Greek festivals, and which echoed the themes of the earlier tragedies in the riotous mode of comic burlesque.[119] I think this element of Tyson's article is a little forced (what is it, exactly, that Jonson wished to 'correct' in Shakespeare's tragedy?), but his overall argument is certainly provocative; what is especially

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[115] The *Volpone* performance date is often taken to be 1605 due to a colophon to the play in the Folio, which claims it 'was first acted, in the yeere 1605,' but Dutton ('Introduction [*Volpone*],' in *CWBJ,* III, p.4) argues that 'there is compelling internal evidence that this is Old Style dating and that it was written and first performed in the early months of 1606, New Style.'

[116] Tyson, pp.61,66. Interestingly, Bevington suggests that some of the characterisation and plot elements of *Othello* are themselves a response to *Every Man In*; his argument (which cites an earlier work by Donaldson) is convincing, and serves as another illustration (if the efforts of Jonson and his rivals during the Poetomachia were not enough) of the rapid back-and-forth, dialogic nature of early modern playwriting. See David Bevington, 'Introduction [*Every Man In His Humour, Quarto Version*], pp.113-121 (p.114).

[117] Tyson, pp.62-65.

[118] Carlson, esp. pp.52-95, 131-164.

[119] Tyson, p.66.

interesting is that it taps into a critical uncertainty about the generic definition of the two works, an uncertainty most famously voiced in relation to *Volpone* by Frye, who calls Jonson's play 'a kind of comic imitation of a tragedy, with the point of Volpone's *hybris* carefully marked.'[120] Whalen, in another article connecting *Othello* with *commedia dell'arte,* refers to Shakespeare's play in his subtitle as 'a satiric comedy ending in tragedy.'[121] In this final part of my discussion of Jonson's play I will take inspiration from Tyson and Whalen by considering *Volpone* as 'a satiric tragedy ending in comedy'; the significant difference in my approach is that I will focus not just on the various medieval and Renaissance sources that have been so regularly detected, but also upon the play's Roman elements. I do not wish to occlude the native or contemporary European influences that the critics above have identified as also present; rather, I will argue that Mosca's unusually hybrid character—a patchwork of classical and contemporary, pagan and Christian—is both a cause and an effect of the larger generic hybridity that can be detected in the play at large.

For this reason, it would be useful to take a second detour, setting Mosca aside for a moment and turning more fully to this issue of genre. I will first provide a brief survey of key critics who have commented on the play's generic dissonance, and then illustrate how the 'tragedy' detectable in the play can be traced back to its classical source indirectly, as it is rerouted through the medieval *de casibus* tragic form. This is a necessary diversion from the chapter's main focus on the *servus* theatregram, as it is only through an appreciation of the workings of the play's larger scheme that we can properly assess Mosca's role within it.

 The earliest significant comment on the odd quality of *Volpone* is found in Dryden's *An Essay of Dramatic Poesy* (1668), a treatise in the style of Cicero's *De Oratore* that sets out to defend its subject (in Dryden's case, drama) through the structural conceit of a dialogue. Neander, one of the *Essay*'s interlocutors, responds to praise of the French dramatists by highlighting that their English counterparts are more skilled in the overall design of their plays. He names *The Maid's Tragedy, The Alchemist* and *Epicene* as supreme examples of this technique, but hesitates over adding *Volpone* to the group:

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[120] Frye, p.165.
[121] Whalen, *passim*.

> I was going to have named *The Fox*, but that the unity of design seems not exactly observed in it, for there appear two actions in the play; the first naturally ending with the fourth act; the second forced from it in the fifth: which yet is the less to be condemned in him, because the disguise of Volpone, though it suited not with his character as a crafty or covetous person, agreed well enough with that of a voluptuary; and by it the poet gained the end at which he aym'd, the punishment of vice, and the reward of virtue, both which that disguise produced. So that to judge equally of it, it was an excellent fifth act, but not so naturally proceeding from the former.[122]

The reference to the play's 'two actions' is to the sharp tonal break between Act IV—which concludes with the innocents Celia and Bonario taken into custody, gulls and magistrates completely fooled, and Volpone and Mosca's lies safely hidden[123]—and Act V, when Volpone is unable to resist returning to his scheming ways, and does so with disastrous results. Dryden's remark only provides a brief comment on the discordance between the action of Acts IV and V, but many critics after him have gone further in reading this moment as a feature of the play's generic amphibiousness. Barish sees Volpone and Mosca as 'villains of the stuff of which tragedy makes use, but without the dignity' of that genre;[124] Roston claims that the audience's initial delight in the pair's schemes turning to disgust by the attempted rape scene of III.vii;[125] while Barton, citing Jonson's claim that it is 'the office of the comic poet to imitate justice and instruct to life' (*Volp.,* Epist.91-92), sees the playwright's justification of the play's harsh ending as a didactic necessity as a piece of disingenuous 'special pleading,' and, in an argument similar to Tyson's about Jonson's debt to *Othello,* that the play holds closer affinities to the cynical, corrupted world of *Sejanus* than to the more hopeful or instructive mode of comedy to which it officially claims kinship.[126] The most significant contribution to the topic in recent criticism, though, belongs to Greenblatt, who in an influential essay referred to the events at the end of Act IV having the 'feeling of a finale,' and argues that the audience is given the sense in Act V that Volpone, like a character in Pirandello's *Six Characters in Search of An*

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[122] Dryden, p.60.

[123] As Mosca puts it, they have 'gull[ed] the court – And quite diverted the torrent / Upon the innocent' (*Volp.,* V.ii.16-17).

[124] Barish, quoted in Murray Roston, '*Volpone*: Comedy or Mordant Satire?' *Ben Jonson Journal* 10 (2003), pp. 1-21 (p.1 ).

[125] Roston, p.8.

[126] Barton, p.105. See also Maus, who notes that the end of Act IV is 'unsettling' because as audience members '[w]e realise, with a certain horror, that this would make a perfectly plausible conclusion' (p.35).

*Author,* has 'somehow survived his play,' with the character's moment of wavering introspection in V.i giving a sense of 'the emptiness of the stage after the performance is over.'[127] The emphasis of these critical opinions may all be slightly different, but all are united in articulating the feeling that there is a pronounced tonal change towards the play's end, and that it is this change that makes *Volpone* so dramatically intriguing and generically puzzling.

Especially strong evidence of the play's shift in tone comes in Volpone's soliloquy in V.i, which in stark contrast to the self-promoting glee of Mosca's earlier monologue presents the Fox as a poor, bare, forked animal:

> Well, I am here, and all this brunt is past.
> I ne'er was in dislike with my disguise
> Till this fled moment [...]
> (*Volp.,* V.i.1-3)

During the trial of Act IV, life began to imitate art as Volpone's 'left leg 'gan to have the cramp,' and he felt struck by a 'dead palsy,' and now alone he drinks wine in order 'to fright / This humour from my heart' (V.i.5, 7, 11-12). The magnifico may claim that a new 'device [...] of rare, ingenious knavery' will bring him back to his old self (V.i.14), but it is not entirely convincing, and his largely peripheral role in the final Act—sniggering behind a curtain at home, disguised as a sergeant in the street and at the court, watching from the sidelines as Mosca assumes the magnifico role that he will soon attempt to take for real—only underlines the change that has been wrought upon him.

One detects the decline in Volpone's powers in the way he is manipulated in the final Act, a change perhaps first hinted at by Mosca's behaviour—worthy of the Plautine *callidus*—in the opening moments of V.ii. The audience has already heard the Fox's private confession of his own weakness, and Mosca himself insists on their superlative success:

> MOSCA: [...] here we must be fixed;
> Here we must rest; this is our masterpiece;
> We cannot think to go beyond this.
> (*Volp.,* V.ii.12-14)

With these words, the parasite paints a convincing picture that he is solicitous to protect the artistic integrity of his and Volpone's masterpiece, and that he is genuinely suggesting

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[127] Stephen Greenblatt, 'The False Ending in *Volpone,*' *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 75:1 (1976), pp.90-104 (pp.91, 100-101).

that the pair should bow out gracefully and not dare to go beyond their most perfect of crimes. And yet, within the space of about twenty lines, Mosca is encouraging his master again: Voltore deserves 'to be cozened' (V.ii.47), and such an invitation proves irresistible to Volpone, whose words also suggest a realisation that he should not yet attempt such a task:

> VOLPONE:                    'Tis right.
> I cannot answer him [Voltore], Mosca, as I would,
> Not yet; but for thy sake, at thy entreaty,
> I will begin e'en now to vex 'em all,
> This very instant.
> (*Volp.,* V.ii.53-57)

At Mosca's 'entreaty,' Volpone is scheming again, and in this decision lie the seeds of his destruction.

Setting aside the moral complications of Act IV's denouement for a moment and focusing solely on the action in terms of Volpone and Mosca, the split first noted by Dryden essentially marks the movement from a comic resolution—the magnifico triumphant, his foolish dupes vanquished or dismissed—to a tragic one, with Volpone as a tragic figure, an over-reacher whose demise is caused, as Frye remarked, by his own *hybris.* But what exactly is meant by the ending's tragic tone, what is Volpone's *hybris,* and what relation has it to Jonson's classical sources?

If one is to accept my contention that *Volpone* is a 'satirical tragedy,' one runs into immediate problems in that the play is at odds with one of the most fundamental and influential pronouncements about the tragic form. According to Aristotle, a tragedy is a complete action that depict an individual's movement from good fortune to bad, and which 'evokes fear and pity' in its audience as a result.[128] Only a very specific type of character can evoke such a response:

> the sort of person who is not outstanding in moral excellence or justice; on the other hand, the change to bad fortune which he undergoes is not due to any moral defect or depravity, but to an error ['ἁμαρτία'] of some kind. He is one of those people who are held in great esteem and enjoy great good fortune, like Oedipus, Thyestes, and distinguished men from that kind of family.[129]

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[128] Aristotle, *Poe.*, 1453a.
[129] Aristotle, *Poe.*, 1453a.

One could make the case that Volpone, a man 'held in great esteem and enjoy[ing] great good fortune,' belongs to the right social bracket for the tragic character,[130] but the magnifico is certainly not one of Aristotle's ethically middling sort (neither especially good nor especially bad), and it is debatable whether his fall is precipitated by an 'error' rather than 'moral defect or depravity.' What Aristotle meant by 'error' is highly contentious, but Heath offers a usefully nuanced definition: '*[h]amartia* [...] includes errors made in ignorance or through misjudgement; but it will also include moral errors of a kind which do not imply wickedness.'[131] If one were to stick to the letter of the law, Volpone's fall could be seen as an error of ignorance or misjudgement in that he fails to discern the depths of his servant's cunning; however, when set in the context of the entire play, and against the magnifico's character, the *spirit* of this law is severely lacking. Volpone is a miser, a corrupter of familial relationships, a scorner of the law, an attempted rapist—in short, the very sort of person Aristotle said one should never build a tragedy around, as their fall would arouse neither pity nor fear.

The Aristotelian tragic tradition, filtered through the more established Horatian standpoint, rose steadily in prominence in sixteenth-century poetic theory until it formed a central pillar of the neoclassical movement in the seventeenth; it is the shortest route by which one might connect early modern tragedies to their ancient counterparts, but is one that clearly does not work in *Volpone*'s case. Nevertheless, Aristotle's was not the only popular theoretical model for tragedy, and when one turns to a more recent form one finds not only a better fit for Jonson's play but also a tradition that, while frequently regarded as a more contemporaneous, and rivalling the rediscovered Greek one, at its heart reached back to a similar ancient prototype. This rival model was the *de casibus* tradition, so called because it stemmed from the hugely popular fourteenth-century text by Boccaccio, *De Casibus Virorum Illustrium* ('On the Fall of Illustrious Men'), and which, as its name suggests, documented the fall of men from power. The form of tragedy espoused

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[130] In fact, Volpone's social status actually disqualifies him from being a typical comic protagonist, who Aristotle characterises as coming from 'the inferior sort,' which was frequently interpreted in the Renaissance as referring to those of lowly or bourgeois origins. However, David Farley-Hills ('Jonson and the Neo-Classical Rules in *Sejanus* and *Volpone*,' *The Review of English Studies* 46 (1995), pp.153-173), who cites early modern neo-Aristotelian views as well as Aristotle, does not see this as hugely problematic, as his magnifico status does place him too far away from the social strata typical to comedy: 'Volpone's rank might be exceptional here, but he is hardly princely' (p.173).

[131] Malcolm Heath, Introduction, in Aristotle, *Poetics,* trans. by Heath, pp.vii-lxxi (p.xxxiii).

by this other tradition is most succinctly summed up in Chaucer's prologue to the Monk's Tale, a section of the *Canterbury Tales* explicitly modelled on Boccaccio's work:

> Tragedie is to seyn a certeyn storie,
> As olde bookes maken us memorie,
> Of hym that stood in greet prosperitee,
> And is yfallen out of heigh degree
> Into myserie, and endeth wrecchedly.[132]

The Boccaccian tragic model is not completely different to Aristotle's—it too charts the movement from good fortune to bad of a person of 'heigh degree'—and in fact its origins can be traced back to Senecan tragedy and, more distantly, the Greek tragedies that inspired Seneca. Nonetheless, its emphasis had undergone substantial alterations: in accordance with the general worldly philosophy of late medieval Europe, its focus was on the vicissitudes of Fortune, of men falling from grace not so much through error of their own but because to do so is part of the natural rhythm of an uncaring natural order, and the abundance of such examples in the *de casibus* writers is in accordance with the Christian view of history as linear, teleological, and therefore in need of careful chronicling in order to expose its 'broad providential pattern.'[133] The arbitrariness of the medieval *de casibus* tradition altered as it entered the Renaissance, with its victims (frequently rulers) receiving retributive punishment as a result of their straying from the path of Christian morality, and its didactic message can be traced in literary and dramatic works like John Lydgate's *Fall of Princes* (c.1431-1439); *The Mirror for Magistrates,* a poetry collection conceived as a successor to Lydgate's earlier work (editions in 1559, 1563, 1574, 1578, 1587, 1610); Norton and Sackville's *Gorboduc* (performed 1561); Marlowe's *Tamberlaine* plays (performed c.1587-1588); and even some of Shakespeare's histories.[134]

If we are to view him as a tragic figure at all, Volpone—a man of high status, who abuses this position and who feels that 'some power had struck me' (V.i.6) at the very moment of

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[132] Geoffrey Chaucer, *The Canterbury Tales,* in *The Riverside Chaucer,* ed. by Larry D. Benson, 3rd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), VII.1973-1977.

[133] Paul Budra, '*The Mirror for Magistrates* and the Shape of *De Casibus Tragedy,*' *English Studies* 69:4 (1988), pp.303-312 (pp.305, 311).

[134] See William Tydeman, 'Introduction [*Two Tudor Tragedies*],' in *Two Tudor Tragedies,* ed. by William Tydeman (London: Penguin, 1992), pp.1-36 (esp. pp.2-9), who provides an excellent overview of the *de casibus* tradition in medieval and Renaissance literature. Paul Vincent Budra's A Mirror for Magistrates *and the* De Casibus *Tradition* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000), pp. 73-94, puts forward the case that Shakespeare's early history plays, 'especially the three *Henry VI* plays but also, in different ways, *Henry VIII* and *Richard II,* represent in dramatic format the vision of history that *de casibus* literature offers' (p.79).

his greatest triumph, reminiscent of Tamburlaine's sudden sickness after the destruction of Babylon—is a figure in the *de casibus* rather than the Aristotelian tradition. And in fact the Christian moral loading that this later model brought forms a neat dovetail with another idea linked to classical tragedy, already mentioned by Frye: the nature of Volpone's *hybris.* This term ('ὕβρις' in the original Greek) is often thought to refer to 'pride' or 'arrogance,' and is frequently used to describe the over-reaching behaviour of the tragic protagonist. Fisher addresses this misreading in two useful articles,[135] in which he highlights that *hybris*—a word that for the Greeks carried social, political, and legal connotations, as well as moral ones—actually refers to 'behaviour intended to bring shame or dishonour.'[136] Once again, Aristotle provides the clearest definition:

> an insult ['ὕβρις'] consists of doing or saying such things as involve shame for the victim, not for some advantage to oneself other than that these have been done, but for the fun of it, for those returning an injury are not insulting but taking revenge. The cause of pleasure for those insulting is that they think that by treating others badly they are themselves the superior (that is why the young and the rich tend to insult; for in their insults they feel they are superior); and there is a dishonouring in an insult, and to dishonour is to belittle.[137]

It is through *hybris* that Volpone's behaviour, the medieval *de casibus* tradition, and the pronouncements of the ancients most closely converge. One would have to fall into wild and unnecessary speculation to determine what 'insult' may have prompted Volpone's actions, but there is no doubt that a large part of his scheming is 'for the fun of it,' and that shame and dishonour are the intended result for his gulls.

What relation has Mosca to the comments above? In this final section on *Volpone* I wish to return to Mosca by arguing that the parasite has tragic qualities similar to his patron, and that again these become most apparent after the tonal pivot of V.i. Like the anamorphic reading I offered of *Every Man Out* in chapter 3, I would like to suggest that Mosca's eventual treachery reveals his earlier behaviour and actions from a new perspective and that, in a reading that expands on Tyson's, I will assert that, from the vantage point of the

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[135] N.R.E. Fisher, '*Hybris* and Dishonour: I,' *Greece & Rome* 23:2 (1976), pp.177-193; '*Hybris* and Dishonour: II,' *Greece & Rome* 26:1 (1979), pp.32-47. See also N.R.E. Fisher, Hybris: *A Study in the Values of Honour and Shame in Ancient Greece* (Warminster: Aris & Philips, 1992), where the arguments forwarded by both of these articles are greatly expanded and developed in chapters on *hybris* in the writings of Aristotle (pp.7-35), Plato (pp.453-492), and the Greek tragedians (pp.247-297, 298-342, 412-452).

[136] Fisher, '*Hybris* and Dishonour: I,' p.177.

[137] Aristotle, *The Art of Rhetoric*, trans. and ed. by H. C. Lawson-Tancred (London: Penguin, 1991), 1378b.

final Act, Mosca begins to look a lot more like Iago, a tragi-comic variant on the Roman *servus* or *parasitus.*

Dutton has argued that if Jonson really had wanted to remain within the bounds of 'comic law' he could easily have had Mosca acquiesce to Volpone's increased offer for his parasite's silence during the second trial ('Thou shalt have half': V.xii.67), leaving master and servant with equal honours and 'produc[ing] something like a conventional New Comedy resolution.'[138] But Jonson pointedly does not do this; instead, the audience are first greeted with a surprise confession from Mosca in V.v, during which the parasite, echoing his earlier language, declares he will 'cozen' his master 'of all,' and departs to prepare his 'Fox-trap' (V.v.16, 18). The ensuing action is like a dark reflection of Terence's *Phormio*: unlike Terence's character, however, Jonson's parasite, now 'Master Mosca' (V.xi.12), refuses to relinquish Volpone's keys, the symbol of the Fox's financial power and rank, and instead continues the fiction of his patron's death, whom he intends 'to bury, like a gentleman' (V.xii.59), a line that, with his disguised master standing right beside him, is heavy with dramatic irony. The '*oro te'* is not enough for Mosca, and the depths of his deviousness, and another indication of his vice-like qualities, are revealed in Volpone's horrified *anagnorisis* in V.xi, when he realises that his final act of *hybris* has made 'a snare, for mine own neck,' and that 'the dull devil / Was in this brain of mine, when I devised it; / And Mosca gave it second' (V.xi.4-6). In a final moment that is reminiscent not only of Iago's dismissal to torture and execution but also completely inverts final Musco's triumph, Mosca is forcibly disrobed and, exposed as 'a fellow of no birth, or blood,' sentenced to a whipping and a life as 'perpetual prisoner in our gallies' (V.xii.114). For a character who attempted to rise so high, such a punishment of forcible and unending servitude—similar, notably, to that of the Roman *servus*—is allegorically apt for a character who allows his own *hybris* to push him to an act of malevolence that ruins both himself and his master.

The punishment might fit the crime but, as I suggested in the conclusion to chapter 3, the audience may find such an ending troublesome, especially as Mosca has been one of the play's most consistently entertaining characters and so, dramatically speaking, not deserving of such harsh treatment. There is perhaps an additional problem in that, like Volpone's sudden collapse in confidence, Mosca's betrayal appears to come from

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[138] Dutton, 'Introduction [*Volpone*],' in *CWBJ,* III, p.20.

nowhere, with the speech in V.v being the parasite's first explicit declaration of his intentions. But *is* Mosca's betrayal completely unexpected? I suggest that it is not, and that when one begins to read backwards from Mosca's moment of confession there are a number of episodes, overlooked when the play is considered in its comic mood, that suddenly seem retrospectively ominous when viewed through the tragic lens of the final Act.

Let us begin with the moment in III.viii, where Mosca enters bleeding, having just encountered Bonario escaping with Celia from Volpone's clutches.[139] Mosca had placed Bonario out of the way several scenes earlier, possibly somewhere within the discovery space area of the central doorway ('here, concealed, you may hear all': III.vi.1),[140] and then, following the surprise entrance of Corvino and Celia in III.vii ('Death on me! You are come too soon': III.vii.1), moves him '[i]nto that gallery' (III.vii.13), perhaps signified by one of the Globe's side doors.[141] The ensuing mayhem is apparently an accident, and, as Mosca says himself later, his wound 'speaks' for his loyalty to his master and his lack of control over Bonario (IV.v.135). But can we completely trust his account? The audience does not actually see Mosca receiving his wound, and for a character who had previously bragged of his cunning and quick thinking, it seems strange that he would have performed such a blunder in allowing Bonario—a morally upright young man, and therefore a character liable to assist damsels in distress—to wander the upper gallery unattended while his master attempts to violate Celia only a room away. If we are to view Mosca from a vice-like, Iagoian perspective, is it too much to suggest that the whole thing has been a stitch-up, with Mosca planting Bonario in his hiding place because he *knew* how the young man would react, and that his (possibly self-inflicted) wound is an elaborate attempt to cover his tracks?

This suggestion is speculative, but perhaps there is an endorsement of it in an earlier moment when Bonario first enters in III.ii, and Mosca, after announcing that he is '[t]he person I was bound to seek' (III.ii.2), leads the young man off to discover his father's treachery: '[h]ear yourself written bastard, and professed / The common issue of the earth' (III.ii.63-64). But who was it who 'bound' Mosca to this task? Volpone makes no mention of it in the previous scenes, and in fact it is difficult to see the tactical advantage

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[139] See *Volp.* III.viii.3, 'Dost thou bleed?'
[140] *Volp.*III.vi.1n.
[141] *Volp,* III.vi.1n.

in Bonario overhearing his father disinherit him, as it would inevitably lead to complications in the tricksters' plans. Perhaps here we see an example of the Roman *servus* and English Vice's shared fondness for *malum gratia mali*, but one could also argue that this moment moves beyond mere trickery, as in fact Bonario's intervention is the most significant first moment where Volpone's schemes seem to unravel.

One might go further, and see Mosca's scheming extending back even as far as introducing Volpone to Celia ('But had she Signior Corvino's wife's face': I.v.106), or present in his comments on his master's appearance following the success of the first trial ('it seems to me you sweat, sir': V.ii.37), which *seems* to show concern but might be interpreted as a subtle jibe, a reminder to the magnifico that despite his delusions of creative omnipotence his body is still susceptible to the usual human frailties. I am also tempted to view the moment following Volpone's beating by Corvino, in which Mosca comforts his master before uttering 'and yet, I would / Escape your epilogue' (II.iv.33-34) as an early foreshadowing of the parasite's intentions. The play's Q and F texts do not record this line as an aside, but it is interesting that it was spoken as such in a recent RSC production of the play,[142] helping to imbue Mosca with a sinister quality long before his later treachery becomes apparent. Perhaps this final point is a little fanciful, but I think it at least notable that the play allows for *the possibility* that Mosca has been scheming quietly against his master almost from its beginning. One does not have to accept all of the instances I have suggested above, but the fact that they *could* be argued to be there is symptomatic of the ambivalence of Mosca's character and of the play at large.

In this section I have strayed somewhat from my focus on the *servus,* but drawing on *Volpone*'s tragic overtones is a useful departure, as it helps demonstrate how more complex and layered the Jonsonian *contaminatio* has become in this play. I have argued that *Volpone* is a generic hybrid, and that there is a further hybridisation through the *de casibus* tradition, an explicitly medieval reimagining of a tragic model that drew its inspiration from Christian and classical sources. Mosca's own characterological and generic hybridity thus sits as a smaller element within *Volpone*'s larger scheme, and although his unique blend of parasitical, servile, and vice-like qualities all contribute to the play's action, they cannot be understood completely in isolation. In my final section, I turn to a play that also plays with its generic hybridity, although, I suggest, the satire it produces is

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[142] Jonson, *Volpone,* dir. by Trevor Nunn (Swan Playhouse, Stratford-upon-Avon; 3 September 2015).

bereft of tragic resonances, and instead communicates Jonson's feeling that some of the theatrical institutions and types he mocks have reached the end of the creative line.

<div align="center">V</div>

In the Epistle to the Q edition of *Volpone* (1607) Jonson dismissed the wishes of audiences who preferred to see plays in the native English tradition, with 'fools and devils and those antique relics of barbarism' (*Volp.,* Epist.60), and his depiction of the Gossips in *The Staple* two decades later—who are distressed that there is '[n]either devil nor fool in this play' (*Staple,* 2 Int.1-2; cf. 1 Int.25ff.), and are incapable of interpreting Jonson's comedy outside the allegorical mode of the morality tradition—is suggestive that he continued to view these English theatrical elements with unsophisticated spectatorship. Almost temporally equidistant between these two mocking representations of English dramatic forms and their audiences, though, Jonson produced *The Devil Is An Ass* (1616), a play that through its use of the characters and tropes of the old moralities and more recent devil plays has a real feel of 'nostalgia' about it,[143] a quality that Barton sees stemming from Jonson's tendency in his later work to revisit and reappraise not only his own dramatic output but also elements of popular Elizabethan dramaturgy that he had previously dismissed or avoided. When Drummond reports in his *Informations* that the play was written in the style of '*comedia vetus* in England' (*Informations,* ll.319-320), the phrase is not used to refer to Greek Old Comedy, as it was in *Every Man Out,* but rather to English 'old comedy,' specifically that of the morality tradition. The debt Jonson's play owes to this native genre is well attested by critics,[144] and the materials he draws upon are obvious: the play opens in Hell, and features Satan, a standard feature of the early mystery plays,[145] the minor devil, Pug, and even includes a cameo appearance from a morality Vice, '*Vetus Iniquitas*.' Despite his declared distaste for these 'antique relics of barbarism,' the extent of his usage of them shows that Jonson was clearly familiar with them all.

But if the play is nostalgic, Jonson approaches his native subject matter with his tongue firmly in his cheek, as from its beginning one gains a sense that neither Hell, nor its representative, the minor devil Pug, has any diablerie to offer that the denizens of

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[143] Barton, p.221.
[144] See, for example, Baskervill, p.15; Barton, p.221; Haynes, pp.8-9.
[145] Cox, *Devil and the Sacred,* pp.5,19.

seventeenth-century London do not already possess. Pug is an unlikely demonic envoy: his 'main achievements' lie in laming cattle, causing miscarriages in pigs, and disorientating horses (*Devil,* I.i.8-12); and Satan, sensing his underling's provincial standards of devilry, has seriously misgivings about sending him to the big city: '[y[ou would make, I think / An agent to be sent for Lancashire / Proper enough; or some parts of Northumberland' (I.i.31-33). Even Pug's choice of companion in Iniquity is woefully misguided, and the Vice's obsolescence is indicated in his anodyne malevolence ('I will teach thee to cheat, child, to cog, lie, and swagger, / And ever and anon, to be drawing forth thy dagger': I.i.48-49), and in his near-use of heroic fourteeners, a metrical form popular to Elizabethans but which sound lumbering and sing-song alongside the more sprightly blank verse of the other characters.[146] *Vetus Iniquitas* does indeed reveal his age, and Satan himself rightly expresses incredulity that Pug wants such an assistant:

> Art thou the spirit thou seem'st? So poor? To choose
> This for a Vice t'advance the cause of hell
> Now, as vice stands this present year? Remember
> What number it is: six hundred and sixteen.
> (*Devil,* I.i.78-81)

Iniquity is banished as an outmoded relic—his time was 'fifty years agone, and six' (I.i.83)—and Pug is granted his time on earth on two conditions: that he inhabit the body of a 'handsome cutpurse hanged at Tyburn,' and that he be bound '[t]o serve the first man you meet' (I.i.140, 152). These inclusions are typical of the morality and devil plays of Jonson's period, particularly the binding of a demonic agent to a human form and to a human master, which of course has its most famous example in the Mephistopheles-Faustus pairing in *Doctor Faustus* (performed 1592-1593; A-text published 1604).[147] Marlowe's play is especially important, as its continuing commercial and critical dominance was so great that all subsequent devil plays could not escape reference to it,

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[146] See Ben Jonson, *The Devil Is An Ass,* ed. by Peter Happé, Revels (Manchester; New York: Manchester University Press, 1994), I.i.55-75n, where Happé claims the Vice's metre is closer to the irregular 'Poulter's Measure.'

[147] Aside from *Doctor Faustus,* cf. the demonic minions that help Friar Bacon in Robert Greene's *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay* (performed 1589-1590)*;* Asnath, conjured to prophecy the future in Shakespeare's *2 Henry VI* (performed c. 1590); Astaroth, conjured up in Barnaby Barnes' *The Devil's Charter* (performed 1607); the devil Tom in Rowley, Dekker, and Ford's *The Witch of Edmonton* (performed 1621), who serves as Elizabeth Sawyer's familiar and is implicated in the play's subplot. For a slight variation, the anonymous *Grim the Collier of Croydon* features the devil Akercock bound to the service of another devil, Belphagor, who is specifically instructed to 'take upon thee the shape of a man' (p.7). See Robert Greene, *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay*, ed. by Daniel Seltzer (London: Arnold, 1963), and *Grim the Collier of Croydon*, Old English Drama: Students' Facsimile Edition (Amersham, 1914).

even if—as in Jonson's case—such references took the form of parody.[148] In fact, Dessen sees Jonson's work steering a course between the *Faustus*-inspired devil plays and earlier moralities, picking up the 'serious diabolic action' not only from Marlowe but from Dekker's *If This Be Not a Good Play, the Devil Is In It* (performed 1611-1612; published 1611); echoing the knockabout comedy of *The Merry Devil of Edmonton* (performed 1599-1604; published 1608); and imitating the depictions of the useless devils Belphagor and Akercock in *Grim the Collier of Croydon* (performed 1593-1601?),[149] and the Vice-Satan relations to be found in pre-Marlovian moralities such as Fulwell's *Like Will to Like* (performed 1562-1568).[150] Such imitation and distortion of earlier works is deliberately self-conscious—Dekker's play and *The Merry Devil* are in fact referenced directly in the Prologue (Pro.22, 26)[151]—and one gains a sense that Jonson, despite placing a satirical emphasis on his play's diabolic action, reveals in his skilful manipulation of morality and devil play tropes a familiarity with (even an affection for?) these native English forms that was greater than he might have been prepared to admit.

*The Devil Is An Ass* is undoubtedly influenced by aspects of the moralities and devil plays, especially the Marlovian one, that had come before it. Nevertheless, there remains a trace of Roman comedy too, for in entering the service of Fitzdottrel Pug assumes the position of the *servus* in relation to his *dominus*, although, claiming to be 'born a gentleman,' and wanting 'no charge / More than my meat,' his inferiority is the more refined variety of the gentleman usher (I.iii.2, 18). Pug's words to Satan suggest that he sees his *callidus* potential:

> You do not know, dear chief, what there is in me.
> Prove me but for a fortnight, for a week,
> [...]
> To practise there with any playfellow,
> And you will see, there will come more upon't
> Than you'll imagine [...]
> (*Devil,* I.i.35-36, 38-40)

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[148] Cox, *Devil and the Sacred,* p.110. Cf. also *The Merry Devil of Edmonton,* which begins by casting Faustus' fate in a comic light, with Fabell tricking the devil Coreb into giving him another seven years on earth.

[149] The play was first published in 1662, but Harbage (p.80) thinks it likely that the play is a renamed version of William Haughton's *The Devil and His Dame*, performed around the end of the sixteenth century.

[150] Dessen, *Jonson's Moral Comedy,* p.235.

[151] See also Happé, Introduction [*Devil*],' in Jonson, *Devil,* ed. by Happé, pp.1-60 (pp.29-31), who also sees Machiavelli's *Belphagor* (c.1513-1517) and Nashe's *Pierce Penilesse, His Supplication to the Divell* (published 1592) as other likely sources for the play.

As the play unfolds, these lines become almost pathetically touching, as Pug finds himself constantly reducing the scope of his diabolic plans, his dastardly intentions moving from the unspecified but grandiose ('more [...] That you'll imagine'), to the more manageable (to 'make this master of mine cuckold': II.ii.13). He even becomes subject to some tricks himself. In II.v he confesses that he cannot get the measure of Mrs Fitzdottrel, the target of his scheming, and after becoming the unwitting intermediary for messages between Wittipol and the lady herself (II.ii.52-54, 81-84), decides that he will report their apparent lovers' meeting to Fitzdottrel (''Tis not the pain, but the discredit of it': II.vi.31). This part of his plan succeeds, but after his master has confronted the suspected lovers Pug realises he has exchanged a lesser mischief for his original intention:

> [...] But now my conscience
> Tells me I have profited the cause of hell
> But little in the breaking-off their loves.
> (*Devil,* II.vii.24-26)

Pug's failure in his plans is matched only by his opponents' success in theirs, and the devil spends his time on earth either being ineffectual, misdirected, or duped. He fails in his 'gentleman servant' cover story to Fitzdottrel, who employs him only on the understanding that his name is 'Devil', but does not really believe in his infernal origins ('I'll entertain him for his name's sake': I.iii.36); he also fails in his master's instruction to guard his wife (II.i.155-176) as Manly and Wittipol both later converse with her through an open window (II.vi). In the meantime, after being accused of acting as a pander to Mrs Fitzdottrel, he is cudgelled by her husband (II.iii.13.SD.1); and is further prodded and poked when interviewed by the Collegiate-like pairing of ladies Eitherside and Tailbush, who inflict further insult on him by insisting on calling him 'De-vile' (IV.iv.198ff.). Despite his demonic credentials, he is also completely excluded from the business of Merecraft and Engine, the former seen by Dessen as the play's true inheritor of the morality tradition, a Jonsonian Vice-figure in the mould of Volpone, Mosca, the tripartite, and the inhabitants of Bartholomew Fair.[152] Pug is even duped by one of the gallants' schemes, managing to lose an important ring of his master's (III.vi.10ff), during which he is even unsuccessful in sampling 'a little venery / While I am still in this body' (III.vi.7-8), as his attempts at wooing Pitfall fall flat. In a piece of trickery that recalls Musco's theft from

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[152] Dessen, *Jonson's Moral Comedy,* p.231.

Peto offstage between IV.i and IV.iii (*EMI* (Q)), Pug does achieve some minor success in depriving Ambler of his clothes (narrated in V.i), and then providing nonsense answers that confound the usher still further (V.ii), but even this victory is too slight to cover the demon's slide into ignominy. With his desires to escape becoming more pronounced and pitiful ('Hell is a grammar school to this,' 'o chief, call me to Hell again, and free me' '[a]ll / My days in Hell were holy-days to this': IV.iv.170-171, 210, 223-224), his confession of his true identity not believed, and becoming more panicked at Iniquity's announcement that he can 'stay longer / A month here on earth' (V.vi.19-20), Pug is relieved by Satan recalling him to hell with a verdict that is damning in all the wrong ways:

> A scar upon our name! Whom hast thou dealt with,
> Woman or man, this day, but have outgone thee
> Some way, and most have proved the better fiends?
> (*Devil,* V.vi.60-62)

In an inversion of the normal stage picture of the devil carrying off the Vice, Pug is then carried off on Iniquity's back,[153] his weakness represented in this downgrading of his devilish status in favour of the Vice's.[154] It is a fitting end to a *servus* who has seen his attempts at disguise and plotting all fail, and has even been duped by the tricks he should have used on others. Despite his fine opening promises he has proved himself more *ineptus* than *callidus*: Musco, Mosca, and their Roman brethren would be appalled.

Pug may be some intellectual distance from the Plautine cunning slave, but I suggest that he holds a greater affinity with the more ineffectual *servus* of Terentian comedy. As mentioned in section II, Terence was not especially fond of using the *servus callidus*, and even in the two plays where one can make a case for their presence they are peripheral figures whose importance in the plot is far outmatched by their masters and mistresses, many of whom get on with resolving their problems themselves with little or no

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[153] For plays where a devil carries off the Vice (or vice-related figure), cf. William Wager's *The Longer Thou Livest the More Fool Thou Art* (perf. 1559-1668) and *Enough Is As Good as a Feast* (perf. 1559-1570); Ulpian Fulwell's *Like Will to Like* (perf. 1562-1568). Robert Greene's *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay* features two variations, with devils carrying off Friar Bungay to meet with Friar Bacon (vi.170SD), and Miles to his new career as a tapster in Hell (xv.64SD).

[154] Although it differs in specifics, Pug's ignominious departure is similar to that of Belphagor in *Grim the Collier*, who returns to Hell after a terrible sojourn on Earth, during which time he (mistakenly) married a shrewish woman, was cuckolded, implicated in a murder, and eventually poisoned—in such a context his plea to his demonic fellows, 'O vile Earth, / Worse for us Devils, then Hell itself for men! / [...] / O never send me more into the Earth, / For there dwells dread, and horror more than here' (p.75), seems completely understandable. Belphagor's devilish servant Akercock had not even made it this far, as he moved his attention to the Grim sub-plot when he realised that his devilry was too slight for the sophisticated city women of the main narrative.

interference. Terence's efforts to sideline the dramatic importance of the *servus* become most interesting in *Hecyra,* where the playwright presents a sort of anti-*callidus* in the form of Parmeno (distinct, of course, from his namesake in *Eunuchus*), a slave who, despite possessing the promising qualifications of loyalty to a young master and a ready wit, proves to be completely incidental to the plot—in fact, his impact on the play is so slight that Amerasinghe opines that Terence has included him 'only in order to show how unnecessary he is.'[155] A survey of the slave's contribution to the play's action will make this point clear, and I will add to Amerasinghe's observation by suggesting that in his deployment of his own *servus ineptus* Terence expresses doubts about the slave character that are similar to Jonson's treatment of his devil-servant.

Terence was interested in creating a more verisimilitudinous stage picture than his Roman predecessor; as opposed to the gleeful uncontainability of Plautine comedy, where the frequent use of asides, direct address, opening prologues, and self-referentiality made a mockery of any consistent boundary between fact and fiction, the later playwright strove to keep his narrative self-contained, with the fiction-destabilising devices so favoured by Plautus kept to a minimum, if not completely jettisoned. In keeping with this new emphasis on greater realism—an emphasis shared, incidentally, with Terence's Menandrean prototypes—Parmeno serves a useful protactic function by supplying the play's back story through a long dialogue with the courtesan Philotis (*Hec.,* ll.76-197), helping to hide the artificiality of exposition behind a plausible conversational veneer. In this opening scene and in a later episode with the *adulescens* Pamphilus (ll.281-326), where the slave offers words of comfort and advice to his young master, Parmeno reveals an intimate knowledge of and sympathy for the youth's predicament, two qualities that are the hallmark of the good comic slave. However, one gets the sense that he is a little too sober and sensible. He is reassuring that Pamphilus himself can resolve the apparent dispute between his wife Philumena and mother Sostrata ('You'll ascertain the facts, settle their quarrels, and effect a reconciliation,' '*rem cognosces, iram expedites, rursum in gratiam restitues*': l.291), and he lends the quarrel some perspective by comparing women's moods to those of children, who argue because they are 'unable to control their impulses' ('*qui eos gubernat animus eum infirnum gerunt*': l.310), but who can be reconciled fairly easily. His words are soothing, measured, and supportive, but one gets

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[155] Amerasinghe, p.69.

the impression that a Pseudolus or a Chrysalus would not adopt such a conciliatory (and passive) attitude. In fact, Parmeno seems decidedly against the intrigue and gossip that are of such interest to his Plautine counterparts, as indicated by his earlier reluctance to give Philotis any details about Pamphilus' love troubles (l.104), even telling the courtesan that 'you'll never persuade me to risk my back' by revealing the information ('*numquam tam dices commode ut tergum meum*': ll.108-109). Parmeno does of course relent and tell all, but in his reticence and (worse still) his fear of reprisals he reveals a very different temperament to his *callidi* cousins.

Pug reveals a different attitude to his servile position than Parmeno—the former wants to use it to display his cunning, the latter does not—but both characters share an affinity in the fact that they are both quickly sidelined from their plays' action. But whereas Pug is quickly disregarded because he does not have the wit to compete with his mortal tormentors, the reason for Parmeno's sidelining is that he knows too much. Pamphilus realises that the slave is 'the only person I let know at the time that I didn't touch the girl [Philumena] when we were first married' ('*nam olim soli credidi / ea me abstinuisse in principio quom datast*': ll.410-411), and is therefore 'the last person we want involved' in covering up the unwanted birth ('*hunc minumest opus in hac re adesse*': ll.409-410). Pamphilus' need to keep things quiet results in Parmeno spending a large part of the play offstage; the slave had already been off to the harbour once to look for Sosia and the other slaves (from l.360 to l.415), but he is now asked 'to run over to the acropolis' ('*in arcem transcurso*': l.431) to find Pamphilus' travelling companion, Callidemides. In this episode, even the name of the mysterious companion could be a quiet joke against the slave's capacity. The name makes etymological sense in Greek—as a patronymic derived from '$\kappa\alpha\lambda\acute{o}\varsigma$' ('beautiful, good, aristocratic') and the suffix '-$\emph{i}\delta\varepsilon\varsigma$,' it translates roughly as 'son of the good/beautiful/aristocratic one'—and stands in humorous contrast to the man's description as 'tall, ruddy, curly-haired, fat, grey-eyed, and with a face like a corpse' ('*magnus, rubicundus, crispus, crassus, caesius, / cadaverosa facie*': ll.440-441). However, if one were to permit Terence's contaminative creative practices to extend to language as well, it might also be construed as a nonsense name combining the Latin *callidus* with the Greek suffix, rendering Parmeno's will o'the wisp into 'son of the cunning one.' If this view

is correct, this whole episode becomes deeply ironic, as Terence's not-so-cunning slave is pursuing the shadow of the very sort of person he should be himself.[156]

Parmeno is quick to voice his dissatisfaction ('Damn it! I bet he made a vow that, if he ever got home safely, he'd burst my guts with running errands': ll.434-435), and his mission to find the man, if he ever existed, ends in failure, with the slave re-entering only towards the play's close, complaining on the 'pointless errand' ('*rem nullam*': l.800) that has seen him wasting 'the whole time running around doing errands' ('*ita cursando atque ambulando totum hunc contrivi diem*': l. 815). The whole episode is an amusing variation on the *servus currens* ('running slave') trope, for whereas these moments typically involved a slave rushing onstage in order to complete the task that is causing their haste, for Parmeno, his task already completed, he has been doing most of his rushing *off*stage. The humour is only intensified when the courtesan Bacchis immediately orders him to '[r]un off and find Pamphilus, and look sharp about it' ('*propere curre ad Pamphilum*': l.808) a request that draws a predictably exasperated response from the slave ('I've wasted the whole time running around doing errands,' '*ita cursando atque ambulando totum hunc contrive diem*': l.815). Despite all this misdirection, though, Bacchis' order finally draws Parmemo in as an unwitting contributor to the play's denouement. The slave's message to Pamphilus resolves the play's knotted intrigue: the recognition of a ring given to Bacchis helps establish that Philumena and the girl that Pamphilus raped (and from whose finger the ring was stolen) are the same person, and therefore that the baby, up to this point regarded as illegitimate, is actually the young man's child. Parmeno is completely oblivious to the significance of the message he gives to his master, and Pamphilus' ecstatic response ('I was dead and you brought me back from hell into the light of day,' '*egon qui ab Orco mortuom me reducem in lucem feceris*': l.852) seems disproportionate praise for a character who has contributed little to the play's unfolding. Ireland points out that from his opening discussion with Philotis, Parmeno falls regularly into misunderstandings about past events and the motivations of certain characters,[157] and this confusion is maintained right to the end, with the slave concluding the play with an honest confession: '[t]ruly, I've done more good today unwittingly than I've ever done on purpose before' ('*equidem plus hodie boni / feci imprudens quam sciens ante hunc diem umquam*': ll.879-880). To return

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[156] Heather Vincent, '*Fabula Stataria:* Language and Humour in Terence,' in *A Companion to Terence,* ed. by Antony Augoustakia and Ariana Traill (Malden, MA; Chicester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013), pp.69-88 (pp.76-77).

[157] Terence, *The Mother-in-Law,* ed. and trans. by S. Ireland (Warminster: Aris & Philips, 1990), I.ii.159n.

to Amarasinghe's point, Parmeno's feeling of achievement is intentionally meant to ring hollow.

Misdirection and disappointment of expectations are the two elements that join Terence and Jonson's characters. Parmeno is a figure constantly on the back foot, and indeed one can see this in Pug, whose increasingly diminishing authority and incredulity at the abilities of others mark him as a passive character in his play. There is a sense though that Pug's involvement in the play's plot is even more of a failure than Parmeno's; as with Mosca, I think that Pug's failure and recognition that all hell is empty and that the devils are in London signals a shift in attitude towards the character even more pronounced than those that occur between the two Roman playwrights. For if Terence frequently replaces Plautus' wily trickster slaves with rather toothless, passive versions of the character type, his slaves are still implicated in the successful action that concludes these plays; Parmeno is not driven to giving up like Pug does, and in fact achieves a(n undeserved) victory of sorts. Again, I would suggest that, like Mosca, Pug reflects the changing cultural and social landscape of early modern London. It has been suggested by several critics that the defeat of Pug (and by implication Satan himself) signals from a dramatic point of view that the old English morality does not carry the same power in the theatre— seventeenth-century London has moved on too much, its inhabitants now too urbane to be taken in by that genre's outmoded style.[158] *The Devil* presents a London in which the more rigid social hierarchies of the late medieval period— hierarchies which the moralities replicated on a spiritual plane in their depiction of divine, diabolic, and human forces at work in the world—have been seriously undermined. This sense is confirmed if we consider Jonson's habitual use of charactonyms, or 'speaking names' to indicate the corrosion of the social order and of the offices in which all are supposed to trust.[159] The play's nobility and gentry are fools: Fitzdottrel's indicates a venerable Norman-French lineage, yet also recalls the dottrel, a bird notorious for its stupidity; while Lady Tailbush's name conflate colloquial terms for the pudendum and penis, giving her airs of sexual promiscuity and of the 'hermaphroditical authority' so apparent in the Collegiates of *Epicene.*[160] Eitherside, the name of the play's lawyer, speaks eloquently about Jonson's distrust of the legal system's probity, while the other professionals to be found—including Merecraft (a

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[158] See, for example, Jackson p.166; Cox, *Devil and the Sacred,* pp.151-153.
[159] Barton, p.174.
[160] Jonson, *Devil,* ed. by Happé, Revels, Persons.4, 16n.

'Projector'), who wishes to 'take in citizens, common-men, and aldermen' with his schemes (II.i.42); and Gilthead and Plutarchus, a father and son team of goldsmiths who cheerfully admit to trying to 'cozen' others in their attempts to move up the social scale (III.ii.22)—is a further indication of the depths to which the citizenry has sunk.

Danger and treachery lurk everywhere—even, as Happé highlights, in the names of the supporting cast: Everill ('suggests ill temper and aggression'); Engine ('cunning, trickery'); Trains (a 'means to lure animals into a trap'); and Pitfall ('a trap').[161] Barton suggests that *The Devil* might well be subtitled 'The Further Adventures of Face and Subtle' due to the conniving teamwork of Everill and Merecraft,[162] but the pair's failure to get further than halfway through the play before Everill is demanding money and threatening the other that he 'shall undo your practice' (III.iii.43) shows that even honour among thieves has fallen further since *The Alchemist.* Plautus and Terence would probably have recognised such social climbing and cut-throat practices in their own ages, but they would scarcely have understood a society in which the hierarchies of class had been so broken down that the machinations of proto-capitalists and social climbers like Merecraft, Everill, Plutarchus, and Gilthead would have such an impact and corrupting influence on the lives of even the highest members of the social order. It is for this reason that Pug—a relic of an outmoded morality tradition, and the descendant of a servile tradition that had no real connection with seventeenth-century London—could not prosper on earth, and is the reason why of all the Roman *servi* he most resembles Parmeno, the Terentian slave whose disconnection from his play's action signals that he too has outlived his dramatic usefulness.

I would like to conclude with one final speculation about Pug's costume that has some bearing on what I have raised about the devil's characterological hybridity and the interpretive uncertainty this raises. Happé and Cox assert unproblematically that the Pug-actor would have had some sort of devil costume in the play's opening scene that would have been discarded when he appears in the body of the 'handsome cutpurse' during his time in London.[163] Jonson provides no detail on costume, but I think that Happé and Cox's confidence passes over the potential confusion such a costuming choice would create on a stage that was so used to actors doubling roles, and the lack of overt acknowledgement

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[161] Jonson, *Devil,* ed. by Happé, Revels, Persons.7, 10, 11n.
[162] Barton, p.220.
[163] Happé, 'Introduction [*Devil*],' in Jonson, *Devil,* ed. by Happé, Revels, p.20; Cox, *Devil and the Sacred,* p.157. I have not come across any other opinion to contradict these views.

from the Pug-actor on his changed appearance only serves to make this confusion more likely. This leaves us with an interesting puzzle: did the Pug-actor wear two separate costumes, a devlish and a human one, and thus run the risk of blurring the lines of his character, or was there some sort of indicative item of devil costume (horns, a blackened face, or a tail, for example) that he maintained alongside his cutpurse clothing?[164] It is interesting that a modern production (staged 1973 and 1976/7, directed by Stuart Burge) did choose to compromise, giving the earth-bound Pug 'a rope-like tail which he stuffed into his ill-fitting clothing.'[165] It is impossible to say whether the original early modern production compromised in this manner or not, but it seems to me that in either case Jonson has created an identity crisis in Pug and an interpretative problem for his audience: what is he meant to be seen as above all, a devil, or a servant? This point can only be speculation, but such interpretive dissonance seems of a piece with Jonson's desire, like Terence with Parmeno, to release his devil from his characterological moorings. The omission of this performance detail may well have been an oversight, although if this is the case it is odd that it has occurred in a text that is unusually careful in presenting itself almost as a performance document, its details of other aspect of staging and actor business (II.vi, it is noted, '*is acted at two windows as out of two contiguous buildings'* and during Wittipol's conversation with Mrs Fitzdottrel he '*grows more familiar in his courtship, plays with her paps, kisseth her hands, etc.'*: *Devil,* II.vi.36.SD.1; 70.SD.1-2) making the lack of detail on Pug's costume all the more keenly felt. Whether intentionally or not, by declining to provide this important detail on his devil's appearance Jonson has passed on the problem of his servant-devil's status to subsequent generations of readers and audience members; and with a marked dearth of the latter,[166] such an issue has so far most frequently had to be resolved in the 'theatres of the mind' of the former.

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[164] Pug also assumes the clothing of Ambler later on in the play (V.i), but this is the swapping of one set of human clothing for another (it is very similar to the Musco/Brainworm episode with Peto in *Every Man In*), so is less troublesome than the exchange of devilish for human.

[165] Happé, Introduction [*Devil*], in Jonson, *Devil,* ed. by Happé, Revels, p.25.

[166] *CWBJ Online* records only seventeen separate performances or productions runs since 1616; this number has now risen to eighteen, as there was a staged reading of the play at the Wanamaker Playhouse, London (17 Apr 2016), as part of the theatre's Read Not Dead series. http://universitypublishingonline.org/cambridge/benjonson/k/browse/performance/start=0/performan ce-play:Devil/ [date accessed 1 Oct 2016].

# VI

Burnett argues that although there was general recognition in early modern England that 'society and servants were critically interrelated,' the literature, plays, and proclamations of the period voiced an accompanying concern that this professional group had subversive potential.[167] In the popular consciousness, servants were another 'dependent group' alongside the criminals, vagrants, and ex-soldiers that were the cause of such moral panic in London around the 1590s,[168] and although they channelled their dependency through appropriate outlets, subordinating themselves to their superiors in exchange for board and lodgings, personal improvement, and/or money, they were never too far (as we saw in Musco's worries about his service) from joining the swelling ranks of the unemployed and disaffected if they lost their position. In addition to this, the servant represented a significant professional constituency, with their presence at nearly every layer of the social strata and at every level of the country's working life giving them a ubiquity and a functional necessity that would have posed a very real threat to the fabric of society should its members have chosen to resist authority. To return to Musco-Brainworm once more, perhaps the servant's reappearance in the guise of other members of these 'dependent groups'—a demobilised soldier, a clerk, a sergeant-at-arms—is a reminder of the character's everyman nature, and a subtle indication that every figure in this social class has the potential for cunning subversion.

As everymen figures for their social class, Burnett suggests that 'other anxieties about related dependent groups were channelled through representations of the male domestic servant.'[169] This is one of the reasons I have argued why Jonson made such dramatic capital from such figures: they were widely recognisable, had a venerable stage history in the classical *servus*, but also embodied more general concerns about public order. I argued that the changes made between Musco and Brainworm are an initial sign of Jonson realising that the Roman *servus* no longer fitted his society or the tastes of his audience, and his revisiting of the character type in *Volpone* and *The Devil* reveals a continuing restlessness with its conventions. Jonson's contamination of the Roman slave with other dramatic sources gave him a way around this problem, allowing him to create characters

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[167] Burnett, p.88.
[168] Burnett, p.89.
[169] Burnett, p.89.

whose actions articulated moral and artistic concerns relevant to the early modern period and which went far beyond the qualities of the Roman *servus.*

This is not to say that there were not subversive elements to Roman comedy, but they are nowhere near as widespread as those found in Jonson's plays. *Volpone* and *The Devil Is An Ass* depict societies in which the old social hierarchies of Republican Rome—embodied at a domestic level in the *pater familias,* at a civic level in the patriarchal state machinery of the Senate and aristocratic families—had been eroded or destroyed completely. In the plays of Plautus and Terence the *pater familias* is undermined for a time, but his ultimate authority is never really in question; a crafty slave like Tranio in *Mostellaria* might avoid the wrath of his master during the action of the play, but his words of comfort to the *dominus* are telling: '[w]hy are you making such a fuss? As if I wouldn't commit another offence as early as tomorrow; then you'll be able to punish me properly for both, this one and that one' ('*quid gravaris? quasi non cras iam commeream aliam noxiam: / ibi utrumque, et hoc et illud, poteris ulcisci probe*': *Most..,* 1178-1179). A Segalian, carnivalesque reading of Roman comedy might interpret the *ludi* as periods of saturnalian inversion, and the *servi* of the Roman stage as living embodiments of that subversive spirit, but both Tranio and his playwright realise that the stage slave's licence is limited: when the games are over the master is in charge, and no slave, no matter how cunning, can do much to alter that dynamic.

The certainties of the Roman social order and the containment of subversive behaviour are much eroded in the plays and performance context of Jonson's London. Volpone is a corrupt version of the *pater familias,* the physical grotesqueness of his trio of 'children' (Volpone's paternity is suggested at I.v.43-49) matching his inner degradation; his genteel gulls (like those in *The Devil*) are fools, while the plays' social climbers are unscrupulous but cunning. In such fictive worlds the loyalty of a slave to a master does not fit, and even his inversionary antics are now only one among many of the endless acts of cunning and treachery that Jonson shows at work in his visions of early modern proto-capitalist urban life. The breaking of the *servus* theatregram mirrors the cracks Jonson saw in the social order and artistic conventions of his own age; his contaminative practices were an attempt to reconcile this ancient character with the early modern world. The supreme irony, of course, is that by trying to make the *servus callidus* relevant he was obliged to combine the type with new characterological and generic sources, making fundamental changes

that altered the character entirely. To invert Pirandello's title, throughout these four plays Jonson is an author in search of a character, and his constant experimentation with the presentation of his stage servants betrays a simultaneous curiosity and frustration with the ancient *servus,* a figure that was one of his most important classical legacies to early modern theatre but whose characterological rigidity he found difficult to reconcile with his ever-changing society.

# Conclusion

## I

In writing his notes on the series of long and presumably drink-fuelled nights of revelations that he would preserve for posterity in the *Informations,* William Drummond recorded that Jonson's *impresa*, a kind of visual device or motto, 'was a compass with one foot in the centre, the other broken; [beneath it] the word, *deest quod duceret orbem'* (ll.457-458). With the figure of the compass, Jonson's visual imagination once again helps him represent himself as an *'explorator,'* a traveller, a navigator, but with a typical Jonsonian flourish the image is undercut by the ambiguity of the Ovidian motto beneath it: 'that which might draw [or '*lead*'] the circle [or 'world'] is missing.'[1] In a rather obvious symbolic sense the *impresa* represents Jonson's debt to the classics, as his choice of an Ovidian Latin tag helps bind the poet's personal device (and by extension, his personality) to the language and the past masters that were so dear to him. As this study has tried to emphasise though, Jonson's use of word and image has a greater significance than the obvious, for I would say that its fusion of ancient language and personal device forms in miniature the fundamental but fascinating contradiction of Jonson's artistry: its ability to take the commonplace words of the ancients and fashion them into something new and deeply personal. Rather appropriately, the Jonsonian *impresa* also serves as an apt representation for my own study, and in this Conclusion I will use it as a guiding metaphor for the contradictions and unanswered questions that I have encountered regarding Jonson and his work.

Aside from the verbal ambiguity of the motto, the image of the broken compass is arresting, as it seems to acknowledge that the poet's search for truth (or 'truths well feigned': *Epicene,* Another Pro.10) in the shadow world of reality can never come close to the sort of metaphysical Truths espoused by (Neo)Platonic or Christian doctrines. Only within the charmed circle of the courtly masque or in dedicatory poetry does Jonson dare

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[1] Cf. Ovid, *Meta.* VIII.236-59, which tells the story of Perdix, a pupil of Daedulus who was transformed into a magpie to save him from his master, who tries to kill him when he realises his pupil's skill is beginning to outreach his own. Ovid, *Metamorphoses, Volume I: Books 1-8,* trans. by Frank Justus Miller, rev. by G.P. Goold, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984).

to show the compass intact,[2] but away from these idealistic, ephemeral forms the image can only be broken, a sign that Partridge sees as Jonson's recognition that the world around him was 'a lamentable falling off from the Golden Age.'[3] To return to the Senecan-inspired passage of the *Discoveries* quoted in the Introduction, Jonson knew that for 'all the observations of the ancients, we have our own experience,' but his device's image of incomplete perfection suggests that the 'experience' of his age still left much to be desired.

Jonson is a profoundly contradictory figure, and critics have responded to him accordingly by frequently passing comment on the unresolved tensions and ambiguities that inhabit the man and his work. These critical responses are many-faceted, and include Greene's interpretation of Jonson's 'centred self' besieged by and at war with the forces of 'metaphysical volatility' that surround him;[4] Wilson's characterisation of the man as an 'anal erotic,' an obstinate pedant who used his learning 'as a padding to give the effect of a dignity and weight which he cannot supply himself';[5] Womack's Bakhtinian reading of his work being animated by competing centrifugal and centripetal energies;[6] and readings that sees all his creative output resting on a continuum between the opposing poles of *vituperatio* ('censure') and *laus* ('praise')*,* two tonal extremes that achieved their clearest expression in his railing satires and celebratory masques.[7] I have attempted to show that Jonson's engagement with the classics is riven by the same contradictory dynamic that the aforementioned critics have identified. As each chapter shows, his imitation and contamination of sources produced curious effects, and shows the playwright constantly in dialogue with his own creative practices and with those of his ancient counterparts, sometimes willing (as the Senecan sentiment from *Discoveries* suggests) to use them as his

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[2] *The Masque of Beauty* features an appearance from Perfectio, who holds '*in her hand a compass, drawing a circle* (l.179), a prop that Jonson notes is itself one of the 'known ensigns of perfection' (*Beauty,* Marg.23). *Und.* XIV also praises its subject, the jurist John Selden, by associating his learning with the perfection of the compass: 'Stand forth my object, then, you that have been / Ever at home, yet have all countries seen, / And like a compass keeping one foot still / Upon your centre, do your circle fill / Of general knowledge' (29-33).

[3] Partridge, p.239.

[4] Greene, 'Centred Self,' p.325.

[5] Edmund Wilson, *The Triple Thinkers: Twelve Essays on Literary Subjects* (London: Lehmann, 1952), p.206.

[6] Womack, *Ben Jonson,* esp. pp. 27-28, 79-80, 131-135.

[7] For censure and praise in the epigrams, see Clark, 'Ben Jonson's Imitation,' esp. p.114; for the dialectic between irony and praise in the masque, see Mickel, esp. pp.16-17, 22, 33.

'guides' ('*duces'*), at other times becoming the guide himself—the man of the impresa who, if only he were able, 'might lead ['*duceret'*] the world.'

Perhaps all this should come as no surprise, as the early modern reception of the ancients already made the classical texts contested sites themselves: simultaneously conservative and radical, common to all and the preserve of a few, intriguingly new and venerably old.[8] It is easy to lose sight of these facts today, but for the educated men of the Renaissance many of the classical texts that they read and imitated—including those by Juvenal, Martial, Plautus, Aristophanes, and Aristotle—had the curious quality of being 'newly old.' These texts were rediscoveries, and their humanist discoverers brought to them an increased sense of historical perspective when compared to readers of the medieval period—it is fitting that early humanists like Petrarch frequently used images of archaeological discovery, disinterment, or resurrection to refer to the ancient authors and texts that they had brought back into the light.[9] The Italian Renaissance was already a century old by the 1500s and the reawakening of classical learning was slow to reach England,[10] so when it came Jonson's time to read, learn, and practise his craft he was not in the vanguard but at least in the second wave of English men who brought their humanist education to bear on their own artistic creations. But by this time well-established precedents had been set whereby these classical texts became sources for and badges of the new humanist learning; their reading and discussion of their contents (and in the case of drama, their performance) had become the preserve of an intellectual and social elite, with the classical Latin favoured by the humanists having the unfortunate consequence of killing off the still-living language of medieval Latin used by the Church and administrators;[11] and the creative and noetic practices promoted by the humanist method (and ultimately deriving from ancient sources) inclined the thinkers and creators of the Renaissance to modes of intellectual and artistic production that, while not the sole invention of the Greek and Roman authorities, certainly became inflected by their attitudes.

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[8] Womack, *Ben Jonson,* pp.86-87.

[9] Greene, *Light in Troy,* pp. 29, 88, 92.

[10] For more on the gradual diffusion of (and considerable resistance to) humanism throughout Renaissance Europe, see Peter Burke, 'The Spread of Italian Humanism,' in *The Impact of Humanism on Western Europe*, ed. by Anthony Goodman and Angus MacKay (London; New York: Longman, 1990), pp.1-22.

[11] Womack, *Ben Jonson,* pp.86-87.

As the previous chapters have aimed to show, Jonson's contradictions are realised in spatio-performative and textual terms in his plays, and I have demonstrated his dramaturgical strategies by comparing them to those contained within a number of key sources. The first two chapters (and part of the third) focused on Aristophanes, and argued that Jonson recognised that the Aristophanic Great Idea—while useful as an intellectual centre and plot motor for his comedies—needed frequent adaptation to make them suitable for the shallow, cynical, and mercenary world of his own early modern London (chapter 1); and that the Aristophanic chorus, highly effective when elements associated with it were deployed in new contexts, was unsuited to being deployed unmodified in his comedies because their formal Old Comic rigidity suited neither his plays nor his audience (chapters 2 and 3). In chapter 3 I also suggested that Jonson's combination of Aristophanic choric elements with the *personae* of the Roman verse satirists in *Every Man Out* and the gradual rejection of it in favour of the more subtle didacticism of Menippean satire provided an example of how his views on the moral responsibilities of the public poet evolved through his career, and also how the failure of some of his theatrical techniques (including the choric Macilente being thrust out of his humour at the sight of the Queen as *dea ex machina*) illustrate that he was not always successful in adapting classical practices to the early modern stage. Turning to the influence of the Roman dramatists, chapter 4 argued that Jonson's *Bartholomew Fair* imitated Plautine spatio-performative strategies, eschewing the sort of political moralising favoured by Old Comedy (which he had learnt to avoid) in favour of a sort of epistemological didacticism that used the onstage gulling of London citizens as a behavioural anti-exemplum for his audience, encouraging them to embrace rather the all-knowing qualities of 'theatrically privileged' characters in their own lives. Finally, chapter 5 turned to examine again the evolution of a classically-influenced idea through Jonson's career, and found that his frequent revisiting and contamination of the *servus callidus* showed the playwright found the theatregram both inspiring and frustrating. Jonson may not have been entirely successful in all of his dramatic endeavours, but this study demonstrates that even in his failures he can hardly be accused of the sort of servile, undigested imitation that he inveighed against so heavily in the *Discoveries.*

# II

In his An Essay of Dramatic Poesy, Dryden writes:

> [T]he greatest man in the last age, Ben Johnson, was willing to give place to [the classical writers] in all things: he was not only a professed imitator of Horace, but a learned plagiary of all the others; you track him everywhere in their snow: if Horace, Lucan, Petronius Arbiter, Seneca, and Juvenal, had their own from him, there are few serious thoughts which are new in him.[12]

To modern sensibilities the statement seems unflattering: Jonson may be 'learned' but he is also a 'plagiary'; his work contains 'few serious thoughts' that cannot be attributed to his sources; and the tracks that he leaves in Dryden's imaginative snowscape suggest that his classical imitation led Jonson into the sort of creative footstep-following that he had himself decried. But the passage is more complex than this. Dryden's wintry metaphor is deliberately ambiguous: does 'their snow' refer to the disturbances the classical authors' footsteps have left behind them, or are *they themselves* the snow, a curious metamorphosis that hints at the extent to which they take up Jonson's creative landscape and horizons? Regardless of which interpretation we choose, we should not neglect the witness to the scene implied in the passage ('*you* track him everywhere'), as with the introduction of this onlooker the image gains a narrative complexity worthy of the Roman satirists: it becomes one of a reader (ourselves) *watching someone* ('you') *track Jonson as Jonson himself tracks the classical authors.* In this reading, Jonson is both follower and followed, and despite the reservations suggested in some of the phrasing of the passage above the overall tone of the extract is respectful to the classical erudition that allowed the early modern poet to become '[t]he greatest man in the last age.' Indeed, the extract is part of a larger section praising the knowledge of the ancients (spoken, incidentally, by 'Crites,' perhaps a nod to the self-same character from the Folio *Cynthia's Revels*?) of which Jonson, 'dressed in all the ornaments and colours of the ancients' through his erudition,[13] achieves a pre-eminent reputation among his contemporaries, who 'need *no other guide* to our party, if you follow him.'[14]

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[12] Dryden, p.25.
[13] Dryden, p.25.
[14] Dryden, p.25.

This frequently-quoted extract from Dryden's *Essay* reveals both the Jonson of the motto *and* the Jonson of the Senecan-inspired passage of the *Discoveries*: a man whose artistry is built upon the imitation of those who came before him, but who served as a guiding example for those who followed, and Crites' approval of the catenatory model of artistic influence (with each generation passing on something to those that succeeded them, which was in turn both modelled on and an improvement upon that passed on by their predecessors) indicates that the imitative method is an admirable and natural creative method. This study has been primarily concerned with *imitatio,* but at this point it would be useful to introduce the cognate concept of *aemulatio,* another creative practice common to the Renaissance whereby an artist sought not to follow but to equal and (if he could) surpass the excellence of his model.[15] Pigman highlights that the differences between *imitatio* and *aemulatio*—the former a following of a model, the latter an equalling or surpassing it—had been made implicitly at least since Horace's *Epistle* I.xix—in which imitators are a 'slavish herd' ('*o imitatores, servum pecus*': I.xix.19), while the speaker himself 'was the first to plant free footsteps on a virgin soil; I walked not where others trod' ('*Libera per vacuum posui vestigia princeps, non aliena meo pressi pede'*: I.xix.21-22).[16] However, an *explicit* commentary on the differences between *imitatio* and *aemulatio* would have to wait until Erasmus made it in the sixteenth century, and even here the latter did not acquire independence as a technical term, but was rather treated as a species of imitative practice,[17] although there was a school of thought that regarded literary emulators to be superior to 'novice' imitators who, by definition, always walked in the shadow of those they imitated—as Quintilian put it, '[t]he follower is inevitably always behind' ('*necesse est enim semper sit posterior qui sequitur*': *Instit. Or.,* X.ii.2).[18] We should therefore not regard *aemulatio* as especially distinct from *imitatio,* but what makes it useful at this stage is that it implies a more eristic relationship with one's sources than the broader and more well-defined concept of its parent; as Pigman claims, the attempt not merely to follow but to equal or even overtake a model carries with it 'an (implicit) criticism' of that same model,[19] but '[t]he difference between the two statements of

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[15] See Pigman, pp.22-27; Martindale and Martindale, *Shakespeare and the Uses of Antiquity,* pp.14-15; Vickers, p.168.

[16] Pigman, pp.22-23.

[17] Pigman, pp.22-23.

[18] Greene, *Light in Troy,* p.179, cites the sixteenth century humanist Celio Calcagnini as an espouser of the particular excellence of *aemulatio*, but also notes that this attitude was not universally accepted.

[19] Pigman, p.22.

*aemulatio* lies in the word's potential ambivalence; *striving* to surpass (contentiousness) or striving to *surpass* (producing something better).'[20] Jonson's critical pronouncements in the *Discoveries* are a confusion of what we might call imitative or emulative creative attitudes—a source is to be followed until the imitator becomes the 'very he' of the imitated (l.1754); no imitator ever 'grew up to his author' (ll.635-636); a writer might add his 'own experience' and the experience of his age to the betterment of his sources (l.96)—but one passage in particular stands out in which one catches the sense that the poet approves of the 'striving' and 'surpassing' aspects of *aemulatio*:

> Nothing is more ridiculous than to make an author a dictator, as the schools have done Aristotle. The damage is infinite knowledge receives by it. For to many things a man should owe but a temporary belief, and a suspension of his own judgement, not an absolute resignation of himself, or a perpetual captivity. Let Aristotle and others have their dues, but if we can make farther discoveries of truth and fitness than they, why are we envied? Let us beware, while we strive to add, we do not diminish, or deface; we may improve, but not augment. (*Discoveries,* ll.1484-1491)

There are concessions made to the 'Aristotle and others' who represent ancient learning: a reader 'owes' them a 'temporary belief' and a 'suspension of his own judgement,' and he must take care not to 'diminish,' 'deface,' or 'augment' [making additions to discourse that do not improve understanding[21]]; but the passage also recognises that there are limits to respect for learned authority: the reader must not make 'absolute resignation of himself' to dictatorial pronouncements, nor place himself in 'perpetual captivity' to his readings, but must rather '*strive to add*' and '*improve.*' As with most of the *Discoveries,* the passage is derived from another source—in this instance, Francis Bacon's *Advancement of Learning*[22]—but the sentiments that they express are clearly important to Jonson: they can be discerned in the other extracts quoted here and in the Introduction, and when one turns to the plays one can see Jonson living up to these same emulative standards of striving and surpassing. As I have already said, Jonson's contamination and imitation of classical sources were not always fully effective, or at least they were not perceived to be by his contemporaries, but I hope that the examples given in my five chapters at least

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[20] Pigman, p.25. Emphasis in original.

[21] Jonson, *Discoveries,* l.1491n.

[22] See Jonson, *Discoveries,* ll.1481-1501n.

show that the playwright strove consistently not only to imitate but to emulate his models. The Induction to *Every Man Out* argued that modern poets should not feel entirely beholden to their sources, but should rather seek the same '*licentia,* or free power, to illustrate and heighten our invention as they did, and not to be tied to those strict and regular forms' (*EMO,* Ind.253-255). Whether it was adopting the Great Idea to represent the hollowed-out cynicism of the alchemical laboratory or the nascent news industry; the adoption of the chorus to speak to the dangers of the 'monstrous regiment' of women; the adaptation of the Roman satirical voice to the early modern stage; the` employment of Terentian and Plautine techniques to critique and teach an audience how to be 'understanding' audience members and citizens; or the interrogation of the *servus callidus* as a character that is by degrees entertaining, dangerous, or useless—in all of these areas Jonson shows himself willing to be guided, not commanded, by his classical models, and in each case he creates a dramaturgical element that contains both ancient authority and contemporary innovation.

# III

The broken compass has so far served as an apt representation of the epistemological and creative contradictions that are shot through Jonson's work, as well as the conflicting forces of following and overtaking that are represented by the twinned concepts of *imitatio* and *aemulatio.* Allow me to conclude though by using the *impresa* as a representation of this study itself, for there are a number of elements that, despite my attempts to delineate fully, have resisted, and perhaps always will resist, being completely resolved.

The first of these is the theatregram. During an annual conference of the Theatre Without Borders research collaborative (June 27-30 2016, joint hosted at Paris by Queen Mary University London and La Sorbonne) there was discussion about the 'death' of the theatregram, with some delegates feeling that the term had outlived its usefulness, its proliferation in a number of similar terms (including the 'novellagram,' and the 'ideogram'),[23] a sign of its glibness, with the ease with which the term could slide into

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[23] The 'novellagram' is referred to in Melissa Walter's 'Dramatic Bodies and Novellesque Spaces in Jacobean Tragedy and Tragicomedy,' in *Transnational Exchange,* ed. by Henke and Nicholson, pp.63-77;

different guises an indication of its lack of theoretical rigour. Maybe the warnings were there all along, for in the word's very etymology one detects a hint of paradox. Both 'theatre-' and '-gram' derive from Greek: the former has its root in *'ϑεᾶσϑαι'* ('to behold'); the latter in *'γράμμα'* ('something written, letter (of the alphabet)').[24] Although I have tried in this study to regard it as a dramaturgical element that relies on performative routes of transmission just as much (if not more) than literary routes, the theatregram is literally a 'seeing letter,' and I find it an abiding irony that when scholars from Clubb onwards (including myself) have tried to escape from the literary restrictions of textual sources they have been using a term that has the concept of writing at its root. The theatregram is certainly not alone in its contradictory quality, and in fact joins a raft of epistemological and terminological problems associated with performance studies that still require resolution. This study has, for instance, impressed on me how inadequate the terms 'audience' or 'spectators' are to describe those who experience a play; convention obliges one to choose one over the other, and in so doing prioritises semantically one of the senses at the expense of the others. But what might we call those who 'experience a play,' do we join Gurr in referring to them as 'playgoers'?[25] It is beyond the scope of this study to find an answer, but I certainly feel that the question deserves further exploration.

As chapters 2 and 5 have demonstrated, I have issues with the theatregram, but in general I would say that its advantages outweigh its disadvantages, as it serves as a useful metaphor for the transportation, adaptation, and appropriation of dramaturgical elements that were undoubtedly shared among the theatrical communities of England and Europe, but which frequently—by dint of these elements being gestural, vocal, spatio-kinetic— have left few or no direct traces in the surviving literature. A basic understanding of theatre—that it is primarily performative, and that its practitioners are always more likely to learn and develop their craft practically, watching their fellows and adopting what works and what does not—and an awareness of the survival of 'traditional acting points,' characters, and scenarios in other highly stylised or conventionalised forms of performance like the *commedia dell'arte* and Shakespearean plays, should be proof enough that the 'mobile dramaturgical units' that the theatregram represents are real and

the 'ideogram,' a term coined (rather whimsically) to refer to the transmission of exchange of ideas across Europe during the Renaissance period, was introduced in one of the conference's post-paper discussions.

[24] See "Theatre," and "-gram," in *OED Online* < www.oed.com> [accessed 1 September 2014].

[25] Gurr, *Playgoing,* alludes to the issue in the title of his book and in its introduction (pp.1-13).

translatable enough.[26] The issue I have though is with applying the theatregram (a synchronic model) to the diachronic investigation that I have attempted between Classical Athens, Republican/Imperial Rome, and early modern England. Across so great a historical (not to mention geographical) distance, and allowing for a performative hiatus of nearly one thousand years, during which time there is no real evidence of a continuous classically-influenced performance tradition, is it really possible that a 'classical' theatregram like the chorus or the *servus callidus* had survived the transition? When we talk about cunning servants, the clashing of ideologies between protagonist and chorus, are we not actually discussing archetypes that are fundamental to drama and therefore have no real source?

I admit that these are questions that I cannot fully answer; all I can offer in defence is that this study has focused on early modern *reception* of classical texts, and the curious performative atavism that seems to stem from writers and theatre practitioners of the Renaissance applying their opinions of classical theatre (opinions filtered through an already anachronising and distorting prism of Horatian and Ciceronian discourse) to the theatre and the established theatrical practices of their own age. In the interests of comparative study, I have tried to provide as much contextual detail about the Greek and Roman cultures and societies in order to illuminate those areas where the early modern age, deliberately or by happy accident, has striking points of similarity or departure with their ancient counterparts, but ultimately the study has not been about Aristophanes, Lucian, Horace, Persius, Juvenal, Plautus, or Terence, but about Jonson, and about how he received and appropriated the classical texts. I have sometimes been suspicious that the Jonson who wrote all those dedicatory epistles, inductions, apologetic verses, and odes to himself, in which he used classical authority to justify and validate his dramaturgical choices, and the Jonson who wrote the plays that seem to treat the moralising tone of these pronouncements with disdain, are not one and the same person. Anyone who has

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[26] The *commedia*'s reliance on stock *scenarii, lazzi* and conventional characters needs no further elaboration, but Stern also provides evidence that actors would learn their parts through 'instruction' either from actors who had either previously performed the role or were very experienced , or (as appears to have been the case with Jonson) from the playwright himself (*Rehearsal,* pp.67-72). See also James R. Siemon, 'Introduction', in William Shakespeare, *Richard III*, ed. by James R. Siemon, Arden 3 (London: Bloomsbury, 2009), pp.1-123 (pp.79-123), where Siemon notes the continuation of several 'acting points' established by some of the eponymous character's most influential interpreters (including Garrick, Cooke, Kean, Irving, Benson, Olivier) that have been transmitted from actor to actor across the centuries. To me, Stern and Siemon's accounts both sound remarkably like a description of how theatregrams of character and motion can be communicated through non-literary routes of influence.

encountered the bare-faced representations of Marston and Dekker as the hapless Crispinius and Demetrius in *Poetaster* cannot do anything but take the claim made by Horace (the play's Jonsonian representative) that the morally improving aim of his verses is to 'spare men's persons and but tax their crimes' (*Poet.,* III.v.134)[27] as a lie, and the list of plays with which Jonson got into hot water (*Eastward Ho!, Epicene, Sejanus, The Devil Is An Ass, A Tale of A Tub,* and of course the suppressed *Isle of Dogs*) is suggestive that the gap between his theory (what he *said* he did) and practice (what he *actually* did) was wide indeed.

Jonson probably did at times use his classical authorities as a stalking horse, behind which his wit could shoot with greater impunity, but what I am also sure of is that he ultimately respected them—both for their genius in finding creative latitude within even the most straitened forms and socio-political circumstances, and for the sort of universal truths that they espoused. I concede that we cannot discuss about a direct line of performative influence from classical playwright to Jonson, but I would maintain that what this study has really been about—that curious alchemy that occurs when an early modern playwright takes ancient playtexts, and the performative elements that are latent within them, and applies them to a performance context that had developed similar dramaturgical elements that could then be inflected and infected by these classical sources—is of just as much interest. Maybe the theatregram is 'broken,' or at least more work needs to be done on whether it can be applied across historical distance, but until a more complete metaphor is created for us to navigate the treacherous territory of early modern performance studies, we should continue using it.

## IV

I have already made much of the 'guides not commanders' *Discoveries* passage, but in deference to the humanist pedagogic method, let us finally return *ad fontem* ('to the source')*,* to the Senecan original that Jonson's (and Vives') text partially quotes:

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[27] Cf. Martial, X.xxxiii.9-10: '*hunc servare modum nostril novere libelli, / parcere personis, dicere de vitiis*' ('This rule my little books know how to observe: to spare persons, to speak of vices'), alluded to in *Epicene.*

> *Quid ergo ? Non ibo per priorum vestigia? Ego vero utar via*
> *vetere, sed si propiorem planioremque invenero, hanc muniam.*
> *Qui ante nos ista moverunt, non domini nostri, sed duces sunt.*
> *Patet omnibus veritas, nondum est occupata. Multum ex illa*
> *etiam futuris relictum est.*
> What, then? Shall I not go through the tracks of the ancients?
> Truly, I shall use the old road, but if I might find a nearer or
> more level [route], I shall open it. They who have gone before
> us are not our masters, but our guides. Truth lies open to all, it
> is not yet possessed [by any one person]. As yet, much of that
> [truth] is left to the future.
> (Seneca, *Ep.,* XXXIII.xi, translation mine)

How oddly appropriate that in revisiting this passage at 'the close or shutting up' our own circle we become more aware of its final sentence, which Jonson neglected to translate or paraphrase and instead left in its original Latin. I see great importance in this sentence, for Jonson's literary and dramaturgical strategies look to what is left behind ('*relictum est*') by the ancient and near contemporary sources who served as his guides, and which he realises through his imitation and contamination of their example; but also looks forward ('*futuris*'), with an eye to how these sources might be used to relate not only to the cultural moment of the playwright's early modern age but also to the Sons and Daughters of Ben that would follow. It is reassuring to think that Dryden's reference to Jonson as a 'guide' to the following generations shows that he had succeeded in joining the pantheon of authors and playwrights that he so admired. Jonson was an imitator, a contaminator, but most importantly an emulator, and while everyone might concur that he did not always surpass his classical authorities, we must also agree that he at least strove to equal them.

# Appendix A

# Classical Allusions in the Comedies of Ben Jonson

The data from the following tables have been collated from the *apparati critici* of the single and collected editions of Jonson's plays by Cambridge, Oxford, Revels, and Mermaid. For ease of reference, I have standardised all line numbering in Jonson's comedies to the Cambridge edition, and where possible the references to classical sources follow the line/chapter numbering of the the texts' most recent editions (Aris & Philips for Aristophanes; Loeb for all others); any sources that I have not traced myself have been marked (*). Allusions that are contained within other allusions (see, for example, the use of Ovid's *Amores* I.xv in *Poetaster* I.i, which itself makes many references to authors and their works) have been marked (**). All quotations using the Greek alphabet have been transliterated into their Roman alphabet equivalents, and abbreviations to all classical texts have been made according to those used in *The Oxford Classical Dictionary* and the *Perseus Digital Library.* I have presented the plays in accordance with the chronological order established by the Cambridge edition, and have also followed its editors' decisions in their preference and designation of Jonson's texts (for example, viewing *Cynthia's Revels* Q and F as two separate texts, and favouring *Volpone*'s Q text over F).

From left to right, the tables' columns provide the following information:

i) The act/scene/line location for a section of Jonson's text;
ii) A short sample or summary of Jonson's text;
iii) The name of the source text's author, or the author or classical figure to whom Jonson's allusion refers;
iv) The title and location details of the source text;
v) A short sample or summary of the source text;
vi) Information on the type of reference (see below);
vii) Information on which editions have noted these sources.

The letters in column vii refer to the following editions: C (Cambridge), O (Oxford), R (Revels), M (Mermaid); I have generally avoided citations other than those found in these editions, but on occasion I have added some of my own: these are marked with a T.

In giving information on the type of reference (column vi) I have taken inspiration from Robert S. Miola's essay, 'Seven Types of Intertextuality,' which reminds us that a 'text' need not necessarily be of the 'book-on-the-desk' type favoured by traditional philological

methods.[1] I have followed the general outline of his categorisations, although not his exact terminology, in dividing Jonson's sources into seven types:

1) *Direct Textual Allusion*—the most unambiguous type of allusion, where an ancient source has been quoted in its original language or in a very close translation;
2) *Near Textual Allusion*—the essence of a line, passage, or chapter of the source has been retained, but has either been paraphrased, augmented, given a different emphasis, or misinterpreted;
3) *Direct Characterological/Scenic/Design Allusion*—a character, scene, staging configuration, or plot element has been retained directly from the source;
4) *Near Characterological/Scenic/Design Allusion*—the essence of a character, scene, staging configuration, or plot element has been retained from the source, but has been given a different emphasis;
5) *General Allusion*—an allusion to an event related to or an aspect of Greek or Roman society that is too popular or proverbial to assign to any particular source, although Jonson's editors have provided *loci classici* to illustrate where the allusion may have been encountered;
6) *Mythological Allusion*—references to figures or scenes from Greek or Roman mythology;
7) *Personal Allusion*—reference to real figures from the classical period.

5, 6, and 7 are often weaker types of allusion, and in the interests of space I have avoided multiple references to the same subject within a single play (for example, only one reference is made in the table to Apollo in *Poetaster,* although the play contains many more). These allusions are too vague to assign to any one writer or tradition, and may be considered the sort of reference that was merely 'in the air' in Jonson's era, being cultural and creative commonplaces upon which writers routinely drew. It is for this reason though that I think they are also worth including: they help to demonstrate that the classical influence on Jonson's texts was much more engrained than can be discerned merely by looking for textual echoes, and provide a further indication on the sort of references that the playwright felt that the well-read sections of his audience might recognise.

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[1] Robert S. Miola, 'Seven Types of Intertextuality,' in *Shakespeare, Italy, and Intertextuality*, ed. by Michelle Marrapodi (Manchester; New York: Manchester University Press, 2004), pp.13-25.

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| Location (Jonson) | Quotation/Allusion (Jonson) | Author | Text and Location (Source) | Quotation/Summary (Source) | Type of Reference | Citation |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I.i.20 | 'a word to the wise' | Plautus | *Pers.* 729 | 'Dictum sapienti sat est' | Direct Textual Allusion | O |
| I.i.54 | 'My mind to me a kingdom is' | | | Stoic commonplace | General Allusion | C |
| I.i.64 | 'you shall be one of my Maecen-asses' | Horace | | Reference to Maecenas as Horace's patron | Personal Allusion | C |
| I.i.99 | 'ears' | Aesop | * | Fable of the ass disguised as a lion | General Allusion | C |
| I.ii.4 | 'I keep the pristinate' | Terence | *An.* 817 | 'pol, Crito…obtines' | Near Textual Allusion | O |
| I.v.71 | 'the property of the wretch' | Ausonius | *Septem Sapientum Sententiae,* I Bias 6-7* | 'Quid prudentis…velle nocere' | General Allusion | O |
| I.v.149-171 | Loss of Camillo | Plautus | *Capt.*Pro | Loss of Tyndarus | Direct Design Allusion | C |
| I.v.223 | 'Tis more to shine in virtue than in blood' | Juvenal | VIII.20 | 'nobilitas sola…unica virtus' | Near Textual Allusion | C |
| I.v.229 | He had been haunted by the spirit, Lar' | Plautus | *Aulu.*Pro | The Lar has great influence on the action of Plautus' play | Near Characterological Allusion | C, O |
| II.i.1-2 | 'So now…affright' | Plautus | *Aulu.* 79-80 | 'Nunc defaecto…omnia' | Near Textual Allusion | O |
| II.i.13-14 | 'But yet…a beggar' | Plautus | *Aulu.* 113-115 | 'Nam nunc…salutabant prius' | Near Textual Allusion | O |
| II.i.37 | 'and this his daughter' | Plautus | *Capt.* 101-103 | 'Perdidi…neque filium' | Near Textual Allusion | O |
| II.i.53ff. | Jaques guarding treasure | Menander | *Dys.* | Miser guarding treasure, a *topos* of New Comedy | General Allusion | T |
| II.i.53ff. | Jaques guarding treasure | Plautus | *Aulu.*89ff. | Miser guarding treasure, a *topos* of New Comedy | General Allusion | C, O |
| II.i.54ff. | 'lock thyself in' | Plautus | *Aulu.* 81ff. | Euclio telling Staphyla to stay indoors | Direct Scenic Allusion | C |
| II.iv.40 | 'a decade in the art of memory' | Cicero | *Acad.* II.ii | 'Ars memoriae' | Direct Textual Allusion | O |
| II.iv.40 | 'a decade in the art of memory' | Cicero | *De Or.* II.74 | 'Ars memoriae' | Direct Textual Allusion | O |
| II.iv.40 | 'a decade in the art of memory' | Quintilian | XI.ii | 'memoria technica' | Direct Textual Allusion | O |
| II.vi.47 | 'Love hates delays' | Ovid | *Ars Am.* II.229 | 'Amor odit inertes' | Direct Textual Allusion | O |
| II.vii.63ff. | 'Oh, that's well said…' | Plautus | *Aulu.* 406ff. | Congrio complains of beating | Near Scenic Allusion | C |
| III.i.18 | 'lovers' perjuries are ridiculous' | Ovid | *Ars Am.* I.633 | 'Iuppiter ex…amantum' | Near Textual Allusion | O |
| III.i.18 | 'lovers' perjuries are ridiculous' | Tibullus | III.vi.49* | 'periuria ridet…Iuppiter' | Near Textual Allusion | O |
| III.ii | Jaques meets Angelo | Plautus | *Aulu.* 175ff. | Euclio meets Megadorus | Near Scenic Allusion | C, O |

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| Location (Jonson) | Quotation/Allusion (Jonson) | Author | Text and Location (Source) | Quotation/Summary (Source) | Type of Reference | Citation |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| III.ii.14 | 'call me 'sir''? | Plautus | *Aulu.* 185 | 'iam illic homo aurum scit…blandius' | Direct Textual Allusion | C, O |
| III.ii.21 | 'My gold is in his nostrils' | Plautus | *Aulu.* 216 | 'aurum huic olet' | Direct Textual Allusion | C, O |
| III.ii.43-43 | 'I have no…well' | Plautus | *Aulu.* 238-239 | 'At nihil…est satis' | Direct Textual Allusion | O |
| III.ii.44-45 | 'Then I…favour to me' | Plautus | *Aulu.* 220-224 | 'Heia, Megadore…arbitror' | Near Textual Allusion | O |
| III.iv.0SD | 'NUNTIUS' | | | Stock character in classical drama | Direct Characterological Allusion | C |
| III.v | Onstage burial of gold | Plautus | *Aulu.* 674-675 | Offstage burial of gold | Near Scenic Allusion | C |
| III.v.5 | 'What servile…gold' | Virgil | *Aen.* III.56-57 | 'Quid non…sacra fames' | Direct Textual Allusion | O |
| III.v.13 | Burial of gold | Horace | *Sat.* I.i.41-42 | Miser burying gold | Near Scenic Allusion | C |
| III.v.17-18 | 'Scarce lawfully…that's enough' | Horace | *Epist.* I.i.65-66 | 'Rem facias…modo rem' | Near Textual Allusion | O |
| IV.i | Exchange of prisoners | Plautus | *Capt.* 251ff. | Exchange of prisoners | Near Scenic Allusion | C, O |
| IV.i.57-58 | 'A secret…cage' | Plautus | *Capt.* 116-118 | Same simile used by Plautus | Direct Textual Allusion | O |
| IV.ii.4-5 | 'Ay, sure…gallant lady' | Euripides? | *Ion* 353-354? | 'legois an'…aidoumetha' | Near Textual Allusion | O |
| IV.ii.29 | 'Fortunata non mutat genus' | Horace | *Epod.* IV.vi | 'Fortunata non mutat genus' | Direct Textual Allusion | C, O |
| IV.ii.59 | 'Cypries Ile' | | | Reference to Venus and Pathos | Mythological Allusion | O |
| IV.iv | Leave-taking between Camillo and Chamont | Plautus | *Capt.* 361ff. | Hegio duped and Tyndarus pleading for manumission | Near Scenic Allusion | C, O |
| IV.v.8 | 'a metamorphosis' | Ovid? | *Met.*? | Reference to metamorphosis | General Allusion | T |
| IV.vii.44 | Onion climbs a tree | Plautus | *Aulu.* 678-679 | Lyconides' slave says he will climb a tree | Near Scenic Allusion | C, O |
| IV.vii.45 | Jaques seizes Juniper | Plautus | *Aulu.* 628ff. | Euclio interrogates Strobilus | Direct Scenic Allusion | C, O |
| IV.vii.92 | 'Destinies' | | | Reference to the Fates | Mythological Allusion | C |
| IV.vii.116 | 'My soule' | Plautus | *Aulu.* 181 | 'Nunc domum…domi est' | Direct Textual Allusion | O |
| IV.viii | Ferneze's anger at deception | Plautus | *Capt.* 653ff. | Hegio is angry at deception | Direct Scenic Allusion | C |
| IV.viii.8 | 'subject of your mirth' | Plautus | *Capt.* 656 | 'Ita mihi…subluere offuciis' | Near Textual Allusion | O |
| IV.viii.86-88 | 'But I'll take…guiltless mind' | Plautus | *Capt.* 681-682 | 'At cum…parvi existumo' | Near Textual Allusion | O |

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| Location (Jonson) | Quotation/Allusion (Jonson) | Author | Text and Location (Source) | Quotation/Summary (Source) | Type of Reference | Citation |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| IV.viii.113 | 'queen of love' | | | Reference to Aphrodite/Venus | Mythological Allusion | C |
| V.i.35 | 'Saint Foy's' | Plautus | *Aulu.* 583 | 'Nunc hoc...Fidei fanum' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O |
| V.i.50 | 'My dear Lar' | Plautus | *Aulu.* | Importance of Lar to play | Near Design Allusion | C |
| V.i.77 | 'Elysium' | | | Reference to Elysium | Mythological Allusion | C |
| V.i.79 | 'god of riches' | | | Reference to Plutus | Mythological Allusion | C |
| V.i.92ff | Jaques' reaction to losing gold | Plautus | *Aulu.* 713ff. | Euclio's reaction to losing gold | Near Scenic Allusion | C |
| V.ii.4 | 'here's a sweet metamorphosis' | Ovid? | *Met.?* | Reference to metamorphosis | General Allusion | T |
| V.v.49 | 'hare's eyes' | | | Reference to a Greek proverb | General Allusion | O |
| V.vi | Resolution of action: parent unconsciously seeking the life of his son only to be prevented | Euripides? | *Ion?* | Similar resolution in Euripides' play | Near Design Allusion | O |
| V.vi | Resolution of action: miser finds gold, daughter finds husband | Plautus | *Aulu.* | Resolution of action: miser finds gold, daughter finds husband | Direct Design Allusion | C |
| V.vi | Resolution of action: captured and lost sons are returned | Plautus | *Capt.* | Resolution of action: captured and lost sons are returned | Direct Design Allusion | C |
| V.vi.31 | 'upon the twentieth year' | Plautus | *Capt.* 980 | 'hic annus incipit vicesumus' | Direct Textual Allusion | O |
| V.vi.94 | 'Ill-gotten goods never thrive' | Plautus | *Poen.* 844 | 'Male partum...disperit' | Direct Textual Allusion | O |
| V.vi.139 | 'helogabalus' | | | Reference to Emperor Heliogabalus | Personal Allusion | C |

## *Every Man In His Humour* (Quarto)

| Location (Jonson) | Quotation/Allusion (Jonson) | Author | Text and Location (Source) | Quotation/Summary (Source) | Type of Reference | Citation |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Title Page.8-9 | 'Quod...pascunt' | Juvenal | VII.90,93 | 'Quod...pascunt' | Direct Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| I.i.69-73 | 'Cousin, lay by such...same proportion still' | Juvenal | VIII.68-9 | 'ergo ut...praeter honores' | Near Textual Allusion | C, R |
| I.i.69-73 | 'Cousin, lay by such...same proportion still' | Seneca the Younger | *Ep.* XLIV.5 | 'Quis est...compositus' | Near Textual Allusion | C, R |
| I.i.74 | 'Bear a low sail' | Horace | *Carm.* II.x.22-24 | Stoic commonplace | General Allusion | R |
| I.i.74 | 'Bear a low sail' | Seneca the Younger | *Oed.* | Stoic commonplace (Neville's 1581 translation) | General Allusion | R |
| I.i.141-142 | 'Thou hast been a father of a thousand' lies | Plato | *Resp.* | On poets and their lying | General Allusion | C |
| I.i.185-193 | 'I am resolved...happier shrift' | Plautus | *Bacch.* 288-289 | Speech on paternal resolution | Near Textual Allusion | C, R |
| I.i.185-193 | 'I am resolved...happier shrift' | Terence | *Ad.* 57-58 | 'pudore et...quam metu' | Near Textual Allusion | C, R |
| I.iii.191 | 'Corydon' | Virgil | *Ecl.* II; VII | Character in the *Eclogues* | General Allusion | C, R |
| I.iii.191 | 'Corydon' | Theocritus | *Id.* | Character in the *Idylls* | General Allusion | C, R |
| I.iv.100 | 'bare-ribbed Envy' | Ovid | *Met.* II.765ff. | Iconography of Envy | Mythological Allusion | C |
| I.iv.207 | 'Even in despite of hell, myself to be' | | | Roman ideal | General Allusion | C |
| II.i.12 | 'rex regum' | Plautus | *Capt.* 825 | 'non ego nunc parisitus...rex regalior' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| II.iii.13-14 | 'quos aequos amavit Jupiter' | Virgil | *Aen.* VI.129-130 | 'quos aequos amavit Jupiter' | Direct Textual Allusion | C, R |
| II.iii.17-18 | 'Apollo and the mad Thespian girls' | Ovid | *Met.* V.310 | Reference to Apollo and the Thespiades | Mythological Allusion | C, R |
| II.iii.25 | 'Pliny the Elder's *Familiar Epistles*' | Pliny the Younger | *Epist. Fam.* | Misattributed reference to Pliny the Younger's text | General Allusion | C, R |
| II.iii.65-66 | 'Your true melancholy...fine wit' | Aristotle | [*Pr.*] XXX.i 953a | On outstanding men being melancholic | Near Textual Allusion | C, R |
| II.iii.98 | 'Phaethon' | | | Reference to Phaeton | Mythological Allusion | C, R |
| III.i.19-20 | 'To taste...dragon's eyes' | | | Reference to the Garden of the Hesperides | Mythological Allusion | C, R |
| III.i.53 | 'Rimarum plenus' | Terence | *Eun.* 105 | 'Plenus rimarum sum' | Direct Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| III.i.150 | 'the flood' | Ovid | *Met.* I | On the story of the flood | Mythological Allusion | C |
| III.i.163 | 'Hannibal' | | | Reference to Hannibal | Personal Allusion | C, R |
| III.ii.12 | 'lean Pirgos' | Plautus | *Mil.* | 'Pyrgopolinices' | Direct Characterological Allusion | C, R |
| III.iii.20-21 | 'flowing store...in my wife's lap' | Ovid | *Met.* IV.611 | Reference to the story of Danae | Mythological Allusion | C, R |
| III.iii.49 | 'furies' | | | Reference to the Furies | Mythological Allusion | C |
| III.iv.42 | 'incipere dulce' | Horace | *Carm.* IV.12 | 'dulce est desipere in loco' | Near Textual Allusion | C, R |
| III.iv.92-93 | 'drowned...well of desire' | Ovid | *Met.* III.344-510 | Reference to the story of Narcissus | Mythological Allusion | C |
| III.iv.105 | 'poetical fury' | Plato | *Ion* | 'furor poeticus' | General Allusion | C |
| III.iv.105 | 'poetical fury' | Plato | *Phdr.* 244a-245a | 'furor poeticus' | General Allusion | R |
| III.iv.109 | 'sons of silence' | | | Reference to Pythagoras and his followers | General Allusion | C, R |
| III.v.16 | 'Trojan' | | | Reference to the Trojans | General Allusion | C, R |

### *Every Man In His Humour* (Quarto)

| Location (Jonson) | Quotation/Allusion (Jonson) | Author | Text and Location (Source) | Quotation/Summary (Source) | Type of Reference | Citation |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| IV.i.58 | 'the Roman histories' | Livy | *Hist.* | Possible reference to Livy's *History* | General Allusion | C, R |
| IV.i.58 | 'the Roman histories' | Tacitus | *Ann.* | Possible reference to Tacitus' *Annals* | General Allusion | C, R |
| IV.ii.91 | 'warrant of the peace' | Plautus | *Mil.* | On Pyrgopolinices' cowardice | Near Characterological Allusion | C |
| V.i.1ff. | Door-knocking and mistaken identity | | | New Comedy devices | Direct Design Allusion | R |
| V.i.45-46 | 'Oh, old incontinent...is spent' | Seneca the Younger | *Ep.* CIV.v.24-25 | 'Habet praetera...carior fias?' | Near Textual Allusion | C |
| V.iii.60 | 'Signor Freshwater' | Plutarch | *Vit.* CCXXXII | Reference to 'freshwater soldiers' in North's translation of Plutarch | Direct Textual Allusion | C |
| V.iii.173-174 | 'Pro superi...latuisset opus?' | Ovid | *Ars Am.* III.413-14 | 'quis...opus?' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| V.iii.195 | 'Qui nil potest sperare, desperet nihil' | Seneca the Younger | *Med.* 163 | 'Qui nil potest sperare, desperet nihil' | Direct Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| V.iii.200 | 'a cloak for the rain' | Varro | *Sat. Men.* fr.571* | non quaerenda est...in imbri,' proverbial sentiment | General Allusion | C, O |
| V.iii.211 | 'Genius' | | | Reference to the Genius, or attendant spirit | Mythological Allusion | C, R |
| V.iii.216 | 'Dic mihi, Musa, virum' | Horace | *Ars P.* 141 | 'Dic mihi, Musa, virum' | Direct Textual Allusion | C, R |
| V.iii.216 | 'Dic mihi, Musa, virum' | Homer | *Od.* I.1** | 'Andra...Mousa' | Near Textual Allusion | C, R |
| V.iii.216 | 'Dic mihi, Musa, virum' | Virgil | *Aen.* I.1** | 'Arma virumque cano' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O |
| V.iii.219 | 'my Phlegon muse' | Ovid | *Met.* II.153-5 | Reference to one of the four horses of the Sun | Mythological Allusion | C, R |
| V.iii.220-221 | 'Saturn...thundered all aloud' | Aristophanes | *Nub.* | Comparison of thunder with farting | Near Textual Allusion | C, R |
| V.iii.261 | 'Barathrum' | Herodotus | ** | Reference to Athens' Barathron | General Allusion | C, O |
| V.iii.261 | 'Barathrum' | Homer | | Reference to Athens' Barathron | General Allusion | C, O |
| V.iii.261 | 'Barathrum' | Horace | *Epist.* I.xv.31 | Reference to Athens' Barathron | General Allusion | R |
| V.iii.270 | 'Sacred invention' | | *Rhet. Her.* I.ii.3 | On *inventio* as the first step in creating a rhetorical or literary work | General Allusion | R |
| V.iii.270 | 'Sacred invention' | Aristotle | *Rh.* I, II | On *inventio* as the first step in creating a rhetorical or literary work | General Allusion | R |
| V.iii.270 | 'Sacred invention' | Cicero | *Inv. Rhet.* I.vii.9 | On *inventio* as the first step in creating a rhetorical or literary work | General Allusion | R |
| V.iii.280 | 'Then...herself' | Homer | *Il.* VIII.11 | Roman ideal of to do or be like oneself | General Allusion | R |
| V.iii.359 | 'plen'uous world' | Seneca the Younger | *Herc. F.* | Similar to Heywood's translation of a passage from Seneca the Younger's play | Near Textual Allusion | C, O |
| V.iii.383-384 | 'Claudite...biberunt' | Virgil | *Ecl.* III.111 | 'Claudite...biberunt' | Direct Textual Allusion | C, R |

## *Every Man Out of His Humour*

| Location (Jonson) | Quotation/Allusion (Jonson) | Author | Text and Location (Source) | Quotation/Summary (Source) | Type of Reference | Citation |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Dedication.20 | 'But when the game…' | Martial | X.xx.18-20 | 'seras tutior…madent capilli' | Near Textual Allusion | O |
| Title Page (Q).10-11 | 'Non aliena meo…placebunt' | Horace | *Ars P.* 361-362, 367 | 'Non aliena meo…placebunt' | Direct Textual Allusion | C, R |
| Title Page (Q).10-11 | 'Non aliena meo…placebunt' | Horace | *Epist.* I.xix.22 | 'Non aliena meo…placebunt' | Direct Textual Allusion | C, R |
| Names.2 | 'ASPER' | Horace | *Ars P.* 322 | 'asper' | Direct Textual Allusion | C |
| Names.4 | 'GREX' | Plautus | *Pseud.* 1335-1335b | 'verum si voltis…hunc gregem,' reference to the Grex in Plautine comedies | General Allusion | C, O |
| Names.4 | 'GREX' | Terence | * | Reference to the Grex in Terentian epilogues | General Allusion | O |
| Characters | Character descriptions | Theophrastus | *Char.* | Consistent with Theophrastan character sketch | General Allusion | C, R |
| Characters.19 | 'scurrilous…jester' | | | Reference to the Roman comic parasite | General Allusion | C, R |
| Characters.19 | 'more swift than Circe' | Homer | *Od.* X.133-399 | Circe an emblem of degrading transformation | Mythological Allusion | C, R |
| Ind.2-3 | 'Who is patient…reign his tongue' | Juvenal | I.30-31 | 'Nam quis…teneat se' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| Ind.10-11 | 'Who can…not I' | Juvenal | I.79 | 'indignatio facit versum' | Near Textual Allusion | R |
| Ind.10-11 | 'Who can…not I' | Lucilius | Fr. 632* | 'evadat saltem aliquid aliqua' | General Allusion | R |
| Ind.18 | 'iron ribs' | Ovid | *Met.* I.103-148 | On the Iron Age | General Allusion | C |
| Ind.37 | 'with the words of Hercules' | Juvenal | II.19-21 | 'sed peiores…agitant' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| Ind.40-41 | 'hair cut…eyebrows' | Juvenal | II.14-15 | 'rarus sermo…coma' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| Ind.51 | 'Apollo' | | | Reference to Apollo | Mythological Allusion | C, R |
| Ind.51 | 'Muses' | | | Reference to the Muses | Mythological Allusion | C, R |
| Ind.52 | 'our Minerva' | | | Reference to Minerva | Mythological Allusion | C, R |
| Ind.68 | 'Thespian spring' | | | Reference to Aganippe | Mythological Allusion | C, O, R |
| Ind.69 | 'leaps forth a poet' | Persius | Pro.1-3 | 'Nec fonte…poeta prodirem' | Direct Textual Allusion | O |
| Ind.70 | 'Vulcan' | Homer | *Il.* I.605-608 | Reference to Vulcan | General Allusion | C, R |
| Ind.112 | 'more than most ridiculous' | Plautus | *Amph.*25 | 'stultior stultissumo' | Near Textual Allusion | O |
| Ind.146 | 'furor poeticus' | Plato | *Ion* | Reference to *furor poeticus* | General Allusion | C, R |
| Ind.169 | 'Jejunus…temnit' | Horace | *Sat.* II.ii.38 | 'Jejunus…temnit' | Direct Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| Ind.178 | 'sit like an Aristarchus' | Horace | *Ars P.* 450 | Reference to the scholar Aristarchus | Personal Allusion | C, R |
| Ind.200 | 'join their profit with their pleasure' | Horace | *Ars P.* 343 | 'qui miscuit utilw dulci' | Direct Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| Ind.217 | 'art hath an enemy called ignorance' | Publius Syrus | * | 'Nisi ignorantes ars osorem non habet,' quotation wrongly attributed | Direct Textual Allusion | O |
| Ind.226 | 'somewhat like *Vetus Comoedia*' | | | Partial reference to Greek Old Comedy | General Allusion | C, O, R |

## Every Man Out of His Humour

| Location (Jonson) | Quotation/Allusion (Jonson) | Author | Text and Location (Source) | Quotation/Summary (Source) | Type of Reference | Citation |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Ind.231-232 | 'the Terentian manner' | Terence | | Reference to the editorial practice of dividing Terence's plays into acts and scenes | General Allusion | C, O, R |
| Ind.233-234 | 'whole argument fall...efficiency' | Aristotle | *Poet.* | Reference to the unities | General Allusion | C |
| Ind.242 | 'continued satire' | | | Reference to the satyrs' dance | Mythological Allusion | C |
| Ind.243 | 'Susario' | | | Reference to dramatist Susario | Personal Allusion | C, O, R |
| Ind.243 | 'Epicharmus' | Aristotle | *Poet.* 1448a 34 | Reference to dramatist Epicharmus | Personal Allusion | C, O, R |
| Ind.243 | 'Epicharmus' | Horace | *Epist.* II.i.58 | Reference to dramatist Epicharmus | Personal Allusion | C, O, R |
| Ind.244 | 'Phormus' | | | Reference to dramatist Phormus/Phormis | Personal Allusion | C, O, R |
| Ind.244 | 'Chionides' | Aristotle | *Poet.* 1448a 35 | Reference to dramatist Chionides | Personal Allusion | C, O, R |
| Ind.245 | 'Cratinus' | Aristotle | *Poet.* 1449b 6-7 | Reference to dramatist Cratinus | Personal Allusion | C, O, R |
| Ind.245 | 'Eupolis' | Horace | *Sat.* I.iv.1-2 | Reference to dramatist Eupolis | Personal Allusion | C, O, R |
| Ind.246 | 'Aristophanes' | Aristophanes | | Reference to Aristophanes | Personal Allusion | C, O, R |
| Ind.249 | 'Menander' | Menander | | Reference to Menander | Personal Allusion | C, O, R |
| Ind.249 | 'Philemon' | | | Reference to dramatist Philemon | Personal Allusion | C, O, R |
| Ind.249 | 'Cecilius' | | | Reference to dramatist Cecilius | Personal Allusion | C, O, R |
| Ind.249 | 'Plautus' | Plautus | | Reference to Plautus | Personal Allusion | C, R |
| Ind.258 | 'Fortunate Island' | Pliny the Elder | *HN* II.vi.37 | Reference to the Isles of Bliss | General Allusion | C, R |
| Ind.303 | 'Castalian liquor' | | | Reference to the spring of Castalia | Mythological Allusion | C, R |
| Ind.308 | 'Cerberus' | | | Reference to Cerberus | Mythological Allusion | C, R |
| Ind.321 | 'sooner lose his soul than a jest' | Quintilian | *Instit.* VI.iii.28 | 'Laedere nunquam...dictum perdendi' | Direct Textual Allusion | O |
| I.i.1 | 'Viri est...facile ferre' | Apuleius | *Met.* XI.15 | 'Fortunae caecitas' | Near Textual Allusion | O |
| I.i.1 | 'Viri est...facile ferre' | Aristotle? | *Eth. Nic.*? I.10 | Untraced quotation* | Near Textual Allusion | C |
| I.i.1 | 'Viri est...facile ferre' | Menander? | * | 'Andros ta...pherein' | Near Textual Allusion | O |
| I.i.2 | ''tis true, but stoic' | | | Reference to Stoic philosophy | General Allusion | C, R |
| I.i.11 | 'I am no such pilled cynic' | | | Reference to Cynic philosophy | General Allusion | C, R |
| I.i.14 | 'My...is' | Seneca the Younger | * | Popular Senecan sentiment | General Allusion | C |
| I.i.15 | 'belly barks' | Horace | *Sat.* II.ii.18 | 'latrantem stomachum' | Direct Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| I.i.34-35 | 'Invidus suspirat...quod odit' | Caelius Firmanius | *Symphonius** | Epigram mistakenly attributed to Virgil | Direct Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| I.ii.106 | 'mercuries' | | | Reference to thieves, partial reference to Mercury | General Allusion | C, O, R |
| I.ii.127 | 'mushroom gentlemen' | Plautus | *Trin.* 1851 | 'Pol hicquidem fungino genere est' | Near Textual Allusion | O |

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I.ii.140 | 'those that fortune favours' | Terence | *Phorm.* 203 | 'fortis fortuna adiuvat' | General Allusion | O |
| I.ii.140 | 'those that fortune favours' | Virgil | *Aen.* X.284 | 'fortis fortuna iuvat' | General Allusion | O |
| I.ii.159 | 'Janus' | | | Reference to Janus | Mythological Allusion | C, R |
| I.ii.165 | 'he's a black fellow' | Horace | *Sat.* I.iv.85 | 'hic niger est' | Direct Textual Allusion | C, O |
| I.ii.174 | 'cockatrice' | Pliny the Elder | *HN* XXIX.iv | On the cockatrice | General Allusion | O |
| I.iii.102 | 'snakes...out of dung' | Pliny the Elder | *HN* X.lxxxvi-lxxxvii | On the generation of snakes from dung | General Allusion | R |
| I.iii.108-114 | 'Ay...my barns' | Horace | *Sat.* I.i.64-67 | On the Athenian miser | Direct Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| I.iii.118-120 | 'thrashing...hide under the ground' | Horace | *Sat.* II.iii.111-121 | 'Si quis ad...iactatur eodem' | Near Textual Allusion | T |
| I.iii.127 | 'many...dog' | | | Reference to the Hydra | Mythological Allusion | C, R |
| II.i.13 | 'colonel of the pygmies' horse' | Homer | *Il.* III.6 | On the pygmies | General Allusion | C, R |
| II.i.13 | 'colonel of the pygmies' horse' | Pliny the Elder | *HN* VII.ii | On the pygmies | General Allusion | C, R |
| II.i.22 | 'Elysium' | | | Reference to Elysium | Mythological Allusion | C, R |
| II.i.81 | 'Dum...currunt' | Horace | *Sat.* I.i.24 | 'Dum...currunt' | Direct Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| II.i.84-85 | 'no salt in him' | | | 'alme...auto,' Greek proverb | General Allusion | O |
| II.ii.15 | 'humanum est errare' | Augustine | *Epist.* CLXIV.xiv | 'Humanum fuit errare' | DirectTextual Allusion | O |
| II.ii.15 | 'humanum est errare' | Lucian | *Demon.*VI | 'egeito gap...epanorthoun' | General Allusion | O |
| II.ii.168-169 | 'muses' hill' | | | Reference to Mount Parnassus | Mythological Allusion | R |
| II.ii.169 | 'the Hesperides' | | | Reference to the Hesperides | Mythological Allusion | C, O |
| II.ii.253 | 'power of my purse' | Plutarch | *Reg. et Imperat. Apophth.,* 'Philip,' VI* | 'orate oun...kakos akousai' | Near Textual Allusion | O |
| II.iii.113-114 | 'river...same' | Heraclitus | * | Sentiment attributed to Heraclitus | General Allusion | C |
| II.iii.166 | | | | Reference to the Iron Age | Mythological Allusion | R |
| II.iii.284-291 | 'Troth, sir...rid of him' | Horace | *Sat.* I.ix | 'ibam forte' | Near Textual Allusion | O |
| II.iii.297-298 | 'eat...drink dissolved pearl' | Horace | *Sat.* II.iii.239-244 | On dissolving pearls in wine | General Allusion | C, R |
| II.iii.297-298 | 'eat...drink dissolved pearl' | Pliny the Elder | *HN* IX.lviii.120-122 | On dissolving pearls in wine | General Allusion | C |
| II.iii.345 | 'Nero' | | | Reference to Emperor Nero | Personal Allusion | C |
| III.i.95 | 'your only admiration is your silence' | Aulus Gellius | *NA* V.i.5-6 | Admirationem autem...sed silentium,' classical principle attributed to Musonius Rufus | General Allusion | C, R |
| III.i.113 | 'Euripus' | | | Reference to the sea-channel Euripus | General Allusion | C, O, R |
| III.i.138 | 'reports him to be *Heautontimorumenos*' | Terence | *Haut.* | Reference to the *Heautontimorumenos* | General Allusion | C, R |
| III.i.143 | *'esquiline'* | | | Latrine, word originally referred to the Esquiline Gate at Rome | General Allusion | R |

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| III.i.147 | 'according to the *Metaphysics*' | Aristotle | *Metaph.* | Reference to the *Metaphysics* | General Allusion | C, R |
| III.i.147-148 | 'Plato's *Histriomastix*' | | | Misapplied reference to Plato | Personal Allusion | C, R |
| III.i.154 | 'Pythagorical' | | | Partial reference to Pythagoras | Personal Allusion | C, R |
| III.i.275-276 | 'Nil habet...homines facit' | Juvenal | III.152-153 | 'Nil habet...homines facit' | Direct Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| III.i.344-345 | 'Hercules, that hast travelled... countries' | Seneca the Younger | *Apocol.* V | 'Tum Iuppiter...hominum esset' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| III.i.344 | 'Janus' | Martial | VIII.ii.3,5 | On Janus as a symbol of circumspection | General Allusion | R |
| III.i.393-400 | 'True, and the...be admirable' | Aristotle | *Hist. An.* VIII.28 | On beasts brought out of Africa, proverbial | General Allusion | C, O |
| III.i.415 | 'imitatio vitae...imago veritatis' | Donatus | *Donati Fragmentum de Comoedia et Tragoedia** | Sentiment attributed to Cicero by Donatus | Direct Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| III.i.415 | 'imitatio vitae...imago veritatis' | Quintilian | *Instit.* X.i.69 | 'Omnem vitae imaginem expressit,' referring to Menander | Near Textual Allusion | O |
| III.i.417 | 'correction of manners' | Plautus | *Capt.* 1029-1034 | 'Spectatores ad...fiant' | Near Textual Allusion | O |
| III.ii.31 | 'Tully' | Cicero | | Reference to Cicero | Personal Allusion | C, R |
| III.ii.31 | 'Ego sum ortus...occasus tuae' | Plutarch | *Apophtegemata Regum et Imperatorum* V* | 'Ego sum ortus...occasus tuae' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| III.ii.31 | 'Ego sum ortus...occasus tuae' | Pseudo-Plutarch | *Pro Nobilitate* XXI* | 'mechri de tinos...soi legei' | Near Textual Allusion | O, R |
| III.ii.48-49 | 'Well now...preserve it' | Plautus | *Aulu.* 9-12 | 'is quoniam moritur... commonstraret filio' | Near Textual Allusion | O |
| III.ii.123 | 'What think you of Plautus in his comedy called *Cistellaria*...' | Plautus | *Cist.* 639-650 | On Alchestimarchus' threat to kill himself | Direct Scenic Allusion | C, O, R |
| III.ii.134 | 'now the epitasis' | Donatus | *Donati Fragmentum de Comoedia et Tragoedia** | Reference to play structure | General Allusion | C, O, R |
| III.iii.8 | 'palm it bears' | Varro | *Rust.* III.xvi.14 | 'Siculum mei fert palmam' | Near Textual Allusion | O |
| III.iii.104-105 | 'he's the salamander' | Pliny the Elder | *HN* III.x.86-87 | On the salamander | General Allusion | C |
| IV.iii.25-26 | 'sorceries...skin impenetrable' | | | Reference to Jason and Medea | Mythological Allusion | R |
| IV.iii.26-27 | 'travel invisible...ring' | Cicero | *Off.* III.19 | On the ring of King Gyges | Mythological Allusion | O, R |
| IV.iii.64 | 'porpoise' | Pliny the Elder | *HN* III.ix.11 | On the porpoise | General Allusion | C |
| IV.iii.65 | 'Ganymede' | Homer | *Il.* XX.232-235 | Reference to Ganymede | Mythological Allusion | C, R |
| IV.iii.65 | 'Ganymede' | Lucian | *DDeor* IV, XX | On Ganymede as Zeus' catamite | Mythological Allusion | R |
| IV.iii.65 | 'Ganymede' | Ovid | *Met.* X.160-161 | On Ganymede as Zeus' catamite | Mythological Allusion | R |
| IV.iii.85 | 'Lynceus' | | | Reference to Lynceus | Mythological Allusion | C, O, R |
| IV.iii.95-96 | 'patricians of Sparta' | Seneca the Younger | *Phaed.* | Reference to Sparta | General Allusion | C, O, R |

## *Every Man Out of His Humour*

| Location (Jonson) | Quotation/Allusion (Jonson) | Author | Text and Location (Source) | Quotation/Summary (Source) | Type of Reference | Citation |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| IV.iii.232 | 'Pylades' | | | Reference to Pylades | Mythological Allusion | C, R |
| IV.iii.234 | 'Orestes' | | | Reference to Orestes | Mythological Allusion | C, R |
| IV.iii.259 | 'Hercules' labours' | | | Reference to Hercules' labours | Mythological Allusion | C |
| IV.iii.313-314 | 'Agamemnon' | Homer | *Il.* I | Reference to Agamemnon | Mythological Allusion | C |
| IV.iii.313-314 | 'the same...Thetis' son' | Homer | *Il.* I | Reference to Achilles | Mythological Allusion | C, R |
| IV.iii.313ff. | Brisk and Shift's behaviour | | | Recalls the New Comic *miles gloriosus* | Near Characterological Allusion | C, R |
| IV.iv.42 | 'this mortal stage' | | | Classical commonplace, possibly associated with Democritus or Pythagoras | General Allusion | C, O, R |
| IV.v.15-16 | 'I'the third heaven' | | | Reference to Ptolemaic cosmology | General Allusion | C, R |
| IV.v.18-19 | 'ambrosian spirits...nectar' | | | Reference to ambrosia and nectar | Mythological Allusion | C, R |
| IV.v.23 | 'Adonis' gardens' | Plato | *Phdr.* 276b | Reference to Adonis' gardens | Mythological Allusion | C, O, R |
| IV.v.23 | 'Adonis' gardens' | Theocritus | *Id.* XV.113 | Reference to Adonis' gardens | Mythological Allusion | C, O, R |
| IV.v.23 | 'Tempe' | | | Reference to the gorge of Tempe | General Allusion | C, R |
| V.ii.157 | 'I never did robbery in all my life' | | | Recalls the New Comic *miles gloriosus* | Near Characterological Allusion | T |
| V.ii.160 | 'my dog...disastrous fortune' | Pliny the Elder | *HN* II.xl; IX.xxv; XIV.xxii; XVII.lxviii | On the malign influence of the Dog Star | General Allusion | R |
| V.ii.180 | 'mercy of a fury' | | | Reference to the Furies | Mythological Allusion | R |
| V.iii.120 | 'gigantomachised' | Ovid | *Met.* I.173-81 | On the overthrow of the giants | Mythological Allusion | C, R |
| V.iii.123 | 'O, servetur...sibi constet' | Horace | *Ars P.* 180-182 | 'O, servetur...sibi constet' | Direct Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| V.vi.36 | 'Has the wolf seen you?' | Pliny the Elder | *HN* VIII.xxii | On a superstition concerning wolves | General Allusion | C, O, R |
| V.vi.36 | 'Has the wolf seen you?' | Virgil | *Ecl.* IX.53-54 | 'vox quoque...videre priores' | General Allusion | C, O, R |
| V.vi.37 | 'Gorgon's head made marble' | Apollodorus | II* | On Medusa | Mythological Allusion | R |
| V.vi.37 | 'Gorgon's head made marble' | Ovid | *Met.* IV.950-957 | On Medusa | Mythological Allusion | C, R |
| V.vi.37 | 'Gorgon's head made marble' | Pindar | *Pyth.* X.xlvi.8 | On Medusa | Mythological Allusion | R |
| V.vi.55 | 'pulpamenta' | Persius | II.63 | 'pulpa scelerata' | Near Textual Allusion | R |
| V.vi.55 | 'pulpamenta' | Terence | *Eun.* 426 | 'Lepus tute es, pulpamentum quaeris' | Near Textual Allusion | O |
| V.vi.85 | 'Envy is fled my soul' | Ovid | *Met.* I.147-170 | Reference to Envy | Mythological Allusion | C |
| V.vi.109 | 'turtle-footed Peace' | Homer | | Homeric epithet | General Allusion | C |
| V.vi.132 | 'Summa Iovis...plaudite' | Plautus | *Amph.* 1146 | 'clare plaudite' | Near Textual Allusion | C, R |
| V.vi.136 | 'Non ego...suffragia venor' | Aristophanes | *Ach.* 626-718 | Similar sentiment voiced in the *parabasis* | Near Textual Allusion | R |

### *Every Man Out of His Humour*

| Location (Jonson) | Quotation/Allusion (Jonson) | Author | Text and Location (Source) | Quotation/Summary (Source) | Type of Reference | Citation |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| V.vi.136 | 'Non ego...suffragia venor' | Horace | *Epist.* I.xix.37 | 'Non ego...suffragia venor' | Direct Textual Allusion | C, R |
| Defence.1-2 | 'dia to ten basilissan prosopopoieisthai' | Aristophanes | *Av.* | Possible reference to the Queen of Heaven at the play's conclusion | General Allusion | C |

## *Cynthia's Revels* (Quarto)

| Location (Jonson) | Quotation/Allusion (Jonson) | Author | Text and Location (Source) | Quotation/Summary (Source) | Type of Reference | Citation |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Title Page.13-14 | 'Quod non dant...pascunt' | Juvenal | VII.90,93 | 'Quod non dant...pascunt' | Direct Textual Allusion | C, O |
| Dedication C.7-8 | 'Non ego...silebo' | Horace | *Carm.* IV.ix.30-31 | 'Non ego...silebo' | Direct Textual Allusion | C |
| Dedication L.1 | 'Go, little book' | Ovid | *Tr.* I.i.1 | 'Parve...ibis in urbem' | Near Textual Allusion | C |
| Names.1 | 'CYNTHIA' | | | Characterisation of Cynthia | Mythological Allusion | C |
| Names.2 | 'MERCURY' | | | Characterisation of Mercury | Mythological Allusion | C |
| Names.3 | 'CUPID' | | | Characterisation of Cupid | Mythological Allusion | C |
| Names.4 | 'HESPERUS' | | | Characterisation of Hesperus | Mythological Allusion | C |
| Names.5 | 'ECHO' | Ovid | *Met.* III.337 | Characterisation of Echo | Mythological Allusion | C |
| Names.7 'Arete' | 'ARETE' | Homer | *Od.* VII.54 | Partial reference to the wife of Alcinous | Mythological Allusion | C |
| Names.27 | 'The Scene: Gargaphie' | Ovid | *Met.* III.155-156 | Reference to the location sacred to Diana where Actaeon was killed | Mythological Allusion | C, O |
| Names.29 | 'Nasutum volo...polyposum' | Martial | XII.xxxvii.2 | 'Nasutum volo...polyposum' | Direct Textual Allusion | C |
| Prae.54 | 'nymphs' | | | Reference to nymphs | Mythological Allusion | C |
| Prae.144 | 'servile imitation' | Martial | I.xix.19 | 'O imitatores...pecus' | Direct Textual Allusion | C |
| Prae.146 | 'another man's trencher' | Juvenal | V.2 | 'bona...vivere quadra' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O |
| Prae.148 | Description of the play as 'cooked' | Martial | IX.lxxxi | 'malim...placuisse cocis' | Near Textual Allusion | C |
| Pro.10 | 'shuns...beaten path' | Horace | *Epist.* I.xix.20-21 | 'Libera...presse pede' | Near Textual Allusion | C |
| I.i.13-16 | ''tis your...touch nothing' | Lucian | *DDeor* VII | 'Erota ton...ton belon' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O |
| I.i.19-27 | 'a lackey...scape' | Lucian | *DDeor* XXIV | 'Ti ne lego...memerismenon' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O |
| I.i.25 | 'Stygian ferry' | | | Reference to the river Styx and to Charon | Mythological Allusion | C |
| I.i.33-34 | 'we who...bow' | Lucian | *DDeor* VI.3 | 'o d'eros...auton eniote' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O |
| I.i.34 | 'Saturnius' | Lucian | *DMar* | One of Jove's titles | Mythological Allusion | C, O |
| I.i.35 | 'curled front' | Homer | I.532-533 | Reference to Jove's 'ambrosian curls' (Chapman's translation) | Near Textual Allusion | C |
| I.i.35 | 'three-forked fires' | Ovid | *Met.* II.848-849 | 'trisulcis ignibus' | Direct Textual Allusion | C |
| I.i.39 | 'snaky tipstaff' | | | Reference to Mercury's caduceus | Mythological Allusion | C, O |
| I.i.40-48 | 'No, boy...your itching fingers' | Lucian | *DDeor* VII.3 | 'chthes de...kakeinonanupheileto' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O |
| I.i.50 | 'Vulcan's forge' | Lucian | *DDeor* VII.2 | 'ti oun; panta...oux oro,' anecdote concerning Vulcan's forge | Near Scenic Allusion | C, O |
| I.i.69 | 'divine justice on Actaeon' | Ovid | *Met.* III.131-255 | Reference to the myth of Actaeon | Mythological Allusion | C, O |
| I.i.85 | 'Hermes' | | | Reference to Hermes, Mercury's Greek name | Mythological Allusion | C |
| I.ii.54 | 'Saturnia' | Ovid | *Met.* III.365 | One of Juno's titles | Mythological Allusion | C, O |
| I.ii.63 | 'Music...spheres' | | | Reference to Ptolemaic cosmology | General Allusion | C |
| I.ii.71 | 'Our beauties are not ours' | Seneca the Younger | *Ep.* VIII.iv | 'Non est...tuum?' | Near Textual Allusion | C |

## Cynthia's Revels (Quarto)

| Location (Jonson) | Quotation/Allusion (Jonson) | Author | Text and Location (Source) | Quotation/Summary (Source) | Type of Reference | Citation |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I.ii.83 | 'From Phrygian mountains' | | | Reference to a rock identified with Niobe on Mount Sipylus in Asia Minor | Mythological Allusion | O |
| I.ii.85 | 'Niobe' | Ovid | *Met.* VI.146-312 | Reference to the myth of Niobe | Mythological Allusion | C |
| I.ii.86 | 'Phoebe' | | | Reference to Phoebe, another of Cynthia's names | Mythological Allusion | C |
| I.ii.90 | 'Latona' | Catullus | XXXIV.5-6 | Reference to Latona, the Greek name for Leto (here probably referring to Cynthia) | Mythological Allusion | C, O |
| I.ii.90 | 'Latona' | Virgil | *Aen.* IX.405 | Reference to Latona, the Greek name for Leto (here probably referring to Cynthia) | Mythological Allusion | C, O |
| I.ii.101 | 'curse' | Ovid | *Met.* IV.385-386? | 'quisquis in hos...in undis' | Near Textual Allusion | C |
| I.iii.4 | 'minotaur...centaur...satyr' | | | Reference to minotaur, centaur, and satyr | Mythological Allusion | C |
| I.iii.15 | 'rhinocerous' | Martial | I.iii.6 | 'Nasum rhinocerotis' | General Allusion | T |
| I.iii.15 | 'rhinocerous' | Pliny the Elder | ?*HN* VIII.xxix | On the rhinoceros | General Allusion | C |
| I.iii.18 | 'ambrosiac' | | | Reference to ambrosia | Mythological Allusion | C |
| I.iv.4-5 | 'Quia nulla...aquae potoribus' | Horace | *Epist.* I.xix.2-3 | 'Quia nulla...aquae potoribus' | Direct Textual Allusion | C, O |
| I.iv.9 | 'nepenthe' | Homer | *Od.* IV.228 | Reference to nepenthe, a mythical Egyptian drug | General Allusion | C |
| I.iv.12 | 'Demosthenes' | | | Reference to Demosthenes | Personal Allusion | C |
| I.iv.14-15 | 'Lucian...never drunk' | Lucian | *Enconium Demosthenis* XV* | 'ou gar os...graphein,' reference to Lucian and his work | Near Textual Allusion | C, O |
| I.iv.14-15 | 'Lucian...affirms' | Lucian | *VH* | Reference to Lucian and his work | Personal Allusion | C |
| I.iv.79 | 'Minerva' | | | Reference to Minerva | Mythological Allusion | C |
| I.iv.150 | 'the hat...the politic Ulysses' | Homer | *Od.* | Reference to Ulysses | Mythological Allusion | C |
| I.v.26 | 'merry madness' | Seneca the Younger | *Ep.* LIX.xv | 'omnes...pensat' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O |
| I.v.28-30 | 'Oh, how despised...flesh' | Seneca the Younger | *QNat.* Pre.5 | 'O quam...surrexerit' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O |
| II.i-v | Description of characters (Hedon, Asotus, Anaides, Criticus, Argurion, Moria, Philautia) | Theophrastus | *Char.* | Similar to Theophrastan character sketches | Near Characterological Allusion | C |
| II.i.35 | 'rhymer...thought better than a poet' | Quintilian | *Instit.* X.i.89 | 'versificator quam poeta melior' | Direct Textual Allusion | C, O |
| II.ii.66 | 'speaks...in his cheeks' | Cicero | *Att.* VII.x | 'Tu, quaeso, crebro...venerit,' a classical idiom | General Allusion | C, O |
| II.ii.66 | 'speaks...in his cheeks' | Martial | XII.xxiv.4-5 | 'quidquid...loquaris,' a classical idiom | General Allusion | C, O |
| II.ii.80-83 | 'a friend...nothing' | Juvenal | VII.74-75 | 'nil habet...donet, habet' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O |
| II.iii.5 | 'when the wolf enters' | Cicero | *Att.* XIII.xxxiii.4 | 'lupus in fabula,' a Latin proverb | General Allusion | C, O |
| II.iii.10-11 | 'index...mind' | Cicero | *Pis.* I.i | 'Oculi...mentis est' | General Allusion | C, O |
| II.iii.10-11 | 'index...mind' | Quintus Cicero | *De Petit. Consul* XLIV* | 'Voltu ac fronte...ianua' | General Allusion | O |
| II.iii.70 | 'Aristarchus' | | | Reference to the scholar Aristarchus | Personal Allusion | C, O |
| II.iii.108-109 | 'covet...either' | Seneca the Younger | *Vit. Beat.* V.i-ii | 'potest...ratio commendat' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O |
| II.iii.116 | 'Cytherea' | | | One of Venus' titles | Mythological Allusion | C |
| II.iii.121 | 'Lady Argurion' | Aristophanes | *Plut.* | Personification of Wealth | Near Characterological Allusion | C, O |

## *Cynthia's Revels* (Quarto)

| Location (Jonson) | Quotation/Allusion (Jonson) | Author | Text and Location (Source) | Quotation/Summary (Source) | Type of Reference | Citation |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| II.iv.12 | 'with a strange word' | Lucian | *Lex.* XXIV | 'en pou rema...epharmosai' | Near Textual Allusion | O |
| II.iv.17 | 'Dido' | Virgil | *Aen.* IV | Reference to Dido | Mythological Allusion | C |
| II.iv.17 | 'Helen' | Homer | *Il.* | Reference to Helen of Troy | Mythological Allusion | C |
| III.i.8-9 | 'beaten...world' | Plutarch | *Mor.* CCCXC | 'ton embebiokota...diegnonisomenon,' a pun based on Holland's translation of Plutarch | Near Textual Allusion | C, O |
| III.ii.9 | 'smells all lamp oil' | Plutarch | *Vit.* DXXXLXXXIX | 'Pytheas episkopton...enthymemata,' reference based on North's translation of Plutarch | Near Textual Allusion | C, O |
| III.iii.14-31 | 'Men speak ill...could speak well' | Pseudo-Seneca the Younger | *Rem. Fort.* VII.1-2 | '*Male de te...*consuetudine latrent,' on attracting the displeasure of bad men | Near Textual Allusion | C, O |
| III.iii.33-36 | 'What wise physician...such as these' | Seneca the Younger | *Const.* XIII.i.2 | 'quis enim...suos medicus' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O |
| III.iv.22 | 'Proteus' | Virgil | *G.* IV.387-414 | Reference to Proteus | Mythological Allusion | C, O |
| III.iv.28-32 | 'one...mensas' | Juvenal | I.73-75 | 'Aude aliquid...praetoria mensas' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O |
| III.iv.61 | 'Th'Arachnean workers' | Ovid | *Met.* VI.1-145 | On the myth of Arachne | Mythological Allusion | C, O |
| III.v.33 | 'rosy-fingered hand' | Homer | | Homeric epithet (misapplied) | Near Textual Allusion | C |
| IV.iii.109 | *'Pythagorical'* | | | Partial reference to Pythagoras | Personal Allusion | C, O |
| IV.iii.151 | 'lyra' | | | Reference to the lyra, an instrument associated with Mercury | General Allusion | C |
| IV.iii.258 | 'Hercules' | | | Reference to Hercules | Mythological Allusion | C |
| IV.v.33 | 'Horace' | | | Reference to Horace | Personal Allusion | C |
| IV.v.60-61 | 'know myself' | | Stoic maxim | Stoic maxim, 'nosce te ipsum' (misapplied) | General Allusion | C |
| IV.vi.8 | 'concords...contraries' | Quintilian | *Instit.* I.x.12 | 'illa...vocant' | Near Textual Allusion | C |
| IV.vi.14 | 'Hermes' wand' | Virgil | *Aen.* II.242-244 | Reference to Mercury as psychopomp | Mythological Allusion | C |
| IV.vi.16 | strife of Chaos' | Ovid | *Met.* I.18-21 | 'hanc litem...diremit' | Near Textual Allusion | C |
| IV.vi.59 | 'Phoebus Apollo' | | | Reference to Apollo | Mythological Allusion | C |
| IV.vi.65 | 'Cyllenian Mercury' | | | Reference to Mercury's birthplace | Mythological Allusion | C |
| IV.vi.65 | 'Maia's joy' | | | Reference to Maia, mother of Mercury | Mythological Allusion | C |
| IV.vi.69 | 'And decked...discoloured flowers' | Homer | *Il.* I | Similar to Chryses' prayer to Apollo | General Allusion | C |
| V.i.37-38 | 'the heavens...do' | Seneca the Younger | *Ben.* IV.ix.1 | 'plurima beneficia...res est' | Near Textual Allusion | C |
| V.i.73 | 'suspicion free' | Plutarch | *Caes.* | Possible echo of North's translation | Near Textual Allusion | C |
| V.i.SD.1 | 'ANTEROS' | | | Reference to Anteros | Mythological Allusion | C, O |
| V.ii.3 | 'Perfection' | Ovid | *Met.* I | Description of the Golden Age | Near Textual Allusion | C |
| V.ii.21 | 'Storge' | Aristotle | *Eth. Nic.* 1168b | On virtuous and vicious self-love | General Allusion | C |
| V.ii.21 | 'nearest to himself' | Terence | *An.* 636 | 'proximus...mihi' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O |
| V.ii.25 | 'se suo modulo' | Horace | *Epist.* I.vii.98 | 'metiri se...verum est' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O |

## *Cynthia's Revels* (Quarto)

| Location (Jonson) | Quotation/Allusion (Jonson) | Author | Text and Location (Source) | Quotation/Summary (Source) | Type of Reference | Citation |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| V.ii.32 | 'curarum nubila pello' | Ovid | *Pont.* II.i.5 | 'pulsa nube' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O |
| V.ii.32 | 'curarum nubila pello' | Ovid | *Met.* VI.*692* | 'tristia...pello' | Near Textual Allusion | C |
| V.ii.37 | 'sic laus ingenii' | Tacitus | *Dial.* XXXVII | 'crescit enim...ingenii' | General Allusion | C |
| V.iii.18 | 'Lo, here the man' | Virgil | *Aen.** | 'Ille ego qui' | Near Textual Allusion | C |
| V.iii.22-23 | 'nobler...compound' | Juvenal | XIV.34-35 | 'quibus...Titan' | Direct Textual Allusion | C |
| V.iv.31 | 'divae viragini' | Seneca the Younger | *Phaed.* 51 | 'divae viragini' | Direct Textual Allusion | C, O |
| V.iv.33 | 'Eucolos' | Aristotle | *Eth. Nic.* 1107, II.vii | Discussion of virtues and *paradiastole* | General Allusion | C |
| V.iv.35 | 'seem double' | Publilius Syrus | *Sententiae* CCLXXIV* | 'bis dat...celeriter' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O |
| V.v.84 | 'Adonis' garden' | | | Reference to Adonis | Mythological Allusion | C, O |
| V.v.218 | 'fury' | | | Reference to the Furies | Mythological Allusion | C |
| V.v.239 | 'Midas' | Ovid | *Met.* XI.136-145 | Reference to Midas | Mythological Allusion | C, O |
| V.v.261 | 'a virtuous court' | Claudian | *Cons. Hon.* CCXCIX-CCC | A commonplace | General Allusion | C, O |
| Epi.21-22 | 'ecce rubet...placent' | Martial | VI.lx.3-4 | 'laudat...nostra placent' | Direct Textual Allusion | C, O |

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| Location (Jonson) | Quotation/Allusion (Jonson) | Author | Text and Location (Source) | Quotation/Summary (Source) | Type of Reference | Citation |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Title Page.1 | 'Et mihi de...rubore placet' | Martial | VII.xii.4 | 'Et mihi de...rubore placet' | Direct Textual Allusion | C, O |
| Dedication.2 | 'a thankful...it' | Seneca the Younger | *Ben.* III.xvii.3 | 'Gratum...ingratum semel' | Direct Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| Persons | Relationships between characters | Ovid | *Tr.* IV.x.41-54 | Ovid provides details on real relationship between poets in play | General Allusion | O, R |
| Persons.3 | 'MARCUS OVID' | Ovid | *Tr.* IV.x.77-84 | On Ovid's father | Personal Allusion | R |
| Persons.4 | 'LUSCUS' | Horace | *Sat.* I.v.34 | Mockery of Luscus in Horace's satire | Near Characterological Allusion | T |
| Persons.4 | 'LUSCUS' | Martial | VIII.ix.2 | Repeated use of name ('one-eyed') in Martial's epigrams | Near Characterological Allusion | C |
| Persons.8 | 'FUSCUS ARISTIUS' | Horace | *Carm.* I.xxii | Reference to Aristius, Horace's friend | Personal Allusion | R |
| Persons.8 | 'FUSCUS ARISTIUS' | Horace | *Sat.* I.ix | Reference to Aristius, Horace's friend | Personal Allusion | R |
| Persons.12 | 'TREBATIUS' | Horace | *Sat.* II.i | Reference to Trebatius, Horace's friend | Personal Allusion | R |
| Persons.13 | 'LUPUS' | Horace | *Sat.* II.i | Figure attacked by Lucilius | Direct Characterological Allusion | R |
| Persons.14 | 'TUCCA' | Horace | *Sat.* I.x.78 | 'cimex' | Direct Characterological Allusion | C, O, R |
| Persons.14 | 'TUCCA' | Martial | I.xviii; VI.lxv; VII.lxxvii; IX.lxxv; XI.lxx; XII.xli; XII.xciv | Repeated use of name in Martial's epigrams | Direct Characterological Allusion | C, R |
| Persons.14 | 'TUCCA' | Plautus | *Mil.* | Version of *miles gloriosus* | Near Characterological Allusion | T |
| Persons.15 | 'CRISPINUS RUFUS' | Aulus Gellius | *NA* XVI.vii; XIX.xiii.3 | 'Laberius' | Direct Characterological Allusion | C, R |
| Persons.15 | 'CRISPINUS RUFUS' | Catullus | LXXVII | 'Rufus' | Direct Characterological Allusion | C |
| Persons.15 | 'CRISPINUS RUFUS' | Horace | *Sat.* I.x.6 | 'Laberius' | Direct Characterological Allusion | C, O, R |
| Persons.15 | 'CRISPINUS RUFUS' | Horace | *Sat.* I.i.120-121; I.iv.14-16 | 'Crispinus' | Direct Characterological Allusion | C, O, R |
| Persons.15 | 'CRISPINUS RUFUS' | Juvenal | I.26-29; IV.1-4 | 'Crispinus' | Direct Characterological Allusion | C, R |
| Persons.16 | 'HERMOGENES TIGELLIUS' | Horace | *Sat.* I.ix.25; I.ii.3; I.iii.4; I.x.78-79 | Combination of characters | Near Characterological Allusion | C, O, R |
| Persons.17 | 'DEMETRIUS FANNIUS' | Horace | *Sat.* I.iv.21; I.x.78-80 | Combination of characters | Near Characterological Allusion | C, O, R |
| Persons.18 | 'ALBIUS' | Horace | *Sat.* I.iv.28 | 'stupet Albius aere' | Near Characterological Allusion | C, R |
| Persons.21 | 'AESOP' | Horace | *Epist.* II.i.82 | 'Clodius Aesopus' | Near Characterological Allusion | C |
| Persons.21 | 'AESOP' | Aesop? | * | Reference to Aesop? | Near Characterological Allusion | T |

*Poetaster*

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Persons.22 | 'PYRGI' | Horace | *Sat.* II.vii.17 | 'pyrgum' | Near Characterological Allusion | C, O, R |
| Persons.22 | 'PYRGI' | Martial | XIV.xvi | 'Pyrgum' another name for the 'turricula' (dice-box) | General Allusion | R |
| Persons.22 | 'PYRGI' | Plautus | *Mil.* | 'Pyrgopolynices' | Near Characterological Allusion | C, R |
| Persons.23 | 'LICTORS' | Cicero | *QFr.* I.i.13 | Description of lictors | General Allusion | R |
| Persons.25 | 'JULIA' | Ovid | *Tr.* II.102-106 | Supposed connection of Julia with Ovid's banishment | General Allusion | R |
| Persons.25 | 'JULIA' | Sidonius Apollinaris | *Carm.* xxiii.158-161* | 'Et te…subditum Corinnae,' identification of Ovid's love with Augustus' daughter | Direct Characterological Allusion | O, R |
| Persons.26 | 'CYTHERIS' | Ovid | *Am.* I.xv.29 | Reference to the dancer Cytheris | Personal Allusion | R |
| Persons.26 | 'CYTHERIS' | Virgil | *Ecl.* X | Reference to the dancer Cytheris | Personal Allusion | R |
| Persons.27 | 'PLAUTIA' | Apuleius | *Apol.* CDIV | Name used in some manuscripts | Near Characterological Allusion | O |
| Persons.28 | 'CHLOE' | Horace | *Carm.* | Chloe a common name used by satirists | Near Characterological Allusion | C, R |
| Persons.28 | 'CHLOE' | Martial | III.liii; IV.xxviii; IX.xv | Chloe a common name used by satirists | Near Characterological Allusion | C, R |
| Persons.30 | 'ENVY' | Ovid | *Met.* II.760-805 | Envy episode | Direct Characterological Allusion | C |
| Persons.30 | 'ENVY' | Plutarch | *Mor.* DXXXVII | Description of Envy | Direct Characterological Allusion | C, R |
| Persons [Collation].33 | 'Ad Lectorem…Invidia' | Martial | VII.xii | 'Ad Lectorem…Invidia' | Direct Textual Allusion | C, R |
| Ind.11-12 | 'The shine…sight' | Plutarch | *Mor.* DXXXVII | Description of Envy | Near Textual Allusion | C, R |
| Ind.44 | 'take…eat' | Ovid | *Met.* II.769 | Envy chewing on a snake | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| Ind.46-47 | 'spit…teeth' | Ovid | *Met.* II.776 | Envy's teeth 'livent robigine' | Near Textual Allusion | C, R |
| Ind.46-47 | 'spit…teeth' | Martial | V.xxviii.7 | 'robiginosis…rodit' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| Ind.60 | 'If in…dwell' | Virgil | *Aen.* I.11 | Inversion of 'tantaene animis…irae?' | Near Textual Allusion | C |
| Ind.65 | 'industry' | Cicero | *Cael.* XXXI.lxxiv | 'homines vigilantii…industrii' | Near Textual Allusion | R |
| Ind.65 | 'industry' | Juvenal | VIII.52 | 'armis industrius' | Near Textual Allusion | R |
| I.i.1-2 | 'Then…part aspire' | Horace | *Carm.* III.xxx.6-7 | | Near Textual Allusion | R |
| I.i.1-2 | 'Then…part aspire' | Ovid | *Am.* I.xv.41-42 | 'ergo etiam cum…superstes erit,' echoing Marlowe's translation in *Elegies* | Direct Textual Allusion | C, R |
| I.i.1-2 | 'Then…part aspire' | Ovid | *Am.* III.ix.28-29 | 'defugiunt avidos…vatis opus' | Near Textual Allusion | R |
| I.i.1-2 | 'Then…part aspire' | Ovid | *Tr.* I.vii | On poetic works having a life of their own | Near Textual Allusion | R |
| I.i.29-30 | 'Castalian mad' | Plato; Platonic School | | Equation of inspiration with madness | General Allusion | C, O, R |

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I.i.37-79 | 'Envy will…part aspire' | Ovid | *Am.* I.xv.41-42 | 'ergo etiam cum…superstes erit,' echoing Marlowe's translation in *Elegies* | Direct Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| I.i.45 | 'Homer will live while Tenedos stands, and Ide' | Homer | *Il.* I.38** | Reference to Homer, Tenedos, and Ide | Direct Textual Allusion | C, R |
| I.i.45 | 'Homer will live while Tenedos stands, and Ide' | Virgil | *Aen.* II** | Reference to Homer, Tenedos, and Ide | Direct Textual Allusion | C, R |
| I.i.47-48 | 'Hesiod…ear' | Hesiod | *Op.** | Reference to Hesiod | Direct Textual Allusion | C, R |
| I.i.49-50 | 'Callimachus…flowed' | Callimachus | ** | Reference to Callimachus | Personal Allusion | C, R |
| I.i.51 | 'Sophocles' proud vein' | Sophocles | ** | Reference to Sophocles | Personal Allusion | C, R |
| I.i.52 | 'Aratus' | Aratus | *Phaenomina*** | Reference to Aratus | Personal Allusion | C, R |
| I.i.54 | 'Menander flourish' | Menander | ** | Reference to Menander | Personal Allusion | C, R |
| I.i.55 | 'Ennius, though rude' | Ennius | ** | Reference to Ennius | Personal Allusion | C, R |
| I.i.55 | 'rude' | Ovid | *Am.* I.xv.19 | 'arte carens' | Near Textual Allusion | R |
| I.i.55 | 'rude' | Ovid | *Tr.* II.424** | 'ingenio maximus, arte rudis' | Direct Textual Allusion | C, R |
| I.i.55 | 'Accius' high-reared strain' | Accius | * | Reference to Accius | Personal Allusion | C, O, R |
| I.i.57-58 | 'Varro's name…gold' | Varro | *Argonautica*** | Reference to Varro | Personal Allusion | C, O, R |
| I.i.57-58 * | 'Varro's name…gold' | Virgil | *Aen.* IV** | Dido and Aeneas episode | Direct Textual Allusion | C |
| I.i.59 | 'Lucretius' lofty numbers' | Lucretius | *De Rerum.*** | | Direct Textual Allusion | C, R |
| I.i.61 | 'Tityrus' | Virgil | *Ecl.** | Character in Virgil's *Eclogues* | Direct Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| I.i.61 | 'Tillage' | Virgil | *G.** | Reference to pastoral of *Georgics* | Direct Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| I.i.61 | 'Aenee shall be read' | Virgil | *Aen.** | Reference to Virgil's *Aeneod* | Direct Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| I.i.61-62 | 'Aenee…head' | Virgil | *Aen.* IX.446-449** | | Near Textual Allusion | C, R |
| I.i.63-64 | 'Till Cupid's fires…be spoken' | Tibullus | II.6.15-16** | 'acer Amore…aspiciam faces' | Direct Textual Allusion | C, R |
| I.i.70 | 'gold-bearing Tagus' | Catullus | XXIX.19** | 'aurifer Tagus' | Direct Textual Allusion | C |
| I.i.71 | 'me let…swell' | Ovid | *Am.* I.xv | 'mihi…ministret' | Direct Textual Allusion | C |
| I.ii | Description of Ovid Senior | Ovid | *Tr.* IV.x.21-22 | Description of Ovid's father | Direct Characterological Allusion | C, O, R |
| I.ii | Description of Ovid Junior's poetic talents | Seneca the Elder | *Controv.* II.ii.8 | Description of Ovid Junior's poetic talents | General Allusion | R |
| I.ii.10 | '*Medea*' | Ovid | *Am.* II.xviii.13-14 | Reference to a version of *Medea* (now lost), but praised by Quintilian | General Allusion | R |
| I.ii.10 | '*Medea*' | Ovid | *Tr.* II.553-554 | Reference to a version of *Medea* (now lost), but praised by Quintilian | General Allusion | R |
| I.ii.10 | '*Medea*' | Quintilian | * | Reference to a version of *Medea* (now lost), but praised by Quintilian | General Allusion | O |
| I.ii.10 | 'household gods' | | | Reference to the Lares | General Allusion | C, R |
| I.ii.14 | 'funeral pile' | Cicero | *Tusc.* I.xxxv.35 | 'aliquem in rogum imponere' | Near Textual Allusion | R |
| I.ii.17-18 | 'ox's paunch' | Ovid | *Tr.* I.ix.50-51 | On the *haruspices* inspecting the entrails of sacrificial victims | General Allusion | R |
| I.ii.20 | 'Master of Worship' | Ovid | *Ex Ponto* IV.viii.17-18 | Ovid descended from an old equestrian family | General Allusion | O, R |

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I.ii.20 | 'Master of Worship' | Ovid | *Tr.* II.111-114 | Ovid descended from an old equestrian family | General Allusion | R |
| I.ii.36-40 | 'Your…comedies' | Horace | *Sat.* I.iv.3-5 | 'si quis…notabant' | Near Textual Allusion | C |
| I.ii.50-51 | 'I am not…their theatres' | Ovid | *Tr.* V.vii.27 | 'Nil equidem…theatris' | Near Textual Allusion | O, R |
| I.ii.57-58 | 'Gallus…Tibullus, and Propertius' | Quintilian | *Inst.* X.i.93 | On the association between Ovid and Gallus, Tibullus, and Propertius | General Allusion | R |
| I.ii.59 | 'younger brother' | Ovid | *Tr.* IV.x.17-18, 31-32 | On Ovid's elder brother | General Allusion | O, R |
| I.ii.61-75 | 'Name me..his litter' | Ovid | *Tr.* IV.x.21-22 | Ovid Senior's criticism of a poetic career | Near Textual Allusion | R |
| I.ii.64 | 'statue…hallowed lips' | Juvenal | I.131 | 'cuius ad effigiem…fas est' | Near Textual Allusion | R |
| I.ii.73 | 'senator's revenue' | Suetonius | *Aug.* XLI | On the financial qualification required of senators | General Allusion | O, R |
| I.ii.75 | 'his litter' | Juvenal | III.239-242 | 'si vocat officium…lectica fenestra)' | Near Textual Allusion | R |
| I.ii.76 | 'old Bias' | Diogenes Laertius | *Vit.** | Bias one of the seven sages | General Allusion | C, O, R |
| I.ii.84 | 'Run smoothly…elegies' | Propertius | II.i.2 | 'unde meus…in ora liber' | General Allusion | C, R |
| I.ii.90 | 'Misprize' | Ovid | *Her.* VIII.7; IX.109-110 | On Ovid's fondness for legal metaphors | General Allusion | O |
| I.ii.105 | 'Alcibiades' | | | Reference to Alcibiades | Personal Allusion | C, R |
| I.ii.112 | 'Janus' | Ovid | *Fast.* I.65-66, 117-120 | Reference to Janus | Mythological Allusion | C, R |
| I.ii.122 | 'Cothurnus' | | | Reference to the tragic actor's buskin | General Allusion | C, R |
| I.ii.130 | 'Lucullus' | | | Referemce to the consul and poetic patron Lucullus | Personal Allusion | C, O, R |
| I.ii.159 | 'chain' | Cicero | *Fin.* I.23 | Possible reference to the Roman 'torquis' | General Allusion | R |
| I.ii.159 | 'chain' | Suetonius | *Aug.* XLIII | Possible reference to the Roman 'torquis' | General Allusion | R |
| I.ii.139 | 'Agrippa' | Horace | *Carm.* I.vi | Reference to Agrippa | Personal Allusion | C, O, R |
| I.ii.169-170 | 'foul linen…visage' | Juvenal | VII.29 | 'imagine macra' | Near Textual Allusion | C |
| I.ii.187 | 'digest this law' | Justinian | *Digest* | Pun on Justinian's *Digest* | General Allusion | R |
| I.ii.211-212 | 'The time was once…and want' | Ovid | *Am.* III.viii.3-4 | 'Ingenium quondam…habere nihil' | Direct Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| I.ii.211-212 | 'The time was once…and want' | Ovid | *Ars Am.* I.280 | 'Si nihil…Homere, foras' | General Allusion | C |
| I.ii.213-214 | 'No matter…perfection else' | Horace | *Sat.* II.iii.94-97 | On the false importance of wealth | Near Textual Allusion | R |
| I.ii.213-214 | 'No matter…perfection else' | Ovid | *Fast.* I.217 | On the false importance of wealth | Near Textual Allusion | R |
| I.iii.9 | 'Unwittingly…verse' | Ovid | *Tr.* IV.x.25-26 | 'Sponte sua…versus erat' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| I.iii.32 | 'Delia' | Apuleius | *Apol.* I | Delia as a psuedonym for Plautia | Near characterological Allusion | R |
| I.iii.32 | 'Corinna' | Ovid | *Am.* II.xviii.29; III.i.49; III.xii.16 | Pseudonym for Ovid's love | Direct Characterological Allusion | R |
| I.iii.32 | 'Corinna' | Ovid | *Tr.* II.339-340; IV.x.59-60 | Pseudonym for Ovid's love | Direct Characterological Allusion | O, R |
| I.iii.47 | 'Hence, law' | Ovid | *Tr.* II.93 | On Ovid's experience as a lawyer | General Allusion | R |

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| Location (Jonson) | Quotation/Allusion (Jonson) | Author | Text and Location (Source) | Quotation/Summary (Source) | Type of Reference | Citation |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I.iii.57 | 'passionate as Propertius' | Ovid | *Tr.*IV.x.45 | 'suos ignes' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O |
| I.iii.59 | 'Cynthia's' | Apuleius | *Apol.* I | Wrongly thought to be Propertius' pseudonym for Hostia | General Allusion | R |
| I.iii.59 | 'Cynthia's' | Ovid | *Tr.* IV.x.45-46 | On Ovid's supposed sympathy towards Propertius | General Allusion | R |
| I.iii.59 | 'Cynthia's' | Propertius | IV.vii | Wrongly thought to be Propertius' pseudonym for Hostia | General Allusion | R |
| I.iii.61-62 | 'his griefs...hours' | Virgil | *Ecl.* X.73 | 'cuius amor...in horas' | Near Textual Allusion | C |
| I.iii.70 | 'injurious death' | Horace | *Carm.* I.xxxv.13 | 'iniuriosos...proruas' | Near Textual Allusion | C, R |
| II.i.11 | 'strenuously well' | Plautus | *Bacch.*248 | 'pancratice...valere' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O |
| II.i.11 | 'strenuously well' | Plautus | *Epid.*20 | 'valete...athletice' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O |
| II.i.43-44 | 'Gain...anything' | Juvenal | XIV.204-205 | 'lucri bonus...re qualibet' | Direct Textual Allusion | C, R |
| II.i.45-46 | 'admit...barrel' | Juvenal | XIV.203-204 | 'neu credas...et corium' | Direct Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| II.ii.35-37 | 'Sick minds...impatient fit' | Cicero | *Cat.* I.xxxi | 'ut saepe homines...adflictantur' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| II.ii.41 | Which never hurts...hurts us' * | Menander | *Epit.* fr.9** | 'ouden peponthas...prospoie' | General Allusion | C, R |
| II.ii.41 | 'Which never hurts...hurts us' | Plutarch | *Mor.* DXCIX.i | Stoic commonplace | General Allusion | C, O, R |
| II.ii.61 | 'love...make poets' | Plato | *Symp.* 196a-e | Connection between love, poetry, and madness | General Allusion | C, O, R |
| II.ii.95 | The singer Hermogenes' behaviour | Horace | *Sat.* I.iii.1-4 | 'Omnibus hoc...Tigellius hoc' | Near Characterological Allusion | C, O, R |
| II.ii.135-144 | 'If I freely may discover' song | Martial | I.lvii | 'Qualem, Flacce...satiat' | Near Scenic Allusion | C, O, R |
| II.ii.147-148 | Hermogenes' song | Horace | *Sat.* I.ix.25 | 'Invidet quod et Hermogenes...canto' | Near Characterological Allusion | C, O |
| II.ii.169-170 | ''Tis the common...or end' | Horace | *Sat.* I.iii.1-4 | 'Omnibus hoc...Tigellius hoc' | Near Textual Allusion | C, R |
| III.i-iii | Interaction between Horace and Crispinus | Horace | *Sat.* I.ix | Horace trying to escape the bore | Direct Scenic Allusion | C, O, R |
| III.i.5-9 | 'Swell me...and spright' | Horace | *Epod.* IX.1-4; 33-38 | Apostrophes to wine | Near Textual Allusion | C, R |
| III.i.5-9 | 'Swell me...and spright' | Horace | *Carm.* III.xxi | Apostrophes to wine | General Allusion | R |
| III.i.13 | 'You'd...you?' | Horace | *Sat.* I.ix.6 | 'Num quid vis' | Direct Textual Allusion | C, O |
| III.i.14-15 | 'know...scholar' | Horace | *Sat.* I.ix.7 | 'noris nos...doctus sumus' | Near Textual Allusion | R |
| III.i.20 | 'a pretty Stoic' | Horace | *Sat.* I.i.120-121 | 'Crispini...lippi' | General Allusion | C, R |
| III.i.21 | 'To...beard' | Horace | *Sat.* II.iii.35 | 'sapientem...barbam' | Direct Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| III.i.22-31 | 'By Phoebus...lips' | Horace | *Sat.* I.ix.12-13 | 'quidlibet...laudaret' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O |
| III.i.30 | 'Thespian liquors' | Horace | *Ars P.* 311-315 | Reference to Thespis | Personal Allusion | C, R |
| III.i.30 | 'Thespian liquors' | Ovid | *Met.* V.310 | Reference to town of Thespiae | General Allusion | C |
| III.i.48-49 | 'Then...patience, ears' | Horace | *Sat.* I.ix.20-21 | 'Demitto...subiit onus' | Near Textual Allusion | C |
| III.i.77 | 'Fie!...suffering' | Horace | *Sat.* I.ix.10-11 | 'cum sudor...talos' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O |

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| III.i.83 | 'I may...teeth' | Juvenal | III.209, 300-301 | 'libertas pauperis' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| III.i.84-87 | 'This tyranny...trash' | Horace | *Sat.* I.ix.76-77 | 'ego...auriculam' | Near Textual Allusion | C |
| III.i.88 | 'Happy...bold Bolanus' | Cicero | *Fam.* XIII.lxxvii.2 | Reference to Bolanus, a friend of Cicero | Personal Allusion | O |
| III.i.88 | 'Happy...bold Bolanus' | Horace | *Sat.* I.ix.11-12 | 'o te...felicem' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| III.i.96-119 | 'thou art...pothecary?' | Horace | *Sat.* I.ix.14-19 | 'ut illi...subiit onus' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O |
| III.i.106 | 'Caesar's gardens' | Plutarch | *Vit.* | Reference to Caesar's gardens | General Allusion | C, O |
| III.i.111 | 'offended Phoebus' | Homer | *Il.* | Reference to plague | General Allusion | C, O |
| III.i.111 | 'offended Phoebus' | Sophocles | *OT* | Reference to plague | General Allusion | C |
| III.i.125 | 'the Three Furies' | | | Partial reference to the Furies | Mythological Allusion | C, O, R |
| III.i.131 | 'Minos' | Homer | *Od.* XI.568-571 | On Minos as supreme judge | Direct Characterological Allusion | R |
| III.i.134-148 | 'I protest...in Rome' | Horace | *Sat.* I.iv.13-21 | On Horace's contempt for speedy writers | General Allusion | R |
| III.i.141 | 'dance better' | Cicero | *Mur.* XIII | 'Nemo enim...insanit' | Near Textual Allusion | C |
| III.i.141 | 'dance better' | Horace | *Sat.* I.ix.22-34 | On the Romans' contempt for public dancing | General Allusion | C, O, R |
| III.i.149 | 'Is your mother living' | Horace | *Sat.* I.ix.26 | 'est tibi mater' | Direct Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| III.i.153 | 'composed' | Horace | *Sat.* I.ix.28 | 'omnes composui' | Direct Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| III.i.158 | 'Sabella' | Horace | *Sat.* I.ix.22-34 | 'si bene me...adoleverit aetas' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| III.i.159 | 'in her urn..destiny' | Horace | *Carm.* II.iii.26 | On the lots tossed in the urn of fate | Near Textual Allusion | R |
| III.i.159 | 'in her urn..destiny' | Horace | *Sat.* I.ix.30 | 'divina mota anus urna' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| III.i.206 | 'this breeze' | Virgil | *G.* III.237-241 | 'fluctus uti...subiectat harenam' | Near Textual Allusion | O |
| III.i.230-231 | 'Man...labour' | Horace | *Sat.* I.ix.59 | Greek proverb | Near Textual Allusion | C, O |
| III.i.230-231 | 'Man...labour' | Hesiod | *Op.* 287** | Greek proverb | Near Textual Allusion | C |
| III.i.230-231 | 'Man...labour' | Pindar | ** | Greek proverb | Near Textual Allusion | C |
| III.i.230-231 | 'Man...labour' | Sophocles | ** | Greek proverb | Near Textual Allusion | C |
| III.ii.1SD | Horace 'saved' by Aristius | Horace | *Sat.* I.ix.63-65 | 'vellere coepi...me eriperet' | Direct Design Allusion | C, O, R |
| III.ii.1 | Aristius | Horace | *Epist.* I.x | This poem addressed to Aristius | General Allusion | O, R |
| III.ii.1 | Aristius | Horace | *Carm.* I.xxii | This poem addressed to Aristius | General Allusion | O, R |
| III.ii.4 | 'land-remora' | Pliny the Elder | *HN* XXXII.i | Description of the remora | General Allusion | C, O |
| III.ii.6-7 | 'Alciades' shirt...sinews' | Ovid | *Met.* IX.103-272 | Reference to Hercules' poisoned shirt | Mythological Allusion | C, O, R |
| III.ii.10 | 'Yes...tell Maecenas' | Horace | *Sat.* I.ix.68-72 | Reference to Horace's relationship with Maecenas | General Allusion | C |
| III.ii.12 | 'jest' | Horace | *Sat.* I.ix.65-66 | 'male salsus...dissimulare' | Near Textual Allusion | C, R |
| III.ii.22-23 | 'on this day...face' | Horace | *Sat.* I.ix.72-73 | 'Huncine...mihi' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| III.ii.26-27 | 'Never...axe' | Horace | *Sat.* I.ix.73-74 | 'fugit improbus...linquit' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| III.iii.6 | 'Thanks, great Apollo!' | Horace | *Sat.* I.ix | 'sic me servavit Apollo' | Near Scenic Allusion | C |

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| III.iii | Entry of Lictors | Horace | *Sat.* I.ix | 'rapit in ius...concursus' | Near Scenic Allusion | C, O, R |
| III.iv | Entry of other characters | Horace | *Sat.* I.ix | 'rapit in ius...concursus' | Near Scenic Allusion | C, O, R |
| III.iv.44 | 'Centumviri' | Ovid | *Tr.* II.93-96 | Reference to a legal role held at one point by Ovid | General Allusion | R |
| III.iv.82 | 'Minos is just' | Homer | *Od.* X.568-569 | Depiction of Minos | Mythological Allusion | C |
| III.iv.97 | 'Bacchus' | | | Reference to Bacchus | Mythological Allusion | C, O, R |
| III.iv.97 | 'Comus' | | | Reference to Comus | Mythological Allusion | C, O, R |
| III.iv.97 | 'Priapus' | | | Reference to Priapus | Mythological Allusion | C, O, R |
| III.iv.110 | 'Oedipus' | Seneca the Younger | *Oed.* | Reference to Oedipus | Mythological Allusion | C, O |
| III.iv.110 | 'Oedipus' | Sophocles | *OT; OC* | Reference to Oedipus | Mythological Allusion | C, O, R |
| III.iv.129 | 'Pantolabus there' | Horace | *Sat.* II.i.22 | Nickname for a buffoon in Horace | Direct Characterological Allusion | C, O, R |
| III.iv.134 | 'to fill...Minotaurus' | | | Partial reference to the Minotaur | Mythological Allusion | C, O, R |
| III.iv.188 | 'ghost' | Seneca the Younger | | Popular Seneca the Youngern device | Direct Design Allusion | C |
| III.iv.190 | 'Timoria' | Euripides | *Or.* 400 | 'Timoria' ('retribution'/'terror') a popular cry in Greek drama | General Allusion | C |
| III.iv.191 | 'Vindicta' | Juvenal | XIII.180 | On the sweetness of vengeance | General Allusion | R |
| III.iv.191 | 'Vindicta' | Psuedo-Seneca the Younger | *Oct.* 849 | 'vindicta debetur mihi' | General Allusion | R |
| III.iv.213 | 'princely Erebus' | | | Reference to Erebus | Mythological Allusion | R |
| III.iv.229-231 | 'do not...Poluphagos' | Aristophanes | *Av.* 1065 | Reference to a greedy man named Poluphagos | Near Characterological Allusion | C |
| III.iv.229-231 | 'do not...Poluphagos' | Aristophanes | Fr. 520* | Reference to a greedy man named Poluphagos | Near Characterological Allusion | R |
| III.iv.232 | 'Barathrum' | Horace | *Epist.* I.xv.29-33 | 'pernicies...macelli' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| III.iv.241 | 'your Aesop' | Cicero | *QFr.* I.ii | On the great Roman actor, Aesop | General Allusion | R |
| III.iv.299 | 'Hang...satyr' | Horace | *Ars P.* 220-250 | On the satyr plays | General Allusion | C |
| III.iv.299 | 'Hang...satyr' | Horace | *Sat.* I.ii.27 | On satyrs smelling like goats | General Allusion | R |
| III.iv.299-300 | 'he smells...armholes' | Catullus | LXVIII.6 | 'Fertur valle...habitare caper' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| III.iv.299-300 | 'he smells...armholes' | Horace | *Epod.* XII.5 | 'gravis...in alis' | Near Textual Allusion | C |
| III.iv.299-300 | 'he smells...armholes' | Plautus | *Pseud.* 740 | 'quid...ecquid habet,' on a character's bad smell | Near Textual Allusion | R |
| III.iv.306 | 'my genius' | Horace | *Epist.* II.ii.187-188 | 'Genius, natale...deus humane' | Mythological Allusion | C, O |
| III.v | Scene between Horace and Trebatius | Horace | *Sat.* II.i | Discussion between Horace and Trebatius | Near Scenic Allusion | C, O, R |
| III.v | Characterisation of Trebatius | Cicero | *Fam.* VII.v.3 | 'Probiorem hominem...summa scientia' | Direct Characterological Allusion | O |
| III.v.1 | 'There are, to whom' | Horace | *Sat.* II.i.1 | 'Sunt quibus' | Direct Textual Allusion | R |
| III.v.5-6 | 'And that...I compose' | Horace | *Sat.* I.iv.12-18 | On accusations of slow writing | Near Textual Allusion | R |

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| III.v.23-25 | 'Gallia's...words' | Suetonius | *Jul.* II.xxi.3 | 'Parthi...reddiderunt' | Near Textual Allusion | C |
| III.v.28 | 'Lucilius' | Horace | *Sat.* I.iv.6-13; I.x.50-71; II.i.28-34, 62-74 | Reference to Lucilius | Personal Allusion | R |
| III.v.33-34 | 'nor...shun' | Horace | *Sat.* II.i.20 | 'cui male...tutus' | Near Textual Allusion | C |
| III.v.39-40 | 'Pantolabus...rioutous feasts' | Horace | *Sat.* I.viii.11** | 'Pantolabum scurram' | Direct Textual Allusion | C, R |
| III.v.39 | 'Pantolabus...jests' | Horace | *Sat.* II.i.22 | 'Pantolabum scurram' | Direct Textual Allusion | C, R |
| III.v.40 | 'Nomentanus' | Horace | *Sat.* I.i.101-102 | Reference to the character Nomentanus | Direct Characterological Allusion | C, R |
| III.v.40 | 'Nomentanus' | Horace | *Sat.* II.iii.175 | Reference to the character Nomentanus | Direct Characterological Allusion | C, R |
| III.v.43-46 | 'Milonius shakes...apprehend' | Horace | *Sat.* II.i.25 | 'accessit...lucernis' | Near Textual Allusion | C |
| III.v.47 | 'Castor...Pollux' | Homer | *Il.* III.237 | Characters in Homer's *Iliad* | Mythological Allusion | C, R |
| III.v.47 | 'Castor...Pollux' | Homer | *Od.* XI.300 | Characters in Homer's *Odyssey* | Mythological Allusion | C |
| III.v.52 | 'in things unjust' | Horace | *Sat.* II.i.31 | 'male gesserat' | Near Textual Allusion | C, R |
| III.v.55 | 'votive table' | Horace | *AP.* 20-21 | Reference to the votive table | General Allusion | C |
| III.v.55 | 'votive table' | Horace | *Carm.* I.v.13-14 | Reference to the votive table | General Allusion | C, R |
| III.v.55 | 'votive table' | Virgil | *Aen.* XII.766-769 | Reference to the votive table | General Allusion | C, R |
| III.v.58 | 'For...either' | Horace | *Sat.* II.i.35 | 'nam Venusinus...colonus' | Near Textual Allusion | C |
| III.v.69-70 | 'To draw it out...my life' | Horace | *Sat.* II.i.43 | 'nec...mihi' | Direct Textual Allusion | C |
| III.v.75-76 | 'he that...fame' | Horace | *Sat.* II.i.44-45 | 'ille...clamo' | Direct Textual Allusion | C |
| III.v.77-78 | 'walk...sung' | Horace | *Sat.* II.i.46 | 'insignis tota cantabitur urbe' | Direct Textual Allusion | C |
| III.v.77-78 | 'walk...sung' | Justinian | *Digest* I.32* | On restrictions against slanderous satire | General Allusion | C |
| III.v.79 | 'Servius the praetor' | Cicero | *QFr.* II.xiii.2 | 'homo taeter et ferus' | Personal Allusion | C, O |
| III.v.81 | 'Canidia...got' | Horace | *Sat.* I.viii.23-25; II.ii.47-48, 67; II.viii.94-95 | 'Albucius' and 'Canidia' | Personal Allusion | C, O, R |
| III.v.81 | 'Canidia' | Horace | *Epod.* III.7-8; V.15-24, 47-82 | Canidia | Personal Allusion | C, O, R |
| III.v.89-91 | 'trust...will' | Horace | *Sat.* II.i.54 | 'pia dextra' | Direct Textual Allusion | C, R |
| III.v.99 | 'What hue soever' | Horace | *Sat.* II.i.59 | 'quisquis...color' | Direct Textual Allusion | C |
| III.v.107 | 'Laelius' | Cicero | *Amic.* | Laelius a central figure in Cicero's work | Personal Allusion | R |
| III.v.107 | 'Laelius' | Horace | *Sat.* II.i.114 | Reference to Laelius, friend to Scipio Aemilianus | Personal Allusion | C |
| III.v.109 | 'Metellus' | Cicero | *Off.* I.xxv.87 | 'Q. Metellum sine acerbitate dissensio' | Personal Allusion | C |
| III.v.110 | 'Lupus' | Horace | *Epist.* I.xix.31 | 'famoso carmine' | Near Textual Allusion | C, R |
| III.v.111-112 | Lucilius attacks Horace | Horace | *Sat.* II.i.69 | On Lucilius rebuking tribe by tribe ('tribitium') | Near Textual Allusion | C |
| III.v.113 | 'from sight...sear' | Horace | *Sat.* II.i.71 | 'se a volgo...remorant' | Near Textual Allusion | C |

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| III.v.115 | 'Unbraced' | Horace | *Sat.* II.i.73 | 'distincti' | Direct Textual Allusion | C |
| III.v.115 | 'light sports' | Cicero | *De Or.* II.vi.22 | On Scipio and Laelius being childish on holiday | Near Textual Allusion | C |
| III.v.115 | 'light sports' | Horace | *Sat.* II.i.73 | 'nugari...ludere' | Near Textual Allusion | C |
| III.v.116 | 'frugal suppers' | Horace | *Sat.* II.i.74 | 'holus' | Near Textual Allusion | C |
| III.v.120 | 'Shall say...with the best' | Horace | *Sat.* II.i.76 | 'cum magnis vixisse' | Direct Textual Allusion | C |
| III.v.120-122 | 'grace...solid' | Horace | *Sat.* II.i.77-78 | 'invidia...solido' | Direct Textual Allusion | C |
| III.v.127 | 'sacred laws' | Cicero | *Rosc. Am.* XXIX.lv | On the laws of the Twelve Tables | General Allusion | C |
| III.v.127 | 'sacred laws' | Justinian | *Digest* XLVIII.xvi.1 | On the laws of the Twelve Tables | General Allusion | C |
| III.v.129 | 'such...lewd' | Cicero | *Rep.* IV.x.12** | On fame | General Allusion | C |
| III.v.129 | 'such...lewd' | Pliny the Elder | *HN* XXVIII.iv.18* | Paraphrase of the Twelve Tables | General Allusion | C |
| III.v.129 | 'lewd' | Horace | *Sat.* II.i.82 | 'mala...carmina' | Direct Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| III.v.130-132 | 'Ay, with...decree' | Horace | *Sat.* II.i.83 | 'Esto, si quis mala' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| III.v.130 | 'lewd verses' | Horace | *Sat.* II.i.83-84 | 'mala, sed bona' | Direct Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| III.v.134 | 'spare...their crimes' | Martial | X.xxxiii.9-10 | 'hunc servare...de vitis' | Direct Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| III.v.137 | 'clear' | Horace | *Sat.* II.i.85 | 'integer,' referring to libel | Near Textual Allusion | C |
| IV.i.19 | 'as thick...city' | Ovid | *Tr.* I.ii.47-48 | 'Nec levius...pulsat onus,' simile of sea waves battering a ship | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| IV.ii.32 | 'Jupiter' | | | Reference to Jupiter | Mythological Allusion | C |
| IV.ii.32 | 'Juno' | | | Reference to Juno | Mythological Allusion | C, O |
| IV.ii.32 | 'Apollo' | | | Reference to Apollo | Mythological Allusion | C |
| IV.ii.32 | 'Pallas' | | | Reference to Minerva | Mythological Allusion | C |
| IV.ii.33 | 'Ceres' | | | Reference to Ceres | Mythological Allusion | C |
| IV.ii.37 | 'A god...Venus' | Homer | *Il.* I.590-591; XVIII.395-397 | On Vulcan's laming | Mythological Allusion | C, R |
| IV.ii.37 | 'A god...Venus' | Homer | *Od.* VIII.266-366 | On Vulcan's cuckolding | Mythological Allusion | C, R |
| IV.iii.3 | 'A friend, Propertius' | Horace | *Epist.* II.ii.91-101 | Jonson does not understand that Propertius and Horace were not friends | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| IV.iii.11-12 | 'tired on by yond vulture' | Homer | *Od.* XI.576-581 | Possible reference to the myth of Tityrus or Prometheus | Mythological Allusion | R |
| IV.iii.20 | 'Agamemnon' | | | Reference to Agamemnon | Personal Allusion | C, R |
| IV.iii.21 | 'Hector' | | | Reference to Hector | Personal Allusion | C, R |
| IV.iii.22 | 'Neoptolemus' | | | Reference to Neoptolemus | Personal Allusion | C, R |
| IV.iii.23 | 'By Jove...Capitol' | | | Worship of Jupiter on Capitoline Hill | General Allusion | C |
| IV.iii.24 | 'Menelaus' | | | Reference to Menelaus | Mythological Allusion | C, R |
| IV.iii.25 | 'Helen' | | | Reference to Helen | Mythological Allusion | C, R |
| IV.iii.25 | 'Lucrece' | | | Reference to Lucrece | Mythological Allusion | C, R |

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| IV.iii.30 | 'Vesta' | | | Reference to Vesta | Mythological Allusion | C, R |
| IV.iii.30 | 'Melpomeme' | | | Reference to Muse of Tragedy | Mythological Allusion | C, R |
| IV.iii.30 | 'Penelope' | | | Reference to Penelope | Mythological Allusion | C, R |
| IV.iii.31 | 'Iris' | | | Reference to Iris | Mythological Allusion | C, R |
| IV.iii.37 | 'Thisbe' | Ovid | *Met.* IV.55-166 | Reference to Thisbe | Mythological Allusion | C, R |
| IV.iii.37 | 'the Fates' | | | Reference to the Fates | Mythological Allusion | C, R |
| IV.iii.66 | 'Cypris' | | | Reference to birthplace of Venus | Mythological Allusion | C, R |
| IV.iii.71-72 | 'Orpheus...dolphin' | Homer? | *Hom. Hymns Dem.* VII.51-53 | Reference to Orpheus and Arion legends | Mythological Allusion | C, R |
| IV.iii.71-72 | 'Orpheus...dolphin' | Herodotus | I.xxiii-xxiv | Reference to Orpheus and Arion legends | Mythological Allusion | C, R |
| IV.iii.76 | 'they have salt in 'em' | Horace | *Ars P.* 271 | On wit as 'sal' | Direct Textual Allusion | R |
| IV.iii.76 | 'they have salt in 'em' | Horace | *Epist.* II.ii.60 | On wit as 'sal' | Direct Textual Allusion | R |
| IV.iii.76 | 'they have salt in 'em' | Horace | *Sat.* I.x.36 | On wit as 'sal' | Direct Textual Allusion | R |
| IV.iii.80 | 'Nemesis' | Ovid | *Am.* III.ix.31-32 | Misreading of Marlowe's translation | Near Textual Allusion | C, R |
| IV.iii.88 | 'Phaeton' | | | Reference to Phaeton | Mythological Allusion | C, R |
| IV.iii.94 | 'thorny-toothed' | Horace | *Sat.* I.iv.93 | 'mordax' | Near Textual Allusion | C, R |
| IV.iii.94-98 | fly...at him' | Horace | *Sat.* I.iv.34-38 | 'faenum habet...et anus' | Direct Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| IV.iii.95 | 'he...jest' | Quintilian | *Instit.* IV.iii.28 | Proverb quoted disapprovingly by Quintilian | General Allusion | C |
| IV.iii.98-99 | 'dog and scorpion...his tail' | Callimachus | Fr. 37a* | On the dog and scorpion's association with satire | General Allusion | R |
| IV.iii.111-112 | 'both...Pythagoreans' | | | Reference to the Pythagorean school | General Allusion | C, O, R |
| IV.iii.122-123 | 'what shall...Mercury' | | | Reference to Mercury | Mythological Allusion | C |
| IV.iv.11 | 'petasus' | | | Reference to Mercury's winged cap | Mythological Allusion | C, R |
| IV.iv.35 | 'Lares' | | | Reference to the Lares | Mythological Allusion | C, R |
| IV.v | Fancy-dress performance | Suetonius | *Aug.* LXX | On a similar fancy-dress performance in which Augustus played Apollo | Near Scenic Allusion | O, R |
| IV.v.5 | 'The crier...voice' | Lucian | *Deor. Conc.* | Mimics opening of Lucian's text | Direct Scenic Allusion | C, R |
| IV.v.6 | 'Momus' | | | Reference to Momus | Mythological Allusion | C, O, R |
| IV.v.8-9 | 'Mercury...banquet' | Plutarch | *Mor.* DCXX | Inversion of arbiter's behaviour | Near Textual Allusion | C |
| IV.v.12-13 | 'great god Jupiter...goodness' | Seneca the Younger | *Brev. Vit.* XVI.v | On the foolishness of humans ascribing their madness to the gods | Near Textual Allusion | R |
| IV.v.17-21 | 'Nor to...or women' | Lucian | *Deor. Conc.* | Momus' complaints | Near Textual Allusion | C |
| IV.v.34 | 'our nectar' | Homer | *Il.* I.597-598 | On Olympians' drink | Mythological Allusion | C, R |
| IV.v.42-43 | 'We'll...cuckold' | Horace | *Sat.* II.vi.69 | 'leges insanae' | Near Textual Allusion | C |
| IV.v.54 | 'Fill...Ganymede' | Homer | *Il.* XX.232-235 | Reference to Ganymede | Mythological Allusion | C, R |

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| IV.v.54 | 'Fill…Ganymede' | Ovid | *Met.* X.155-161 | Reference to Ganymede | Mythological Allusion | C |
| IV.v.54-55 | 'our daughter Venus' | Homer | *Il.* V.370-371; XIV.193 | Reference to Venus | Mythological Allusion | C R |
| IV.v.57 | 'Mars' | | | Reference to Mars | Mythological Allusion | C |
| IV.v.59-64 | 'Sirrah…of 'em' | Lucian | *Symp.* Xv | Reference to the banquet of the Lapiths | Near Textual Allusion | C |
| IV.v.63 | 'steeped your lips in wine' | Horace | *Carm.* III.iii.11-12 | On Augustus drinking with the gods | Near Textual Allusion | R |
| IV.v.70-75 | 'Well played…rascal' | Lucian | *Symp.* xiii-ix | Altercation between Momus and Mars | Near Scenic Allusion | C |
| IV.v.78-184 | 'Wilt thou…her follies' | Homer | *Il.* I.536-604 | Satyr-play version of scene in *Iliad* | Near Scenic Allusion | C, R |
| IV.v.82-83 | 'we will reign…death' | Homer | *Il.* I.564-566-567 | Word-play on 'pleasures' and 'philon' | Near Textual Allusion | C, R |
| IV.v.85-86 | 'This…we' | Seneca the Younger | *Brev. Vit.* XVI.v | 'dare morbo…licentiam' | Near Textual Allusion | C |
| IV.v.87-88 | 'Jupiter…earth' | Homer | *Il.* I.399 | 'xyndesai,' on the goddesses' wish to bind Zeus | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| IV.v.90-92 | 'A right Juno…Thetis' | Homer | *Il.* I.518-559 | Reference to Thetis | Mythological Allusion | C, O, R |
| IV.v.93 | 'inquisition' | Homer | *Il.* I.550 | 'me ti…metalla' | Near Textual Allusion | C, R |
| IV.v.94 | 'Phrygian fry' | Homer | *Il.* XX.230-241 | Reference to Ganymede and his father Tros | Mythological Allusion | C, O, R |
| IV.v.100-101 | 'Yea…thy scolding' | Homer | *Il.* I.581 | 'styphelixai' | Near Textual Allusion | C, R |
| IV.v.100-101 | 'Yea…thy scolding' | Homer | *Il.* I.528-530; 591-593 | Ovid's threat parodies Vulcan's ejection from Olympus and Thetis' leap | Near Textual Allusion | C, O |
| IV.v.106-107 | 'We tell…cotqueanity' | Homer | *Il.* I.580 | 'Olympios asteropetes' | Near Textual Allusion | C, R |
| IV.v.109 | 'Cyclops' | | | Reference to Cyclops | Mythological Allusion | C, R |
| IV.v.110.112-113, 115-118 | 'kind…unity' | Homer | *Il.* I.578, 597-598 | Albius asking for kindness | Near Textual Allusion | C, R |
| IV.v.114 | 'lame skinker' | Homer | *Il.* I.599-600 | Description of lame Vulcan | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| IV.v.115 | 'good livers make true lovers' | Horace | *Carm.* IV.i.12 | On the liver as the seat of love, badly translated by Jonson | Near Textual Allusion | O, R |
| IV.v.116 | 'father…mother' | Homer | *Il.* I.571-596 | 'metri…pheron' | Near Textual Allusion | C, R |
| IV.v.118 | 'give…unity' | Homer | *Il.* I.571-596 | Hall's translation of Homer's text | Near Textual Allusion | C, R |
| IV.v.122 | 'His tongue…before it' | Isocrates | *To Demonicus* XLI* | Proverbial joke about Vulcan's tongue | General Allusion | C, O |
| IV.v.133-134 | 'He has…a song' | Ovid | *Fast.* I.421-422 | The drunken gods fall asleep | Near Textual Allusion | C |
| IV.v.135 | 'Do, Apollo…musician' | Apuleius | *Met.* VI.24 | Reference to Apollo's musical ability | General Allusion | C |
| IV.v.135 | 'Do, Apollo…musician' | Homer | *Il.* I.603 | 'phormiggos perikalleos,' reference to Apollo's musical ability | General Allusion | C, R |
| IV.v.161-172 | Hermogenes and Crispinus' song | Apuleius | *Met.* VI.24 | Wedding song | Near Scenic Allusion | C |
| IV.v.161-172 | Hermogenes and Crispinus' song | Homer | *Il.* I.604 | Banquet song | Near Scenic Allusion | C, R |
| IV.v.165-172 | 'feast of sense' | Aristotle | *De An.* 2.7.418a-2.11.424a | Discussion of the sense of touch | General Allusion | C |
| IV.v.175 | 'from us…Augustus' | Augustus | *RG* II.10 | Explanation of Augustus' name | General Allusion | C |

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| IV.v.175 | 'from us…Augustus' | Cassius Dio | LIII.xvi.8* | Explanation of Augustus' name | General Allusion | C |
| IV.v.179 | 'Jupiter *Altitonans'* | Homer | *Il.* I.528-530 | On 'high-thundering' Zeus | Near Textual Allusion | R |
| IV.v.180-181 | 'feather-footed Mercury..Saturnia' | Ovid | *Met.* II.531; IV.464 | Reference to Saturnia | Direct Textual Allusion | C |
| IV.v.184 | 'Capitol' | | | Reference to the Capitoline Hill and its temple | General Allusion | C, R |
| IV.vi.11-12 | 'whose unnatural…dead' | Pliny the Elder | *HN* VIII.xxvii | Discussion of panthers | Near Textual Allusion | C, R |
| IV.vi.14-15 | 'What, would…many deaths' | Cassius Dio | LV.x.12* | Augustus learns of Julia's actions | Near Textual Allusion | C |
| IV.vi.14-15 | 'What, would…many deaths' | Suetonius | *Aug.* LXV.2 | Augustus wondering whether Julia should be killed | Near Textual Allusion | C |
| IV.vi.30 | 'Degenerate monster' | Suetonius | *Aug.* LXV.2 | Augustus' condemnation of Julia | Near Textual Allusion | C |
| IV.vi.32-36 | Augustus' address to Ovid, Gallus, and Tibullus | Ovid | *Ars Am.* III.550 | On divine inspiration | Near Textual Allusion | C, R |
| IV.vi.32-36 | Augustus' address to Ovid, Gallus, and Tibullus | Ovid | *Fast.* VI.5 | On divine inspiration | Near Textual Allusion | C, R |
| IV.vi.39 | 'embraces centaurs' | | | Reference to the myth of Ixion | Mythological Allusion | O, R |
| IV.vi.43 | 'teach…her' | Aristotle | | On the poet's usefulness | General Allusion | C |
| IV.vi.43 | 'teach…her' | Cicero | *Arch.* VII.xv-xvi | On the poet's usefulness | General Allusion | C, R |
| IV.vi.43 | 'teach…her' | Horace | *Epist.* II.i.124 | On the poet's usefulness | General Allusion | C, R |
| IV.vi.50-55 | 'In imposition…death' | Ovid | *Tr.* II.133-136 | Ovid's description of his punishment | Near Textual Allusion | C |
| IV.vi.55 | 'misgotten' | Homer | *Il.* III.40* | 'Aithophelon…apolesthai' | Near Textual Allusion | C |
| IV.vi.55 | 'misgotten' | Suetonius | *Aug.* LXV.4 | Augustus' wish to have been childless | Near Textual Allusion | C |
| IV.vi.56 | 'patronage…doors' | Suetonius | *Aug.* LXV.3 | On the restrictions placed on Julia | Near Textual Allusion | C, R |
| IV.vi.57 | 'contain' | Ovid | *Tr.* II.33-36, 40 | Ovid pleads with Augustus to be merciful | Near Textual Allusion | C |
| IV.vi.57 | 'contain' | Seneca the Younger | *Cl.* I.xix | 'quod magis…natura gerit' | Near Textual Allusion | C |
| IV.vi.60-61 | 'There is…goodness' | Cassius Dio | LV.x.16* | 'epi gar…metriasas,' Augustus' lack of mercy for Julia | General Allusion | C |
| IV.vi.60-61 | 'There is…goodness' | Suetonius | *Aug.* LXV.3 | 'ut…potuit,' Augustus' lack of mercy for Julia | General Allusion | C |
| IV.vi.61-64 | 'Bounty is…apprehend it' | Seneca the Younger | *Ben.* I.xv.3 | 'veto liberalitatem nepotari' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| IV.vi.72-76 | 'I will…nothing know' | Plato | *Resp.* V.476b-478d | Discussion of the realms of knowledge and figments | Near Textual Allusion | C |
| IV.vi.73-75 | 'can becalm…spirits' | Virgil | *Aen.* I.124-159 | Moralisation on Neptune calming a storm | Near Textual Allusion | C |
| IV.vi.75-76 | 'fight…gnats and shadows' | | *Hom. Hymn Dem.* 198-200 | Recalls the mock-heroic Battle of the Frogs and Mice | Near Textual Allusion | C |
| IV.vii.13-15 | 'Horace is…valiant' | Horace | *Carm.* II.vii.9-12 | On Horace fleeing from battle | General Allusion | C |
| IV.vii.19 | 'my noble prophet…Horace' | Virgil | | Poet as a 'prophet' (vates) | Direct Textual Allusion | C |
| IV.vii.20 | 'my little fat Horace' | Suetonius | *Hor.* III | 'brevis atque obesus' | Direct Textual Allusion | C, O |
| IV.vii.53-56 | 'Princes that…to fear' | Pliny the Elder | *HN* XXV.xvii.37 | On poison poured into the ears | General Allusion | C |
| IV.viii.4-9 | 'sacred sphere…excludes' | | | Passage plays on Ptolemaic cosmology | General Allusion | C |

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| IV.ix | Ovid and Julia's 'balcony scene' | Ovid | *Tr.* I.iii; IV.iii | Ovid's description of his wife | Near Textual Allusion | C, R |
| IV.ix.11-14 | 'I'll cast…from thee' | Ovid | *Tr.* I.iii.99-100 | 'voluisse mali…potuisse mei' | Near Textual Allusion | C |
| IV.ix.15 | 'tomb of brass' | Horace | *Carm.* III.xxx.1 | Poetry a monument more lasting than bronze | Near Textual Allusion | R |
| IV.ix.16-17 | 'forms…with it' | Aristotle | *De An.* 412a; 417a; 429a; 431a | The perception of one's lover is fused with the soul | Near Textual Allusion | C, R |
| IV.ix.16-17 | 'forms…with it' | Plato | *Phd.* 67d | On the soul's release from the body | Near Textual Allusion | C |
| IV.ix.16-17 | 'forms…with it' | Plato | *Ti.* 81d | On the soul's joyful flight in natural death | Near Textual Allusion | C |
| IV.ix.37 | We pour…our loves' | Aristotle | *De An.* 412a, II.i.10 | On the inaccessibility of the soul to the senses | Near Textual Allusion | C |
| IV.ix.71-72 | 'on this…lie dead' | Ovid | *Tr.* I.iii.92 | On Ovid's wife sinking down as if dead | Near Textual Allusion | C, R |
| IV.ix.74 | 'sands' | Vitruvius | *De Arch.* V.ix.7 | On the use of levelled sand in public places | General Allusion | C |
| IV.ix.77-97 | 'Farwell all…my deity' | Ovid | *Tr.* I.iii.47-60 | 'ter limen…sum revocatus,' the lovers' thrice-repeated exits | Near Textual Allusion | C, R |
| V.i.1-4 | 'We that have…than revenge' | Virgil | *Aen.* VI.851-853; VIII.714-731 | On sparing those enemies who submit, and on the triumph detailed on Aeneas' shield | Near Textual Allusion | C, R |
| V.i.4-6 | 'More proud…and Tibullus' | Suetonius | *Aug.* LI; LXVI | On the Emperor's mercy | General Allusion | C, R |
| V.i.7-10 | 'You both…her spoils' | Suetonius | *Aug.* LXVI | On Gallus' elevation | General Allusion | C |
| V.i.10 | 'quarried…spoils' | Suetonius | *Aug.* XL | On the riches of Egypt | General Allusion | C |
| V.i.16 | 'Promethean stuffings' | Horace | *Carm.* I.xvi.13-16 | On men being formed from fire and clay | Mythological Allusion | R |
| V.i.22 | 'liquid marble' | Virgil | *Aen.* VI.848 | 'vivos ducent…vultus' | Near Textual Allusion | R |
| V.i.29 | 'ambitious' | Horace | *Carm.* I.xxxvi.20 | 'ambitiosus' | General Allusion | C, R |
| V.i.32 | 'Pierian' | | | Reference to the place of origin of the Muses' cult | Mythological Allusion | C, O, R |
| V.i.44-46 | 'Phoebus himself…to him' | Suetonius | *Aug.* XXIX.i.3 | On Augustus dedicating a temple to Apollo | General Allusion | C, R |
| V.i.47-48 | 'hoisted to…power' | Horace | *Carm.* III.x.10 | On the fickleness of Fortuna | General Allusion | C |
| V.i.47-48 | 'hoisted to…power' | Ovid | *Tr.* V.viii.7 | On the fickleness of Fortuna | General Allusion | C |
| V.i.47-48 | 'hoisted to…power' | Propertius | II.viii.8 | On the fickleness of Fortuna | General Allusion | C |
| V.i.47-48 | 'hoisted to…power' | Tibullus | *Elegies** | On the fickleness of Fortuna | General Allusion | C |
| V.i.54-56 | 'All…blind gifts' | Pliny the Elder | *HN* II.v.22 | 'Fortuna…existimata' | General Allusion | C |
| V.i.54-56 | 'All…blind gifts' | Tibullus | * | 'versatur celeri…orbe rotae' | General Allusion | C |
| V.i.72 | 'Campania' | Suetonius | * | Details on Virgil's life, derived from Suetonius | General Allusion | C, O |
| V.i.73 | 'his *Aeneids*' | Virgil | *Aen.* | Reference to Virgil's *Aeneid* | General Allusion | C |
| V.i.76 | 'of his profession' | | | Reference to Maecenas as a fellow poet | Personal Allusion | C |
| V.i.81-83 | 'As if…ignorant soul' | Horace | *Carm.* III.xxix.49-56 | On the cruelty of Fortuna | General Allusion | R |
| V.i.88-89 | 'But knowledge…of sin' | Homer | *Il.* XIX.38-39 | Thetis pours nectar into the corpse of Patroclus | Near Textual Allusion | C, R |
| V.i.89 | 'grave of sin' | Macrobius | I.xi.3; I.xii.17* | On the preservation of the dead | Near Textual Allusion | C |
| V.i.100-105 | 'I judge…body' | Plato | *Ti.* 44b; 47b-c | On the embodied soul | Near Textual Allusion | C |

*Poetaster*

| Location (Jonson) | Quotation/Allusion (Jonson) | Author | Text and Location (Source) | Quotation/Summary (Source) | Type of Reference | Citation |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| V.i.105-106 | 'most severe...collection of himself' | Quintilian | *Instit.* X.iii.8 | 'Vergilium quoque...est Varius' | General Allusion | O |
| V.i.107 | 'Jove' | | | Reference to Jove | General Allusion | C |
| V.i.108 | 'chaste and tender is his ear' | Cicero | *Div.* I.liii.121 | 'castus animus purusque' | Near Textual Allusion | R |
| V.ii | Virgil's reading of the *Aeneid* to Augustus and his court | Donatus | * | Dramatisation of Donatus' claim that Virgil read the *Aeneid* to Augustus | Near Scenic Allusion | C, R |
| V.ii.37-38 | 'Custom in...least prefers' | Horace | *Carm.* III.xxix.49-56 | On the poet's attitude to fortune | Near Textual Allusion | C, R |
| V.ii.40 | 'rude swinge' | Homer | *Il.* III.173 | 'plain fierce swinge of strength' (Chapman translation) | Direct Textual Allusion | C |
| V.ii.56-97 | 'Meanwhile the...This monster' | Virgil | *Aen.* IV.160-190 | The Dido, Aeneas, and Fama episode | Direct Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| V.iii.13 | 'the turbulent informer' | Suetonius | *Aug.* LI.2 | On Augustus' dislike of informers | Near Textual Allusion | C |
| V.iii.30 | 'Epaminondas' | | | Reference to Epaminondas, a military leader | Personal Allusion | C, R |
| V.iii.44 | ''tis no libel' | Suetonius | *Aug.* LV | Augustus' definition of libel | Near Textual Allusion | C, R |
| V.iii.49-55 | 'A just man...all these' | Horace | *Carm.* III.iii.1-8 | 'Iustum et...propositi virum' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| V.iii.58 | 'give the eagle' | Juvenal | XIV.197-198 | On the award of the Senior Centurion post to an old man | Near Textual Allusion | R |
| V.iii.98 | 'this gent'man...Achates' | Virgil | *Aen.* I.i.188 | Reference to Aeneas' companion, 'fidus Achates' | Personal Allusion | C, O, R |
| V.iii.102 | 'bay leaf' | Martial | V.iv.1-2 | 'Fetere multo...devorat lauri,' on bay leaves sweetening the breath | General Allusion | O, R |
| V.iii.108 | 'Let him be whipped' | Suetonius | *Aug.* XLV.3-4 | On Augustus' punishment of two players | Near Textual Allusion | C |
| V.iii.110 | 'larger ears' | Ovid | *Met.* XI.146-193 | Reference to King Midas | Mythological Allusion | C, R |
| V.iii.120-122 | 'the sinister...Interpreter' | Martial | IX.573 | 'Absit a...interpres' | Near Textual Allusion | C |
| V.iii.125-127 | 'We know...another's work' | Martial | I.Preface; IX. Preface | 'improbe facit...ingeniosus est' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| V.iii.133 | 'my three souls' | Aristotle | *De An.* 413a-415a | On the tripartite division of the soul | General Allusion | C, O, R |
| V.iii.135-136 | 'Helicon...Hippocrene' | | | Reference to Helicon and Hippocrene | Mythological Allusion | C, O, R |
| V.iii.135 | 'rhinocerous' | Martial | I.iii.6 | 'Nasum rhinocerotis' | Direct Textual Allusion | C |
| V.iii.140 | 'spectator...sports' | Suetonius | *Aug.* XLIII; XLV.1-3 | On Augustus' sponsorship of athletic competitions | Near Textual Allusion | C |
| V.iii.149 | 'statute of calumny' | Cicero | *Rosc. Am.* XIX.lv | On the Lex Remmia | Near Textual Allusion | C |
| V.iii.149 | 'statute of calumny' | Cicero | *Rep.* IV.x.12 | On the Lex Remmia | Near Textual Allusion | R |
| V.iii.154-156 | 'I take...hate me' | Horace | *Sat.* I.x.78-80 | The claim that the poet does not care about the world's opinion | Near Textual Allusion | R |
| V.iii.169 | 'Antony' | | | Reference to Marcus Antonius | Personal Allusion | C, R |
| V.iii.175-196 | 'In the name...say' | Suetonius | *Aug.* CXXXII.xxxiii.28 | On Augustus' tribunician power | General Allusion | C, R |
| V.iii.185 | 'plagiary' | Horace | *Epist.* I.xix.19 | Criticism of 'imitatores' | Near Textual Allusion | R |
| V.iii.232-254 | 'Ramp up...observe it' | Lucian | *Lex.* | A rhetorician purged of his vocabulary | Near Design Allusion | C |
| V.iii.235 | 'defunct' | Plautus | *Poen.* 147 | 'defugire' | Near Textual Allusion | C |

## Poetaster

| Location (Jonson) | Quotation/Allusion (Jonson) | Author | Text and Location (Source) | Quotation/Summary (Source) | Type of Reference | Citation |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| V.iii.246 | 'organons of sense' | Aristotle | | Reference to Aristotle's books on logic | General Allusion | C |
| V.iii.250 | 'Subscri. Cris.' | Cicero | *Clu.* xlvii.131 | Formal legal sign-off for an accusation | General Allusion | R |
| V.iii.250 | 'Subscri. Cris.' | Horace | *Sat.* I.x.92 | Mock-legal addition of a 'subscriptio' to the book of satires | Near Textual Allusion | R |
| V.iii.251 | 'Hercules in poetry' | Juvenal | II.19-21 | 'verbis Hercules' | Direct Textual Allusion | C, R |
| V.iii.251 | 'Hercules in poetry' | Juvenal | IX.417 | 'de virtute…agitant' | Near Textual Allusion | C |
| V.iii.275 | 'buy repentance too dear' | Aulus Gellius | *NA* I.viii.4 | Proverbial | General Allusion | O |
| V.iii.277 | 'carries palm with it' | Varro | *Rust.* III.xvi.14 | 'Siculum mel fert palmam' | Near Textual Allusion | O |
| V.iii.278-295 | 'Why should…these' | Horace | *Sat.* I.iv.70, 78-85 | 'Absentem qui…Romane, caveto' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| V.iii.281-282 | 'nasty snake…bosom' | Pliny the Elder | *HN* X.lxxxii | On vipers eating their way out of their mother | General Allusion | R |
| V.iii.340-341 | 'case of vizards…bi-fronted' | Virgil | *Aen.* VII.180; XII.198 | 'bi-fronted' an epithet for Janus | General Allusion | R |
| V.iii.342-355 | 'It shall…very wholesome' | Lucian | *Lex.* | On Lexiphanes receiving purgatives for his mental disorder | Near Scenic Allusion | C, O, R |
| V.iii.345 | 'whitest…hellebore' | Horace | *Sat.* II.iii.82 | On hellebore as a cure for mental disease | General Allusion | R |
| V.iii.345 | 'whitest…hellebore' | Pliny the Elder | *HN* XXV.xxi.51 | On hellebore | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| V.iii.349 | 'Aesculapius' | | | Reference to Aesculapius | Mythological Allusion | C, R |
| V.iii.373 | 'cantharides' | Plny | *HN* XXIX.iv | On 'kantharis' (spanish fly) | General Allusion | C, O |
| V.iii.401-402 | 'I forgive…still' | Horace | *Sat.* I.x.78-79 | 'Men moveat…Demetrius' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| V.iii.404-407 | 'While…poems' | Horace | *Sat.* I.x.87-89 | 'compluris alios…doliturus' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| V.iii.408-502 | 'I would…worst affright' | Lucian | *Lex.* | Lexiphanes vomiting | Near Scenic Allusion | C, O, R |
| V.iii.411 | 'Oh, I am sick' | Lucian | *Lex.* XX | 'pheu…borborugmos' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| V.iii.439 | 'turgidous' | Horace | *Sat.* I.x.36 | 'turgidus' | Direct Textual Allusion | C, R |
| V.iii.441-442 | 'windy…windy' | Lucian | *Lex.* XXI | 'synekpesousa…pneumatos' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| V.iii.445, 453 | 'What a tumult…What a noise' | Lucian | *Lex.* XXI | 'megan…psophon' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| V.iii.446 | 'often 'conscious damp' | Lucian | *Lex.* XXI | 'syneches to atta' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| V.iii.451 | 'force yourself' | Lucian | *Lex.* XXI | 'biasai' | Direct Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| V.iii.472-473 | ''Tis…diet' | Lucian | *Lex.* XXIII | On a 'diet' of good poets being adminstered to Lexiphanes | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| V.iii.473-497 | 'Look…to you' | Lucian | *Lex.* XXI | 'metapaideye' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| V.iii.474 | 'old Cato's principles' | Cato | *Dionysii Catonis Disticha de Moribus\** | Reference to *Distichs of Cato,* attributed to Cato the Elder | General Allusion | C, O, R |
| V.iii.477 | 'taste a piece of Terence' | Terence | | Reference to Terence | Personal Allusion | C |
| V.iii.477 | 'taste a piece of Terence' | Lucian | *Lex.* XXII | Recommendation for fine comedy | Near Textual Allusion | C, R |
| V.iii.479 | 'Plautus' | Plautus | | Reference to Plautus | Personal Allusion | C, R |
| V.iii.479 | 'Ennius' | Ennius | | Reference to Ennius | Personal Allusion | C, R |

## *Poetaster*

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| V.iii.480-481 | 'Use…tutor' | Lucian | *Lex.* XXII | 'ariston…didaskalois' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| V.iii.482 | 'Musaeus' | | | Reference to Musaeus | Personal Allusion | C, R |
| V.iii.482 | 'Pindarus' | Pindar | | Reference to Pindar | Personal Allusion | C, O, R |
| V.iii.483 | 'Theocrite' | Theocritus | | Reference to Theocritus | Personal Allusion | C, R |
| V.iii.483 | 'Lycophron' | Lucian | *Lex.* XXV | Reference to Lycophron | Near Textual Allusion | C, R |
| V.iii.486 | 'outlandish' | Lucian | *Lex.* XXIV, XXV | Criticism of outlandish expression | Near Textual Allusion | C |
| V.iii.488 | 'but let…your words' | Lucian | *Lex.* XXIV | On the need to prepare thought before diction | Near Textual Allusion | C |
| V.iii.489-495 | 'And if…receive it' | Lucian | *Lex.* XXIV | On adapting outlandish expressions | Near Textual Allusion | C |
| V.iii.496 | 'sound and clear' | Lucian | *Lex.* XXIV | On offering sacrifice to grace and clarity | Near Textual Allusion | C |
| V.iii.499-502 | 'And…affright' | Lucian | *Lex.* XXIV | 'o typhos…e kakoetheia' | Near Textual Allusion | C |
| V.iii.559 | 'And apes…in scarlet' | Lucian | *Ind.* 4** | On 'an ape being an ape,' proverbial | General Allusion | C, O, R |
| V.iii.560 | 'Rumpatur…invidia' | Martial | IX.xcvii.12 | 'Rumpatur…invidia' | Direct Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| Apol. Dial.0 | Satirist's apologia | Aristophanes | | Similar to an Aristophanic *parabasis* | Near Design Allusion | C, O, R |
| Apol. Dial.0.1-2 | 'NASUTUS, POLYPOSUS' | Martial | XII.xxxvii.2 | Two names from Martial's epigrams | Direct Characterological Allusion | C, O, R |
| Apol. Dial.12 | 'live…himself' | Horace | *Sat.* II.vii.83 | On freedom | Near Textual Allusion | R |
| Apol. Dial.26 | 'unhurt…unhit' | Seneca the Younger | *Cons. Sap.* III.iii | 'invulnerabile…non laeditur' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| Apol. Dial.38-40 | 'Teucer's hand in archery' | Homer | *Il.* XII.350 | 'Teukros…eidos' | Mythological Allusion | C, O, R |
| Apol. Dial.54 | 'Improbior…cinaedo' | Juvenal | IV.106 | 'Improbior…cinaedo' | Direct Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| Apol. Dial.70-71 | 'By no…name' | Justinian | *Digest* II.xlvii.10.6* | On Roman defamation law | General Allusion | C |
| Apol. Dial.72 | 'spare the…speak the vices' | Martial | X.xxxiii.10 | 'parcere…de vitis' | Direct Textual Allusion | C, R |
| Apol. Dial.97 | 'provoked the angry wasps' | Aristophanes? | *Vesp.*? | Possible allusion to an angry wasp chorus | Near Characterological Allusion? | T |
| Apol. Dial.97 | 'provoked the angry wasps' | | *Greek Anthology* Bk 7 epig. 405* | Warning on the tomb of the satirist Hippomax | Near Textual Allusion | C |
| Apol. Dial.100-101 | 'screaming…wings' | Lucian | *Pseudol.* | On Lucian and Archilochus presented as grasshoppers | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| Apol. Dial.107-108 | 'Saepe pater…reliquit opes' | Ovid | *Tr.* IV.x.21-22 | 'Saepe pater… reliquit opes' | Direct Textual Allusion | C |
| Apol. Dial.110-111 | 'Non me…prostituisse foro' | Ovid | *Am.* I.xv.5-6 | 'Non me…prostituisse foro' | Direct Textual Allusion | C, R |
| Apol. Dial.117 | 'That's the *lemma'* | Martial | XIV.ii.3-4 | On lemma | General Allusion | R |
| Apol. Dial.129-132 | 'so sparingly…themselves' | Martial | Preface | 'Spero me…reverentia ludant' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| Apol. Dial.146-147 | 'squirt…ink' | Cicero | *Nat. D.* II.l.127 | On the cuttlefish | Near Textual Allusion | C, R |
| Apol. Dial.146-147 | 'squirt…ink' | Horace | *Sat.* I.iv.100-101 | 'nigrae…mera' | Near Textual Allusion | C, R |
| Apol. Dial.146-147 | 'squirt…ink' | Pliny the Elder | *HN* IX.xlv.84 | On the cuttlefish | Near Textual Allusion | C |
| Apol. Dial.147-149 | 'Or…themselves' | Horace | *Ars P.* 79 | On Archilocus | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| Apol. Dial.147-149 | 'Or…themselves' | Horace | *Epist.* I.xix.23-25 | On iambics | Near Textual Allusion | C, R |

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Apol. Dial.147-149 | 'Or…themselves' | Horace | *Epod.* VI.11-13 | 'cave, cave…tollo cornua' | Near Textual Allusion | C |
| Apol. Dial.147-149 | 'Or…themselves' | Ovid | *Ib.* 53-54 | On the violence of iambic invective | Near Textual Allusion | C |
| Apol. Dial.151-154 | 'I could…plasters' | Martial | VI.lxiv.24-26 | 'at si quid…Cinnamus arte' | Direct Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| Apol. Dial.158-159 | 'To clothe…them infamous' | Horace | *Epist.* II.i.269-270 | On useless paper being used for wrapping | Near Textual Allusion | R |
| Apol. Dial.158-159 | 'To clothe…them infamous' | Martial | III.ii.5 | Ne nigram…sis cucullus,' on the insubstantiality of paper | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| Apol. Dial.161-166 | 'But to what…of a man' | Juvenal | XIII.189-195 | 'Quippe minuti…tortore flagellum' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| Apol. Dial.167-168 | ''Tis true…felt 'em' | Seneca the Younger | *Ira* III.v.7-8 | 'at ille…confessio' | Direct Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| Apol. Dial.168-169 | 'Let…tongues' | Plautus | *Poen.* 625 | 'Istic est…situs' | Direct Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| Apol. Dial.172 | 'mere railing' | Horace | *Sat.* I.iv.78-79 | On satire's railing quality | General Allusion | R |
| Apol. Dial.173 | 'the old comedy' | | | Reference to Greek Old Comedy | General Allusion | C, R |
| Apol. Dial.177 | 'Aristophanes' | Aristophanes | | Reference to Aristophanes | Personal Allusion | C, R |
| Apol. Dial.178 | 'Persius' | Persius | | Reference to Persius | Personal Allusion | C, R |
| Apol. Dial.178 | 'Juvenal' | Juvenal | | Reference to Juvenal | Personal Allusion | C, R |
| Apol. Dial.188-189 | 'the master…belly' | Persius | Pro.10-11 | 'Magister artis…venter' | Direct Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| Apol. Dial.195 | 'stuffed nostrils' | Horace | *Epod.* XII.3 | 'naris obesae' | Direct Textual Allusion | C, O |
| Apol. Dial.195 | 'stuffed nostrils' | Horace | *Sat.* I.iv.8 | On keen-scented nostrils | Near Textual Allusion | R |
| Apol. Dial.197-200 | 'To rive…pinching throes' | Juvenal | VII.27 | 'Frange miser…proelia dele' | Direct Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| Apol. Dial.206 | 'vile Ibides' | Ovid | *Ib.* | Antagonist in Ovid's poem | Near Characterological Allusion | C |
| Apol. Dial.206 | 'vile Ibides' | Pliny the Elder | *HN* VIII.xli | On the ibis giving enemas with its beak | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| Apol. Dial.214-215 | 'So he…unto me' | Horace | *Sat.* I.x.72-74, 76-77 | On the single judicious person being audience enough | Near Textual Allusion | C, R |
| Apol. Dial.214-215 | 'So he…unto me' | Seneca the Younger | *Ep* I.vii.11 | On the single judicious person being audience enough | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| Apol. Dial.220-222 | 'I, that spend…or the bays' | Horace | *Carm.s* I.i.29 | 'doctarum…frontium,' on the sacredness of ivy | General Allusion | O |
| Apol. Dial.220-222 | 'I, that spend…or the bays' | Juvenal | VII.28-29 | 'sublimia…imagine macra' | Direct Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| Apol. Dial.220-222 | 'I, that spend…or the bays' | Virgil | *Ecl.* VII.25 | 'Pastores, hedera…poetam,' on the sacredness of ivy | General Allusion | O |

*Eastward Ho!*

| Location (Jonson) | Quotation/Allusion (Jonson) | Author | Text and Location (Source) | Quotation/Summary (Source) | Type of Reference | Citation |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Pro.10 | 'Honour the…his setting' | Plutarch | *Pomp.* | Sylla's saying on Pompey | Direct Textual Allusion | C |
| Pro.10 | 'Honour the…his setting' | Plutarch | *Mor.* | Sylla's saying on Pompey | Direct Textual Allusion | C, M |
| I.i.85 | 'Erebus' | | | Reference to Erebus/Cerebus | Mythological Allusion | C, O |
| I.i.85-86 | 'Look not…eastward ho!' | Plutarch | *Pomp.* | Sylla's saying on Pompey | Near Textual Allusion | C |
| I.i.86 | 'Don Phoebus' | | | Reference to Apollo | Mythological Allusion | C, M |
| I.i.88 | 'Eous' | | | Reference to Eos/Aurora | Mythological Allusion | C, M |
| I.ii.29-31 | 'Ulysses…salt' | | | Reference to Ulysses feigning madness to avoid the Trojan War | Mythological Allusion | C, O, M |
| I.ii.121 | 'castle on his back' | Ovid | *Ars Am.* III.172 | 'census corpore ferre suos' | Near Textual Allusion | O |
| II.i.51-54 | 'I…reason' | Plato | *Phdr.* 253ff. | The image of the soul as a charioteer | Near Textual Allusion | C |
| II.ii.52 | 'ship…balls' | Homer | *Od.* V.331-332 | 'allote men…diokein,' Ulysses' fleet caught in the 'horrid tennis' of a storm (Chapman's translation) | Near Textual Allusion | C, O |
| II.ii.103-104 | 'we cannot…wings' | Plautus | *Poen.* 871 | 'sine pennis…facile est' | Direct Textual Allusion | C |
| II.ii.131-132 | 'Who…uncertainties' | Plautus | *Pseud.* 685 | 'Certa mittimus…petimus' | Direct Textual Allusion | C, O |
| III.i.30 | 'foreright winds' | Homer | *Il.* II.479 | Appears in Chapman's translation | Direct Textual Allusion | C |
| III.i.30 | 'foreright winds' | Homer | *Od.* III.182 | Appears in Chapman's translation | Direct Textual Allusion | C, O |
| III.iii.122 | 'orgies' | | | Reference to Bacchic ceremonies | Mythological Allusion | C |
| IV.i.225 | 'dishonest satire' | | | Partial reference to the satyr | Mythological Allusion | C |
| IV.ii.117 | 'fetters, be they made of gold' | Pseudo-Seneca the Younger | *Rem. Fort.* xvi.3 | 'Stulti est…aureas amare' | Near Textual Allusion | O |
| V.i.69 | 'waking dreams' | Plautus | *Capt.* 848 | 'Hic vigilans somniat' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O |
| V.i.74 | 'song…Shower' | | | Reference to the story of Danae | Mythological Allusion | C, M |
| V.iii.99-100 | 'a benefit…ambition' | Seneca the Younger | *Ben.* II.i.2 | 'Ante omnia…ulla dubitatione' | Near Textual Allusion | C |
| V.iii.100 | 'ambition' | Seneca the Younger | *Ben.* II.xiii.2-3 | 'Iucunda sunt…data sunt' | Near Textual Allusion | C |
| V.iv.1 | 'I will sail…Ulysses' | Homer | *Od.* XII | On Odysseus resisting the sirens | Mythological Allusion | C, O, M |
| V.iv.14 | 'Lethe' | | | Reference to the river Lethe | Mythological Allusion | C, M |

## *Volpone*

| Location (Jonson) | Quotation/Allusion (Jonson) | Author | Text and Location (Source) | Quotation/Summary (Source) | Type of Reference | Citation |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Title Page.6 (Q) | '*Simul...vitae*' | Horace | *Ars P.* 333-334 | '*Simul...vitae*' | Direct Textual Allusion | C |
| Epist. | | Horace | *Ars P.* | On the didactic view of art | Near Textual Allusion | R |
| Epist.17 | 'impossibility...good man' | Strabo | I.ii.5 | 'e de poietou...agathon,' Stoic sentiment | General Allusion | C, O, R |
| Epi.17 | 'impossibility...good man' | Lipsius | *Politics** | Stoic Sentiment | General Allusion | C |
| Epi 18-23 | 'He that is said...business of / mankind' | Cicero | *Arch.* VII.xvi | On the poet | General Allusion | C, R |
| Epi 18-23 | 'He that is said...business of / mankind' | Horace | *Ars P.* 340-341 | On the poet | General Allusion | C, R |
| Epi 18-23 | 'He that is said...business of / mankind' | Horace | *Epist* II.i.126 | 'Os tenerum...solatur et aegrum,' on the poet | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| Epi.49 | 'Application is now...key for the deciphering' | Martial | I.Preface | On hidden allusions | Near Textual Allusion | C |
| Epi.66 | 'misc'line interludes' | Suetonius | *Cal.* XX | 'ludi miscelli' | Direct Textual Allusion | O |
| Epi.79-82 | 'I have laboured...best reason of living' | Aristophanes | *Ran.* 1008-1010 | 'tinos ouneka...tais polesiv,' precept of classical comedy | General Allusion | C, O |
| Epi.63 | 'Sibi...odit' | Horace | *Sat.* II.i.23 | 'Sibi...odit' | Direct Textual Allusion | C, O, R, M |
| Epi.82-83 | 'though my catastrophe may...meet with censure' | Aristotle | *Poet.* | Renaissance adoption of classical theory | General Allusion | C, R |
| Epi.82-83 | 'though my catastrophe may...meet with censure' | Donatus | *Donati Fragmentum de Comoedia et Tragoedia** | Renaissance adoption of classical theory | General Allusion | C, R |
| Epi.88-91 | 'I took the more liberty...mulcted' | Aristotle | *Poet.* | Reference to Scaliger's edition of Aristotle | Near Textual Allusion | C, R |
| Epi.92-94 | 'To which...pay the world a debt' | Horace | *Ars P.* | Jonson's allusion to his commentary on Horace | General Allusion | C, R |
| Epi.106 | '*genus irratabile*' | Cicero | *Att.* I.xvii | 'irritabiles animos' | Near Textual Allusion | C, R |
| Epi.106 | '*genus irratabile*' | Horace | *Epist.* II.ii.102 | '*genus irratabile*' | Direct Textual Allusion | C, R |
| Epi.139 | 'Cinnamus the barber' | Martial | VI.lxiv.26 | 'At si quid...Cinnamus arte' | Direct Characterological Allusion | C, O, R, M |
| Argument | | Plautus | | Argument included before all of Plautus' plays except for *Bacch.* | General Allusion | C, O, R, M |
| Pers.2 | 'MOSCA' | Lucian | *Musc. Enc.* | On the fly | General Allusion | C, R |
| Pers.2 | 'parasite' | | | Stock figure in Roman comedy | Direct Characterological Allusion | C |
| Pers.3 | 'VOLTORE' | Martial | VI.lxii.26 | 'Cuius vulturis...erit cadaver?,' on the vulture | General Allusion | O, R |
| Pers.3 | 'VOLTORE' | Seneca the Younger | *Ep.* XCV.443 | 'amicos aliquis...cadaver exspectat,' on the vulture | General Allusion | O, R |
| Pro.5 | 'poet' | Terence | *Hec.* 21 | Dramatist referred to as a 'poeta' in several of Terence's prologues | General Allusion | R |
| Pro.8 | 'mix profit with your pleasure' | Horace | *Ars P.* 343-344 | 'utile dulci' | Direct Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| Pro.30 | 'best critics' | Aristotle | | Partial reference to Aristotle and Horace, Jonson's most frequently-cited ancient critics | Personal Allusion | R |

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Pro.30 | 'best critics' | Horace | | Partial reference to Aristotle and Horace, Jonson's most frequently-cited ancient critics | Personal Allusion | R |
| Pro.31 | 'laws...persons' | | | On the classical critical 'laws' | General Allusion | C |
| Pro.34 | 'Only a little salt remaineth' | Horace | *Sat.* I.x.3 | On the association between salt and wit | Near Textual Allusion | R, M |
| I.i.3 | 'world's soul' | Plato | *Ti.** | 'anima mundi' | Near Textual Allusion | C, R |
| I.i.8 | 'flame by night' | Lucian | *Gall.* DCCXIII | Quotation of Pindar's *Olympian Ode* | Direct Textual Allusion | R |
| I.i.8 | 'flame by night' | Lucian | *Tim.* | Description of gold | General Allusion | R |
| I.i.8 | 'flame by night' | Pindar | *Ol.* I.1-2 | 'Ariston men...ploutou' | Direct Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| I.i.15 | 'that [Golden] age' | Ovid | *Met.* I.89-112; XV.96ff. | On the Golden Age | Mythological Allusion | C, R, M |
| I.i.15 | 'that [Golden] age...best' | Seneca the Younger | *Ep.* CXV.14 | On the dangers of gold | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| I.i.16-20 | 'Thou being...twenty thousand Cupids' | Athenaeus | IV.159 | 'O Chryse...auten echein,' on gold | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| I.i.16-20 | 'Thou being...twenty thousand Cupids' | Euripides | *Dan.** | 'O Chryse...auten echein,' on gold | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| I.i.19 | 'when they to Venus did ascribe' | Homer | * | 'chrysee Aphrodite' | Near Textual Allusion | O, R, M |
| I.i.19 | 'when they to Venus did ascribe' | Horace | * | 'aurea Venus' | General Allusion | O, R, M |
| I.i.19 | 'when they to Venus did ascribe' | Ovid | * | 'aurea Venus' | General Allusion | O, R, M |
| I.i.20 | 'twenty thousand cupids' | Claudian | *Epithalamion* 10-11* | On the tradition of multiple Cupids | Mythological Allusion | R |
| I.i.20 | 'twenty thousand cupids' | Horace | *Carm.* I.xix.1; IV.i.5 | On the tradition of multiple Cupids | Mythological Allusion | R |
| I.i.20 | 'twenty thousand cupids' | Propertius | II.29 | On the tradition of multiple Cupids | Mythological Allusion | R |
| I.i.20 | 'twenty thousand cupids' | Statius | *Silv.* I.ii.54 | On the tradition of multiple Cupids | Mythological Allusion | R |
| I.i.22 | 'Riches, the dumb god' | Aristotle | *Metaph.* XII.6-9 | On divinity as the 'unmoved mover' | General Allusion | C, R |
| I.i.22 | 'Riches, the dumb god' | Aristotle | *Ph.* VIII.4-6 | On divinity as the 'unmoved mover' | General Allusion | C, R |
| I.i.25-28 | 'Is made...he will, sir' | Lucian | *Gall.* | Characters discussing gold in a similar manner | Near Scenic Allusion | R |
| I.i.25-28 | 'Is made...he will, sir' | Petronius | *Sat.* CXVI | Characters discussing gold in a similar manner | Near Scenic Allusion | R |
| I.i.25-27 | 'Thou art...wise' | Horace | *Sat.* II.iii.94-98 | 'Omnis enim...et quicquid volet,' on wealth making men wise | Direct Textual Allusion | C, O, R, M |
| I.i.33-40 | 'I use...private' | Ovid | *Met.* I | Invocation of the Golden Age | Mythological Allusion | C |
| I.i.34 | 'ploughshares' | Ovid | *Met.* I.101-102 | Invocation of the Golden Age | Mythological Allusion | C |
| I.i.53-61 | 'the thresher...soft beds' | Horace | *Sat.* II.iii.111-121 | 'Si quis...iactatur eodem,' on the miser guarding his corn | Direct Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| I.i.62 | 'the use of riches' | Horace | *Carm.* II.ii | Classical topos on wealth | General Allusion | C, R |
| I.i.71 | 'cocker...genius' | | | Partial reference to the Genius | Mythological Allusion | C, R |
| I.ii | Nano's song on Pythagoras | Diogenes Laertius | *Vit.* VIII.ii-iii; x; xi; xiii; xix; xxv* | On Pythagoras | Near Textual Allusion | R, M |
| I.ii.6-62 | 'For know...a part' | Lucian | *Gall.* | On the transmigration of the soul | Near Textual Allusion | C, R, M |

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I.ii.6 | 'Pythagoras' | Diogenes Laertius | *Vit.* VIII* | Reference to Pythagoras | Personal Allusion | C, R, M |
| I.ii.8-9 | 'That juggler...Apollo' | Lucian | *Gall.* DCCVIII | 'tou sophison...eie legeiv' | Near Textual Allusion | O, R |
| I.ii.9-17 | 'Where it had...of Greece' | Diogenes Laertius | *Vit.* VIII.i.4-5* | 'touton phesin...eiremenon memnesthau' | Near Textual Allusion | O |
| I.ii.9 | 'Aethalides' | Apollonius Rhodius | *Argonautica* I.640* | Reference to the Argonaut Aethalides | Mythological Allusion | C, O, R, M |
| I.ii.9 | 'Mercurius' | | | Reference to Mercury | Mythological Allusion | C, R |
| I.ii.12 | 'Euphorbus' | Homer | *Il.* XVII | Reference to the Trojan Euphorbus | Mythological Allusion | C, R, M |
| I.ii.12 | 'goldilocked' | Lucian | *Gall.* DCCXXI | Reference to the Trojan Euphorbus | Near Textual Allusion | O, R |
| I.ii.12 | 'Euphorbus' | Lucian | *Gall.* DCCXXVII | Reference to the Trojan Euphorbus | Mythological Allusion | O, R |
| I.ii.13 | 'the cuckold of Sparta' | | | Reference to Menelaus | Mythological Allusion | O, R |
| I.ii.14 | 'Hermotimus' | | | Reference to the philosopher Hermotinus | Personal Allusion | C, R, M |
| I.ii.16 | 'Pyrrhus, of Delos' | Diogenes Laertius | *Vit.* * | Reference to Pyrrhus of Delos | Personal Allusion | C, R, M |
| I.ii.17 | 'Sophist of Greece' | Lucian | *Gall.* DCCXXI | Lucian's term for Pythagoras | Personal Allusion | C, O, R, M |
| I.ii.19 | 'Aspasia, the meretrix' | | | Reference to Aspasia, Pericles' companion | Personal Allusion | C, O, R, M |
| I.ii.21 | 'Crates the cynic' | | | Reference to Crates | Personal Allusion | C, R, M |
| I.ii.21 | 'itself' | Lucian | *Gall.* | On the transmigration of the soul | General Allusion | C, O, M |
| I.ii.24 | 'cobbler's cock' | Lucian | *Gall.* | On the white cockerel | Direct Characterological Allusion | C, O, R, M |
| I.ii.26-27 | 'one...*trigon*' | Lucian | *Vit. Auct.* II.455,457,461; III; IV | 'Eit' epi...mallon ierous,' on the quarter(nion) | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| I.ii.26-27 | 'one...*trigon*' | Plutarch | *De Placitis Philosophor-um* I.876e-877c* | 'ei tis theie...tes tetrados' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| I.ii.27 | 'golden thigh' | Diogenes Laertius | *Vit.* VIII.i.11* | logos de...chrysoun,' on Pythagoras' golden thigh | Mythological Allusion | C, O, R |
| I.ii.27 | 'golden thigh' | Lucian | *Gall.* DCCXXIX | On Pythagoras' golden thigh | Mythological Allusion | C, O, R |
| I.ii.27 | 'golden thigh' | Lucian | *Vit. Auct.* VI | On Pythagoras' golden thigh | Mythological Allusion | R |
| I.ii.28 | 'how elements shift' | Diogenes Laertius | *Vit.* VIII.i.25* | On the movement of the elements | General Allusion | O, R |
| I.ii.28 | 'how elements shift' | Ovid | *Met.* XV.237-251 | On the movement of the elements | General Allusion | R |
| I.ii.33 | 'forbid meats' | Lucian | *Vit. Auct.* VI | On Pythagoras forbidding his followers to eat meat | General Allusion | R |
| I.ii.35 | 'dogmatical silence' | Aulus Gellius | *NA* I.ix.5-6 | On the Pythagoreans' vow of silence | General Allusion | R |
| I.ii.35 | 'dogmatical silence' | Lucian | *Gall.* DCCIX | 'lalos ei...parenei,' on the Pythagoreans' vow of silence | General Allusion | O |
| I.ii.40 | 'eating of beans' | Diogenes Laertius | *Vit.* VIII.xix* | On Pythagoras forbidding his followers to eat beans | General Allusion | R |
| I.ii.40 | 'eating of beans' | Lucian | *Vit. Auct.* | On Pythagoras forbidding his followers to eat beans | General Allusion | R |
| I.ii.51-57 | 'Now, pray thee...I can call blessed' | Lucian | *Gall.* DCCXXXIV | 'Oukoun, o...ta ptochika,' on the paradoxical defence of folly | General Allusion | C, O, R |
| I.ii.73 | 'Tongue and...his treasure' | Plautus | *Poen.* 625 | 'est thesaurus...lingua suis' | Near Textual Allusion | R |

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I.ii.83 | 'Voltore' | Pliny the Elder | I.iv.61; V.ii.108-109; V.vi.27-28 | On the vulture always being first to arrive | General Allusion | C |
| I.ii.88 | 'visitation' | Lucian | *DMort.* XV-XIX | Polystratus being waited on by legacy hunters | Near Scenic Allusion | C, R |
| I.ii.88-89 | 'vulture, kite, raven, and gor-crow' | Lucian | *Tim.* | On flatterers being compared to ravens, wolves, and vultures | General Allusion | R |
| I.ii.95-97 | 'fox...crow' | Aesop | * | On the fable of the fox feigning death | General Allusion | C, R |
| I.ii.95-97 | 'fox...crow' | Horace | *Sat.* II.v.55 | 'Plerumque recoctus...Nasica Corano,' on the fox feigning death | General Allusion | O, M |
| I.ii.98-109 | 'I cannot choose...naught impossible' | Lucian | *Gall.* DCCXIX | 'Akoue de...kai epiphthanois' | Near Textual Allusion | O |
| I.ii.111-112 | 'reverend purple...hide his two ambitious ears' | Ovid | *Met.* XI.146-93 | On Midas' ears | Mythological Allusion | C |
| I.ii.111-112 | 'reverend purple...hide his two ambitious ears' | Persius | I.8ff. | On Midas' ears | Mythological Allusion | C |
| I.ii.117-122 | 'That, and thousands...delude these harpies' | Horace | *Sat.* II.v | On flattery | Near Textual Allusion | C, R |
| I.ii.122 | 'harpies' | Lucian | *Tim.* | Reference to the Harpies, description of legacy-hunters as 'harpies' | Mythological Allusion | C, R |
| I.ii.124-127 | 'Now, my feigned...their hopes' | Petronius | *Sat.* CXVII | Eumolpus feigning similar disabilities | Near Textual Allusion | R |
| I.iii | Volpone's clients begin their visitations | Lucian | *DMort* XIX | 'eothen men...monon proseblepsa,' on the Roman *salutation* | General Allusion | O, R, M |
| I.iii.26 | 'You are a happy man, sir; know your good' | Virgil | *G.* II.458 | 'O fortunatus...bona norint' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| I.iii.38-44 | 'It shall both shine, and warm thee...' | Horace | *Sat.* II.v.47-49 | 'leniter in spem...heres et' | Near Textual Allusion | M |
| I.iii.51-55 | '...Men of your large profession...' | Horace | *Sat.* II.v.33-34 | On lawyers' skill at bending the law | Near Textual Allusion | R, M |
| I.iii.64-65 | 'nor scarce...without a fee' | Martial | I.xcv.2 | On being paid to hold one's tongue | Near Textual Allusion | R |
| I.iii.70-72 | 'When you do come to swim...fatness of the flood' | Ovid | *Met.* I | On the Golden Age | Mythological Allusion | C, R |
| I.iii.79 | 'let me kiss thee' | Lucian | *Musc. Enc.* | On the fly's supposed bisexuality | General Allusion | R |
| I.iv.7 | 'Mends he?' | Juvenal | X.214-216 | On deafness and old age | Near Textual Allusion | C |
| I.iv.23 | 'your physician' | Publius Syrus | * | 'Male secum agit...heredem facit' | Near Textual Allusion | O, R |
| I.iv.37-54 | 'Most violent...that he breathes' | Hippocrates | *Aphorisms* III.xxxi, xliii* | On diseases associated with apoplexy and old age | General Allusion | C, R |
| I.iv.37-54 | 'Most violent...that he breathes' | Hippocrates | *Morb.* XI.xxi | On diseases associated with apoplexy and old age | General Allusion | C, R |
| I.iv.94-108 | 'you shall inscribe...pronounce me his' | Lucian | *DMort.* XVIII | On Cnemon and Damnippus | Near Characterological Allusion | C, R |
| I.iv.140 | 'give 'em words' | | | Latin proverb | General Allusion | C |
| I.iv.142-143 | 'What a rare punishment / Is avarice to itself' | Seneca the Younger | *Ep.* CXV.16 | 'Nulla enim...ipsa poenarum' | General Allusion | C, O, R |
| I.iv.144-159 | 'So many cares...all turns air' | Juvenal | X.214-216 | On the miseries of old age | Near Textual Allusion | C, R |
| I.iv.144-159 | 'So many cares...all turns air' | Pliny the Elder | *HN* VII.clxvii-clxviii | 'tot morbi...ciborum instrumenta' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R, M |
| I.iv.156 | 'Aeson' | Ovid | *Met.* VII.162ff. | Reference to Aeson | Mythological Allusion | C, O, R, M |

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I.v.22-23 | 'The weeping...visor' | Aulus Gellius | *NA* | Proverbial expression | General Allusion | C, R |
| I.v.22-23 | 'The weeping...visor' | Horace | *Sat.* II.v.103 | Proverbial expression | General Allusion | C, R, M |
| I.v.22-23 | 'The weeping...visor' | Publius Syrus | * | Heredis fletus...risus est,' quoted by Gellius | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| I.v.37 | 'Nothing bequeathed them but to cry and curse' | Horace | *Sat.* II.v.68-69 | 'Invenientque...plorare suisque,' on legacy hunters | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| I.v.37 | 'Nothing bequeathed them but to cry and curse' | Lucian | *DMort.* XIX.3 | ''Es to...apasi phrasas,' on legacy hunters | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| I.v.39-43 | 'He knows no man...Can he remember' | Juvenal | X.233-236 | 'Sed omni...quos eduxit' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| I.v.48 | 'He's the true father of his family' | Martial | I.lxxxiv | 'Uxorem habendam...est Quirinalis,' on the *pater familias* | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| I.v.58-59 | 'hanging...skin' | Juvenal | X.191-194 | 'Deform ac taetrum...simia bucca' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| I.v.61-62 | 'like an old smoked wall...ran down in streaks' | Petronius | *Sat.* XXIII | Similar description of a character | Near Textual Allusion | C, R |
| I.v.63-64 | 'you may...bore it' | Juvenal | X.214-215 | 'qui vix...venisse puer' | Near Textual Allusion | O |
| I.v.110-111 | 'whiter than than a swan...or lilies' | Martial | I.cxv.2-3 | 'Loto candidior...lilio, ligustro' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| I.v.121-122 | 'the first grapes...they are' | Catullus | XVII.15-16 | 'Et puella...diligentius uvis' | Near Textual Allusion | O, R |
| II.i.1 | 'Sir, to a...his soil' | Cicero | * | Proverbial expression about the wise | Direct Textual Allusion | R |
| II.i.1 | 'Sir, to a...his soil' | Ovid | * | Proverbial expression, adapted to refer to brave men | Near Textual Allusion | R |
| II.i.1 | 'Sir, to a...his soil' | Plutarch | *De Exil.* DC-DCI | Proverbial expression about the wise | Direct Textual Allusion | R |
| II.i.1 | 'Sir, to a...his soil' | Seneca the Younger | * | Proverbial expression about the wise | Direct Textual Allusion | R |
| II.i.10 | 'knowing men's minds and manners, with Ulysses' | Homer | *Od.* I.3 | 'pollon d'...noon egno' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R, M |
| II.i.10 | 'knowing men's minds and manners, with Ulysses' | Horace | *Ars P.* 141-142 | 'qui mores...et urbes' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| II.i.10 | 'knowing men's minds and manners, with Ulysses' | Horace | *Epist.* I.ii.17-22 | 'Rursus, quid virtus...immersabilis undis' | Near Textual Allusion | C |
| II.i.18 | 'news' | Theophrastus | *Char.* | Possible connection between Sir Pol and Theophrastus' sketch on 'Newsmaking' | Near Characterological Allusion | R |
| II.i.117 | 'outside...bark' | Persius | I.96-97 | 'nonne hoc spumosum...subere coctum?' | Near Textual Allusion | R |
| II.ii.59 | 'turdy...fartical' | Aristophanes | *Vesp.* 220 | 'mele archaiomelisidonnophrunicherata,' Aristophanic compound | General Allusion | C, O, R, M |
| II.ii.98 | 'Aesculapian art' | | | Reference to Aesculapius | Mythological Allusion | C, R, M |
| II.ii.103 | 'Hippocrates' | | | Reference to Hippocrates | Personal Allusion | C, O, R, M |
| II.ii.103 | 'Galen' | | | Reference to Galen and Galenic medical theory | Personal Allusion | C, R |
| II.ii.106 | *iliaca passio* | Pliny the Elder? | *HN* [?] II.xxxix | From Holland's translation of Pliny the Elder, describing stomach ache | General Allusion | M |
| II.ii.143 | 'others have been at the balloo, I...at my book' | Cicero | *Arch.* | On the defence of liberal education | Near Textual Allusion | C |

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| II.ii.200 | 'Apollo' | | | Reference to Apollo | Mythological Allusion | C |
| II.iii.3-4 | 'angry Cupid...like a flame' | Anacreon | *Anacreonta* XXVI.4-8* | 'ouch ippos...me ballon' | Near Textual Allusion | O, R |
| II.iii.4-7 | 'Hath shot...Heart!' | Anacreon | *Anacreonta* XIII.13-20* | 'os d'...m' echouses' | Near Textual Allusion | O, R |
| II.vi | On Corvino cuckolding himself | Lucian | *Tim.* | On riches inducing spendthrifts to cuckold themselves | Near Textual Allusion | R |
| II.vi.64 | 'warm his blood' | Juvenal | X.217-218 | 'Praeterea minimus...calet sola' | Direct Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| II.vi.64 | 'warm his blood' | Martial | III.xciii.17 | On a person not even being 'melted' by a fever | Near Textual Allusion | R |
| II.vi.92-95 | 'Go home...free motion' | Horace | *Sat.* II.v.75-76 | 'Scortator erit..potiori trade' | Near Textual Allusion | O |
| II.vii.2-3 | 'What, blubbering?...in earnest?' | Plautus | *Amph.* 912-916 | 'Ego expediam...ridiculi causa' | Near Textual Allusion | O, R |
| II.vii.8-9 | 'Do not...the world' | Juvenal | VI.347-348 | ''Pone seram...incipit uxor' | Near Textual Allusion | O |
| III.i.1-33 | Parasite speech | Athenaeus | VI | On the parasite | Near Characterological Allusion | R |
| III.i.1-33 | Parasite speech | Plutarch | *Mor.* L-LIV | On the parasite | Near Characterological Allusion | C, R |
| III.i.8 | 'dropped from above' | Diodorus of Sinope | *The Heiress* VI.239b* | 'Boulomai...eurema' | Near Textual Allusion | O |
| III.i.8 | 'dropped from above' | Lucian | *Par.* III.267 | On the parasite | Near Characterological Allusion | C, R |
| III.i.12-15 | 'All the wise...feed 'em' | Alexis | *The Pilot* 237b* | 'du' esti...strategous emphaneis' | Near Textual Allusion | O |
| III.i.17 | 'bait that sense' | Persius | I.22 | 'Tun, vetule...colligis escas?' | Near Textual Allusion | O, R |
| III.i.22 | 'lick away a moth' | Plutarch | *Sull.* XXXV | On Valeria, Sulla's last wife | General Allusion | O |
| III.i.22 | 'lick away a moth' | Ovid | *Ars Am.* I.149-152 | On removing a speck of dust from a lover's lap | Near Textual Allusion | R |
| III.i.22 | 'lick away a moth' | Theophrastus | *Char.* II | 'kai alla...karpholgesai' | Near Characterological Allusion | O, R |
| III.i.23-25 | 'But your fine...a star' | Antiphanes | *The Ancestors* 238e* | 'ton tropon...poiein apanta' | Near Textual Allusion | O |
| III.i.23-25 | 'But your fine...a star' | Aristophon | *The Doctor* 238b* | 'Boulomai d'...plegas akmon' | Near Textual Allusion | O |
| III.ii.15-16 | 'Your sentence may be righteous...in censure' | Seneca the Younger | *Med.* 199-200 | 'Qui statuit...aequus fuit' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| III.iii.10 | 'little, is pretty' | Martial | I.ix | On Cotta, the 'pretty fellow' | Near Textual Allusion | R |
| III.iv | Lady Would-Be's interview with Volpone | Libanius of Antioch | *Declamatio Lepidissima* * | On a morose husband asking to be put to death to avoid his chattering wife | Near Scenic Allusion | C, O, R |
| III.iv.10-12 | 'Is this curl...all the rest?' | Juvenal | VI.492-493 | 'Altio his...nasus tuus,' on women's hair styling | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| III.iv.15-21 | ''she'll beat her women...Bird-eyed' | Juvenal | VI.494-503 | On women's hair styling | Near Textual Allusion | C, R |
| III.iv.18 | 'one hair a little' | Martial | II.lxvi.1-4 | 'Unus de toto...Plecusa comis' | Near Textual Allusion | O, R |
| III.iv.27 | 'More carefully...or honour' | Seneca the Younger | *Brev. Vit.* XII.3 | 'dum de singulis...honestior?' | Near Textual Allusion | O |
| III.iv.39 | 'How does my Volp?' | Horace | *Sat.* II.v.32-33 | Mockery of familiar abbreviation | Near Textual Allusion | R |
| III.iv.41 | 'fury' | | | On the Furies | Mythological Allusion | C |
| III.iv.47 | 'golden mediocrity' | Horace | *Carm.* II.x.5 | 'aurea mediocritas' | General Allusion | C, R, M |

*Volpone*

| Location (Jonson) | Quotation/Allusion (Jonson) | Author | Text and Location (Source) | Quotation/Summary (Source) | Type of Reference | Citation |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| III.iv.54 | elecampane' | Pliny the Elder | *HN* XX.xix | On the uses of the plant elecampane | General Allusion | C, R |
| III.iv.55 | 'I have ta'en a grasshopper by the wing' | Lucian | V.373* | Proverbial | General Allusion | C, R |
| III.iv.63 | 'scarlet cloth' | Hippocrates | *Aphorisms** | On a remedy for heartburn | General Allusion | R |
| III.iv.72-73 | 'as Plato holds...so does wise Pythagoras' | Plato | *Resp.* | On music as an inspiration for courage and moderation | Near Textual Allusion | C, R |
| III.iv.76-78 | 'The poet...female grace is silence' | Euripides | *Heracl.* 476-477? | Proverbial | General Allusion | C, R |
| III.iv.76-78 | 'The poet...female grace is silence' | Sophocles | *Aj.* 293? | Proverbial | General Allusion | C, O, R |
| III.iv.79-97 | 'Which o' your poets?...little obscene' | Juvenal | VI.434-436 | 'Illa tamen...et comparat' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| III.iv.79-97 | Which o' your poets?...little obscene' | Libanius of Antioch | * | On writers | Near Textual Allusion | C |
| III.iv.105-112 | 'overwhelm...knowledge' | Plato | *Resp.* X | Travesty of Platonic notion of eartly forms | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R, M |
| III.iv.112 | 'assasinates' | Martial | VIII.l.26 | 'ut iugulem curas' | General Allusion | O |
| III.v.3-4 | 'Rid me...voice!' | Libanius of Antioch | *Declamatio Lepidissima** | On a morose husband asking to be put to death to avoid his chattering wife | Near Scenic Allusion | O |
| III.v.5-10 | 'bells...Another woman' | Juvenal | VI.438-442 | 'Vincuntur rhetores...dicas pulsari' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| III.vii.43-45 | 'no sense, no sinew...a shadow' | Juvenal | X.228-231 | 'Huius pallida...suetus hiat' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| III.vii.88-89 | 'and t'use...it' | Ausonius | * | Epigram by Ausonius on bearing good fortune modestly | Direct Textual Allusion | C, R |
| III.vii.119-120 | 'crocodile...'em flow' | Juvenal | VI.273-275 | 'Uberibus semper...manare modo' | Near Textual Allusion | O, R |
| III.vii.153 | 'blue Proteus' | Homer | *Od.* IV.456-458 | Reference to Proteus | Mythological Allusion | C, O, M |
| III.vii.153 | 'blue Proteus' | Virgil | *G.* IV.387 | Reference to Proteus | Mythological Allusion | C, O, R |
| III.vii.153 | 'horned flood' | Ovid | *Met.* IX.1-88 | Reference to the river Achelous | Mythological Allusion | C, R |
| III.vii.153 | 'horned flood' | Sophocles | *Trach.* 9-14 | Reference to the river Achelous | Mythological Allusion | O |
| III.vii.158 | 'Jovial' | | | Partial reference to Jupiter | Mythological Allusion | C, R, M |
| III.vii.162 | 'Antinous' | Homer | *Od.*? | Partial reference to Antinous | Mythological Allusion | C, R, M |
| III.vii.165-183 | 'To Celia' | Catullus | V.1-6 | 'Vivamus, Lesbia...una dormienda' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R, M |
| III.vii.188ff | 'Not in expectation...' | Ovid | *Met.* XIII | On the wooer overwhelming his beloved | General Allusion | C, R |
| III.vii.188ff | 'Not in expectation...' | Theocritus | *Id.* XI | On the wooer overwhelming his beloved | General Allusion | C, R |
| III.vii.192 | 'Egyptian queen' | Pliny the Elder | *HN* IX.cxx-cxxi | 'Ex praecepto...liquefactum obsorbit,' reference to Cleopatra | Personal Allusion | C, O, R, M |
| III.vii.194-196 | 'Lollina...provinces' | Pliny the Elder | *HN* IX.lviii.117 | Reference to Lollia Paulina | Personal Allusion | C, O, R, M |
| III.vii.199-200 | 'A gem but worth...such at a meal' | Juvenal | I.138 | 'una comedunt patrimonia mensa' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| III.vii.201-204 | 'The heads of parrots...our dish' | Lampridius | *Heliogabalus* XX* | 'Comedit...edenda cerebella' | Near Textual Allusion | O |
| III.vii.203 | 'the phoenix' | Ovid | *Met.* XV.392 | Reference to the phoenix | Mythological Allusion | R |
| III.vii.213 | 'thy baths' | Lampridius | *Heliogabalus* XIX* | 'Non nisi...infectis natavit' | Near Textual Allusion | O |
| III.vii.214 | 'panthers' breath' | Pliny the Elder | *HN* VIII.xxiii.62 | On the panther | Near Textual Allusion | R |

## *Volpone*

| Location (Jonson) | Quotation/Allusion (Jonson) | Author | Text and Location (Source) | Quotation/Summary (Source) | Type of Reference | Citation |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| III.vii.216-217 | 'Our drink shall be...roof whirl around' | Juvenal | VI.300-305 | 'cum bibitur...tectum ambulant' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| III.vii.221 | 'Ovid's tales' | Ovid | *Met.* | On Ovidian metamorphosis | General Allusion | C, R, M |
| III.vii.221 | 'Europa' | | | Reference to Europa | Mythological Allusion | C, R, M |
| III.vii.222 | 'Erycine' | | | Reference to Venus | Mythological Allusion | C, O, R, M |
| III.vii.225 | 'wearied all the fables of the gods' | Martial | X.v.17 | 'delasset omnes fabulas poetarum' | Direct Textual Allusion | O, R |
| III.vii.234 | 'transfuse our wand'ring souls' | Petronius | *Sat.* LXXIX | 'Et transfudimus hinc...animas' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R, M |
| III.vii.235-238 | 'That the curious...be pined' | Catullus | VII.9-12 | 'Tam te basia...fascinare lingua' | Near Textual Allusion | O |
| III.vii.261-262 | 'impotent...Nestor's hernia' | Juvenal | VI.326 | On Nestor's hernia | Near Textual Allusion | O, R, M |
| III.vii.262 | 'Nestor's hernia' | Homer | *Il.* | Reference to Nestor | Mythological Allusion | C, M |
| III.viii.15 | 'we have lived, like Grecians' | Juvenal | III.100ff. | On the Greeks' perceived hedonism | General Allusion | R, M |
| III.viii.15 | 'we have lived, like Grecians' | Plautus | *Most.* 22, 64 | On the Greeks' perceived hedonism | General Allusion | R |
| III.viii.20-21 | 'Guilty men...deserve still' | Petronius | *Sat.* CXXV | 'Dii deaeque...semper expectant,' similar thoughts attributed to Cicero and Seneca the Younger | Near Textual Allusion | O, R |
| III.ix.38-39 | 'dig...sepulchre' | Plautus | *Pseud.* 410-413 | 'Erum eccum...erili filio' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| IV.i.85-99 | 'My first is...lurk in pockets' | Aristophanes | *Ach.* 918-924 | The Athenian docks threatened by a lantern-wick stuck in a beetle | Near Textual Allusion | R |
| IV.i.136-138 | 'a rat...threshold' | Theophrastus | *Char.* XVI | 'kai ten odon...chre poien,' on the superstitious man | Near Characterological Allusion | C, O, R, M |
| IV.ii.43 | 'solecism' | Juvenal | IV.451-456 | On husbands being permitted to make 'soleocisms' | Near Textual Allusion | R |
| IV.ii.47 | 'land-siren' | | | Partial reference to the Sirens | Mythological Allusion | C |
| IV.ii.48 | 'Sporus' | | | Reference to Nero's favourite, Sporus | Personal Allusion | C, O, R, M |
| IV.ii.49 | 'Poetic fury' | Plato | *Ion* | Reference to *furor poeticus* | General Allusion | C, R |
| IV.iv.3-4 | 'Is the lie...amongst us?' | Petronius | *Sat.* CXVII | On Eumolpus calling for the keeping of a lie among his company | Near Textual Allusion | R |
| IV.iv.12 | 'Croaker's' | Pliny the Elder | *HN* X.xiv | On the crow's croak | General Allusion | R |
| IV.v.21 | 'Mercury' | | | Reference to Mercury | Mythological Allusion | M |
| IV.v.22 | 'French Hercules' | Lucian | *Herc.* | On Hercules | Mythological Allusion | C, O, R, M |
| IV.v.44-47 | 'For these...hate the benefit' | Seneca the Younger | *Ben.* | Proverbial | General Allusion | C |
| IV.v.44-47 | 'For these...hate the benefit' | Seneca the Younger | *Ep.* XI.xi | Proverbial | General Allusion | C, R |
| IV.v.44-47 | 'For these...hate the benefit' | Tacitus | *Ann.* IV.xviii.3 | Proverbial | General Allusion | C, O, R |
| IV.v.50-52 | 'To observe...their crimes' | Juvenal | VI.282-285 | 'ut faceres tu...homo sum' | Near Textual Allusion | O, R |
| IV.v.61-62 | 'vice...virtue' | Juvenal | XIV.109 | 'Fallit enim...et umbra' | Direct Textual Allusion | O, R |
| IV.v.79 | 'Mischief doth...it begins' | Valerius Maximus | IX.i.9* | 'Neque enim...ubi oritur' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| IV.v.118 | 'most hot exercise, more than a partridge' | Aelian | *NA* | On the lechery of the partridge | General Allusion | R |
| IV.v.118 | 'most hot exercise, more than a partridge' | Pliny the Elder | *HN* X.cii | 'Neque in alio...opus libidini,' on the partridge | General Allusion | C, O, R, M |

## *Volpone*

| Location (Jonson) | Quotation/Allusion (Jonson) | Author | Text and Location (Source) | Quotation/Summary (Source) | Type of Reference | Citation |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| IV.vi.24 | 'great impostor' | Aristophanes | | Volpone's similarity to the Old Comic *alazon* | Near Characterological Allusion | R |
| IV.vi.36-37 | 'He shall...thou strumpets' | Juvenal | X.218-220 | On Oppia's promiscuity | Near Textual Allusion | R |
| IV.vi.52 | 'constancy abounds' | Juvenal | XIII.237-240 | 'Cum scelus...constantia' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R, M |
| IV.vi.89-91 | 'What horrid, strange offence...Worthy this age?' | Juvenal | X.254-255 | 'Cur haec...admiserit aevo?' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| V.i.15 | 'violent laughter' | | | Classical view on the therapeutic power of laughter | General Allusion | C |
| V.ii.7-8 | 'It were a folly...cowardly spirit' | Plautus | *Pseud.* 576 | 'Nam ea...cordi credere' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| V.ii.31 | 'Have any glebe...these fellows' | Plautus | *Epid.* 306-307 | 'Nullum esse...Periphanes' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| V.ii.98-105 | 'your gold...her beauty' | Horace | *Carm.* III.xvi.1-8 | On the transformative power of gold | General Allusion | O |
| V.ii.98-105 | 'your gold...her beauty' | Lucian | *Gall.* DCCXXII | 'opote erasthe...ekeinos kestos' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R, M |
| V.ii.102 | 'poetical girdle' | Homer | *Il.* XIV.214-216 | On Venus' girdle | Mythological Allusion | C, M |
| V.ii.104 | 'Acrisus' | | | On Acrisus, father of Danae | Mythological Allusion | C, O, R, M |
| V.iii.100-101 | 'Good faith...costive' | Suetonius | *Vitae* | On a joke made at Vespasian's expense | General Allusion | R |
| V.iii.102 | 'eat lettuce' | Martial | III.lxxxix | 'Utere lactucis...cacantis habes' | Near Textual Allusion | O, R |
| V.viii.13-14 | 'sung your shame...laugh at your emptiness' | Aesop | * | Aesop's fable about the fox and the crow | General Allusion | C, R |
| V.viii.13-14 | 'sung your shame...laugh at your emptiness' | Horace | *Sat.* II.v.55-57 | Aesop's fable about the fox and the crow alluded to in the story of Nasica | General Allusion | R |
| V.ix.10 | 'That never read Justinian' | Justinian | *Corpus Juris Civilis* | Reference to the *Corpus Juris Civilis* | General Allusion | C, R, M |
| V.xi.15-16 | 'What a...my crotchets' | Ausonius | II.7-8* | Epigram by Ausonius | Near Textual Allusion | C |
| V.xii.64 | 'Cry not so loud' | Plautus | *Most.* 576 | 'Scio te bona...clama nimis' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| V.xii.73-74 | 'I was born / With all good stars my enemies' | Plautus | *Most.* 562-563 | 'Ne ego sum...inimicis omnibus' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| V.xii.91 | 'chimera' | | | Reference to the Chimera | Mythological Allusion | C, R |
| V.xii.99-100 | 'If this be held the highway...may I be poor' | Horace | *Sat.* I.i.78-79 | 'Horum semper...esse bonorum' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| V.xii.101-102 | 'These possess wealth as sick men...possess them' | Seneca the Younger | *Ep.* CXIX.xii | 'Sic divitias...nos habeat' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| V.xii.146-148 | 'Now you begin...To think what your crimes are' | Juvenal | XIII.237-239 | 'Quod fas...criminibus' | Direct Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| V.xii.152 | 'The seasoning of the play is the applause' | Plautus | *Poen.* 1370-71 | 'Nunc, quod...postulat comoedia' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| V.xii.156 | 'fare jovially, and clap your hands' | Plautus | *Amph.* 1146 | Conventional *plaudit* | General Allusion | C, O, R |

## *Epicene*

| Location (Jonson) | Quotation/Allusion (Jonson) | Author | Text and Location (Source) | Quotation/Summary (Source) | Type of Reference | Citation |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Title Page.10-11 F | 'Ut...me?' | Horace | *Sat.* I.iv.69-70 | 'Ut...me?' | Direct Textual Allusion | C, R, M |
| Pers.1 'Morose' Libanius *DL* (C) | 'MOROSE' | Libanius | *Declamation* VI, XXVI* | Modelled on the *dyskolos* in Libanius | Direct Characterological Allusion | C, O |
| Pro.1ff. | 'Truth says, of old the art of making plays...' | Terence | *An.* Pro.1-3 | 'Poeta quam primum...fecisset fabulas' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R, M |
| Pro.9 | 'not to please the cook's tastes, but the guests'' | Martial | IX.lxxxi.3-4 | 'nam cenae...placuisse cocis' | Direct Textual Allusion | C, O, R, M |
| Pro.16 | 'all custard...tart' | Aristophanes | *Av.* 676-800 | Choruses dismissing playwrights using elements of low comedy and slapstick | Near Textual Allusion | C |
| Pro.16 | 'all custard...tart' | Aristophanes | *Vesp.* 57-59 | Xanthias claims the play will contain no low comedy or slapstick | Near Textual Allusion | T |
| Another Pro.1-2 | 'The ends...to profit and delight' | Horace | *Ars P.* 343-4 | 'utile dulci' | Direct Textual Allusion | C, O, R, M |
| Another Pro.4 | 'So persons...tax the crimes' | Martial | X.xxxiii.9-10 | 'hunc servare...dicere de vitiis' | Near Textual Allusion | C, R, M |
| Another Pro.9-10 | 'poet never credit gained...truths well feigned' | Horace | *Ars P.* 338 | 'Ficta voluptatis...proxima veris' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R, M |
| I.i.35-36 | destine only that time...employ in evil' | Seneca the Younger | *Brev. Vit.* III.5 | 'Non pudet...desinendum est' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O |
| I.i.47 | 'regard ourselves' | | | Echoes the stoic maxim 'nosce teipsum' | General Allusion | C |
| I.i.48 | 'thou hast read Plutarch's *Morals'* | Plutarch | *Mor.* | Reference to Plutarch's text, recently repopularised through Holland's translation | General Allusion | C, O, R, M |
| I.i.48-49 | 'some such tedious fellow' | Seneca the Younger | *Brev. Vit.* III.5 | Reference to Seneca the Younger's stoic philosophy | General Allusion | C, R, M |
| I.i.49-50 | 'leave this stoicity alone' | | | Reference to stoicism | General Allusion | C |
| I.i.67 | 'autumnal face' | Aelian | *VH* XIII.4 | 'ou gar...to metoporon,' Greek proverb | General Allusion | O |
| I.i.71-82 | 'Still to be neat' song | | *Anthologia Latina** | Based on a song in the *Anthologia Latina* | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R, M |
| I.i.83-88 | 'And I...profess it' | Ovid | *Ars Am.* III.135, 139-140 | 'Nec genus...rotunda volunt' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R, M |
| I.i.90-99 | 'The doing...and finished' | Ovid | *Ars Am.*III.209-10, 215-21, 225-34, 243-7 | 'Ista dabunt...facta, venire' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R, M |
| I.i.101-108 | 'And a...tother side' | Ovid | *Ars Am.* III.243-246 | 'Quae male...illa comas' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R, M |
| I.i.124-127 | 'Methinks a...were quit' | Libanius | *Declamation* XXVI.viii, xxxvi* | 'kai men...polla etera' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R, M |
| I.i.144-154 | 'Oh, i'the queen's...comes here' | Libanius | *Declamation* XXVI.viii, xxxvi* | | Near Textual Allusion | M |
| I.iv.59 | 'windfucker' | Homer | *Il.* | Word used in Chapman's preface to the *Iliad* | General Allusion | O |

## *Epicene*

| Location (Jonson) | Quotation/Allusion (Jonson) | Author | Text and Location (Source) | Quotation/Summary (Source) | Type of Reference | Citation |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| II.i.1-29 | 'Cannot I yet…it hereafter' | Libanius | *Declamation* XXVI.xi* | On a master living a quiet life | Near Textual Allusion | C, R |
| II.ii.2 | 'Pythagoreans all' | | | Reference to the Pythagoreans | General Allusion | C, O, R, M |
| II.ii.3 | 'Harpocrates' | Catullus | LXXIV.4 | 'patruum reddidit Harpocratem,' reference to Harpocrates, the (supposed) god of silence | Mythological Allusion | C, O, R, M |
| II.ii.3 | 'with his club' | | | Reference to the club of Hercules | Mythological Allusion | C, R, M |
| II.ii.8 | 'Oh men! Oh manners!' | Cicero | *Cat.* I.ii | 'O tempora! O mores!' | Direct Textual Allusion | C, R, M |
| II.ii.16-39 | 'They say you are to marry?' | Juvenal | VI.28-32 | 'certe sanus…Aemilius pons' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R, M |
| II.ii.28 | 'King Ethelred's… Confessors' | Juvenal | VI.1-2 | 'Credo Pudicitiam…visamque diu' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| II.ii.29-31 | 'a dull…eye' | Juvenal | VI.53-54 | 'Unus Hiberniae…sit uno' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| II.ii.44-62 | 'If, after you… and above' | Juvenal | VI.60ff. | Criticism of cheating wives | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| II.ii.51-53 | 'If rich…your tyrants' | Plautus | *Aulu.* 478-484 | On rich wives | Near Textual Allusion | R |
| II.ii.55-58 | 'If learned…please her' | Juvenal | VI.187-191 | On the demands of wives | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| II.ii.67-71 | 'Then, if you love…her at first' | Juvenal | VI.206-210 | 'si tibi…et spoliis' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| II.ii.76-81 | 'writing letters…drops away' | Plautus | *Aulu.* 498-502 | On wives using up their husbands' money | Near Textual Allusion | R |
| II.ii.77-78 | 'she must have…richer for the third' | Juvenal | VI.352-354 | On women's expensive tastes | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| II.ii.81-82 | 'she feels not how…acres melt' | Juvenal | VI.362 | 'prodiga non…censum' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R, M |
| II.ii.83-84 | so she may kiss…despair of a beard' | Juvenal | VI.366-367 | On a woman's preference for eunuchs | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R, M |
| II.ii.84 | 'stateswoman' | Juvenal | VI.402-403 | 'haec eadem…Thraces agant' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R, M |
| II.ii.86-87 | 'or, so she may censure…so forth' | Juvenal | VI.434-437 | 'Illa tamen…suspendit Homerum' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R, M |
| II.ii.98-99 | 'Nay, perhaps she'll study the art' | Juvenal | VI.569-581 | 'quae nullum…consulitur' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R, M |
| II.ii.103-104 | 'rises in asses' milk' | Pliny the Elder | *HN* XI.ccxxxviii | 'Poppaea certe…macerabat,' account of Poppaea used by Juvenal | General Allusion | O |

## *Epicene*

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| Location (Jonson) | Quotation/Allusion (Jonson) | Author | Text and Location (Source) | Quotation/Summary (Source) | Type of Reference | Citation |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| II.ii.106-34 | 'while she feels...cleansed with a new fucus' | Juvenal | VI.461-462, 467-470 | 'Interea foeda...ad axem' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R, M |
| II.iii.40 | 'The dor on Plutarch, and Seneca the Younger! I hate it' | Plutarch | | Reference to Plutarch's text, recently repopularised through Holland's translation | Personal Allusion | C, R, M |
| II.iii.40 | 'The dor on Plutarch, and Seneca the Younger! I hate it' | Seneca the Younger | | Reference to Seneca the Younger | Personal Allusion | R, M |
| II.iii.49 | 'Aristotle, a mere commonplace fellow' | Aristotle | | Reference to Aristotle | Personal Allusion | R, M |
| II.iii.49 | 'Plato, a discourser' | Plato | | Reference to Plato | Personal Allusion | R, M |
| II.iii.49-50 | Thucydides 'tedious and dry' | Thucydides | | Reference to Thucydides | Personal Allusion | R, M |
| II.iii.49-50 | Livy 'tedious and dry' | Livy | | Reference to Livy | Personal Allusion | R, M |
| II.iii.50 | 'Tacitus, an entire knot' | Tacitus | | Reference to Tacitus | Personal Allusion | C, R, M |
| II.iii.53-54 | 'Homer, an old...curriers and chines of beef' | Homer | *Il.* VII.321 | Reference to Homer | Personal Allusion | C, O, R, M |
| II.iii.54 | 'Virgil...and bees' | Virgil | *Aen.* | Reference to Virgil and bee similes | General Allusion | R |
| II.iii.54 | 'Virgil...and bees' | Virgil | *G.* I.79-81; IV | Reference to Virgil and bee similes | Personal Allusion | C, R |
| II.iii.54-55 | 'Horace, of I know not what' | Horace | | Reference to Horace | Personal Allusion | C, M |
| II.iii.57 | 'Pindarus' | Pindar | | Reference to Pindar | Personal Allusion | C |
| II.iii.57 | 'Lycophron' | Lycophron | | Reference to the poet Lycophron | Personal Allusion | C |
| II.iii.57 | 'Anacreon' | Anacreon | | Reference to the poet Anacreon | Personal Allusion | C |
| II.iii.57 | 'Catullus' | Catullus | | Reference to Catullus | Personal Allusion | C |
| II.iii.57 | Seneca the Younger 'the tragedian' | Seneca the Younger | | Reference to Seneca the Younger | Personal Allusion | R, M |
| II.iii.58 | 'Lucan' | Lucan | | Reference to Lucan | Personal Allusion | C |
| II.iii.58 | 'Propertius' | Propertius | | Reference to Propertius | Personal Allusion | C |
| II.iii.58 | 'Tibullus' | Tibullus | | Reference to Tibullus | Personal Allusion | C |
| II.iii.58 | 'Martial' | Martial | | Reference to Martial | Personal Allusion | C |
| II.iii.58 | 'Juvenal' | Juvenal | | Reference to Juvenal | Personal Allusion | C |
| II.iii.58 | 'Ausonius' | Ausonius | | Reference to the poet Ausonius | Personal Allusion | C |
| II.iii.58 | 'Statius' | Statius | | Reference to the poet Statius | Personal Allusion | C |
| II.iii.58 | 'Valerius Flaccus' | Valerius Flaccus | *Argonautica* | Reference to the poet Valerius Flaccus | Personal Allusion | C |
| II.iii.65 | 'Persius, a crabbed coxcomb' | Persius | | Reference to Persius | Personal Allusion | C, R |
| II.iv.12 | 'Gorgon' | | | Reference to the gorgons | Mythological Allusion | C, R, M |
| II.iv.120 | 'No mushroom was ever so fresh' | Plautus | *Bacch.* 820-821 | 'terrai odium...fungus putidus' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O |
| II.v.19-20 | 'has...mine ears' | Ovid | *Met.* XI.182-193 | Reference to the story of Midas' ears | Mythological Allusion | C |

## *Epicene*

| Location (Jonson) | Quotation/Allusion (Jonson) | Author | Text and Location (Source) | Quotation/Summary (Source) | Type of Reference | Citation |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| II.v.68-70 | 'I know what thou wouldst say...dowry in her silence' | Plautus | *Aulu.* 172-174 | 'Eius cupio...pauper placet' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| II.v.68-70 | 'I know what thou wouldst say...dowry in her silence' | Libanius | *Declamation* XXVI.xi* | 'epeisthen...ton siopen' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O |
| II.vi.11-12 | *'omnia secunda...Saltat senex'* | | | Roman proverb | General Allusion | C, O, R, M |
| II.vi.25 | 'To translate all La Foole's company' | Ovid | *Met.* | Translation' associated with Ovidian metamorphosis | General Allusion | C |
| II.vi.48 | 'Sphinx' | | | Reference to the Sphinx | Mythological Allusion | C, M |
| III.i.18 | *'Poetarum Pegasus'* | | | Partial reference to Pegasus | Mythological Allusion | C, R, M |
| III.i.19 | 'Jupiter did turn himself into a...bull' | Ovid | *Met.* II | Reference to the story of Europa and Jove | Mythological Allusion | C, R, M |
| III.ii.5 | *'in rerum natura'* | Cicero | *Rab. Post.* XXIV | 'in rerum natura' | Direct Textual Allusion | O |
| III.ii.6 | *'Sic visum superis'* | Seneca the Younger | *Ep.* XCVIII.iv | 'Dis aliter visum est' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O |
| III.ii.38 | 'he spoke out of a bulrush that were not picked' | Ovid | *Met.* XI.182-193 | Reference to the story of Midas' ears | Mythological Allusion | C |
| III.ii.56-57 | 'she expounded it out of Artemidorus' | Artemidorus | *Onirocritica** | Reference to the physician Artemidorus | Personal Allusion | C, O, R, M |
| III.iii.97 | 'Pasiphae' | Ovid | *Ars Am.* I.295-326 | Reference to Pasiphae | Mythological Allusion | C, O, R, M |
| III.iii.98 | 'Callisto' | Ovid | *Met.* II. 401-507 | Reference to Callisto | Mythological Allusion | C, O, R, M |
| III.iii.122 | *'ex Ovidii Metamorphosi'* | Ovid | *Met.* | (Incorrect) attribution of both Pasiphae and Callisto's stories to the *Metamorphoses* | General Allusion | C, O, R, M |
| III.iv.47 | 'Penthesilea' | Homer | *Il.* | Reference to the Amazon Queen Penthesilea | Mythological Allusion | C, O, R, M |
| III.iv.47 | 'Semiramis' | Herodotus | I | Reference to the Assyrian warrior queen Semiramis | General Allusion | C, O, R, M |
| III.v.13 | 'night-crow' | | *Anth. Gr.* XI.186* | 'nuktikorax...nuktikorax,' reference to the night-heron | General Allusion | O |
| III.v.15 | 'left-handed cries' | Virgil | *Ecl.* IX.15 | 'Ante sinistra...ilice cornix' | General Allusion | O |
| III.v.17-18 | 'did you ever hope...town should know it' | Ovid | *Met.* XI.182-193 | Reference to the story of Midas' ears | Mythological Allusion | C |
| III.v.20-21 | 'lippis...notum' | Horace | *Sat.* I.vii.3 | 'omnibus et...tonsoribus esse' | Direct Textual Allusion | C, O, R, M |
| III.v.24-25 | 'my eaters, my mouths' | Petronius | *Sat.* LVII.vi | 'viginti ventres pasco' | General Allusion | O |
| III.v.39 | 'Hymen' | | | Partial reference to Hymen | Mythological Allusion | C |

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| Location (Jonson) | Quotation/Allusion (Jonson) | Author | Text and Location (Source) | Quotation/Summary (Source) | Type of Reference | Citation |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| III.vi.2 | 'the sea breaks in upon me' | Libanius | *Declamation* XXVI.xi, xxix, xlii* | 'kathaper ploion...kludon' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| III.vii.12 | 'hanging dull ears' | Horace | *Sat.* I.ix.20 | 'Demitto auriculas...mentis asellus' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O |
| III.vii.16 | 'Medusa' | | | Reference to Medusa | Mythological Allusion | C, R, M |
| IV.i.5-7 | 'The spitting...loud commanding' | Libanius | *Declamation* XXVI.x, xi* | 'en men...parechontai doupon' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| IV.i.7 | 'Fury' | | | Reference to the Furies | Mythological Allusion | C, R, M |
| IV.i.25-26 | 'Women...dressings' | Ovid | *Ars Am.* II.677-678 | 'Illae munditiis...videantur anus' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O |
| IV.i.26-33 | 'And...open' | Ovid | *Ars Am.* III.261-263, 271, 275-280 | 'Rara tamen...damna feres' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O |
| IV.i.34-35 | 'Oh, you...so rude' | Ovid | *Ars Am.* III.287, 289-290 | 'Est, quae...asella molla' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O |
| IV.i.36-38 | Ay, and others...the face' | Ovid | *Ars Am.* III.299-304 | 'Est et...fertque gradus' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O |
| IV.i.41-48 | 'Yes, but...where she is' | Ovid | *Ars Am.* I.43-44, 49-50, 89-92, 97-99 | 'Haec tibi...spectentur ut ipsae' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O |
| IV.i.55-56 | 'Penelope...purpose' | Ovid | *Ars Am.* I.477-486 | 'Penelopem...capta tamen' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R, M |
| IV.i.56-57 | 'They would...solicit them' | Ovid | *Ars Am.* I.483-486 | 'Fortisan et...compos eris' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O |
| IV.i.57-61 | 'Praise 'em...overcome' | Ovid | *Ars Am.* I.623-624, 663-666 | 'Delectant etiam...illa volet' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O |
| IV.i.63-66 | 'It is...at the heart' | Ovid | *Ars Am.* I.673-678 | 'Vim licet...tristis erit' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O |
| IV.i.67-72 | 'But...rascal' | Ovid | *Ars Am.* I.755-756, 763-770 | 'sed sunt...inferioris eat' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O |
| IV.i.79-80 | 'Take more care...hair about you' | Seneca the Younger | *Brev. Vit.* XII.iii | 'Quis est...de salute,' on dandies | Near Textual Allusion | C, O |
| IV.i.81-84 | 'Then...gamesters' | Ovid | *Ars Am.* I.443-444, 449-452 | 'Promittas facito...saepe manus' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R, M |
| IV.i.84-86 | 'Let...Cheapside' | Ovid | *Ars Am.* II.261-266 | 'Nec dominam...empta via' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R, M |
| IV.i.90-92 | 'fail not...so' | Ovid | *Ars Am.* II.251-254 | 'Nec pudor...ambitiose, manus' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| IV.i.92-94 | 'chief woman...crime' | Ovid | *Ars Am.* I.351-352, 383-386, 389-390 | 'Sed prius...ipsa venit' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R , M |
| IV.i.111 | 'more than madam Medea' | Ovid | *Met.* VII | Reference to Medea | Mythological Allusion | C, R, M |

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| Location (Jonson) | Quotation/Allusion (Jonson) | Author | Text and Location (Source) | Quotation/Summary (Source) | Type of Reference | Citation |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| IV.ii.16 | '*Et....cantu*' | Virgil | *Aen.* VIII.2 | 'Et....cantu' | Direct Textual Allusion | C, O, R, M |
| IV.ii.34-35 | '*Jacta est alea*' | | | Roman proverb associated with Julius Caesar | General Allusion | C, O, R, M |
| IV.ii.45 | '*Titivilitum*' | Plautus | *Cas.* 347 | 'tittibilico' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R, M |
| IV.ii.47 | '*tribus verbis*' | Plautus | *Mil.* 1020 | 'tribus verbis' | Direct Textual Allusion | C, O |
| IV.ii.56 | 'Tritons' | | | Reference to the Tritons | Mythological Allusion | C, O, R |
| IV.ii.56 | '*Nunc est...pede libro*' | Horace | *Carm.* I.xxxvii.1 | 'Nunc est...pede libro' | Direct Textual Allusion | C, O, R, M |
| IV.ii.61 | '*mala bestia*' | Catullus | XCIX.7-8 | 'mala bestia' | Direct Textual Allusion | C, O |
| IV.ii.61 | '*mala bestia*' | Plautus | *Bacch.* 55 | 'mala bestia' | Direct Textual Allusion | C, O |
| IV.ii.84-90 | 'and yet she spends...great German clock' | Martial | IX.xxxvii.1-6 | On women's cosmetics and hair | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, M |
| IV.ii.111 | 'Stentors' | Homer | *Il.*V.785-6 | Reference to Stentor | Mythological Allusion | C, O, R, M |
| IV.iii.131 | '*bona spes*' | Cicero | *Cat.* II.xxv | 'bona spes' | Direct Textual Allusion | C, R, M |
| IV.iii.26-31 | 'Why should women deny...in this kind' | Ovid | *Ars Am.* III.93-98 | 'Quis vetet...vestra carent' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O |
| IV.iii.32-35 | 'ladies should be mindful...in a frozen bed' | Ovid | *Ars Am.* III.59-70 | 'Venturae memores...iacebis anus' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O |
| IV.iii.48-49 | 'Many births...make the earth barren' | Ovid | *Ars Am.* III.81-82 | 'Adde, quod...senescit ager' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O |
| IV.iv.17-18 | 'Strife and tumult are the dowry...with a wife' | Ovid | *Ars Am.* II.155 | 'dos est uxoria lites' | Direct Textual Allusion | C, O |
| IV.iv.28-31 | 'Oh, horrible...voice, sir' | Libanius | *Declamation* XXVI.xiii* | 'anastos apeimi...palin' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| IV.iv.45-46 | 'how his eyes sparkle...blue spots' | Plautus | *Men.* 828-830 | 'Viden tu...scintillant, vide' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| IV.iv.47 | 'melancholy' | Cicero | *Tusc.* III.v.11 | 'quem nos...illi vocant' | General Allusion | C, O |
| IV.iv.64-65 | 'She...again' | Libanius | *Declamation* XXVI.xi* | 'osper gar...to reithron' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| IV.iv.77 | 'Aristotle's *Ethics*' | Aristotle | *Eth. Eud; Eth. Nic.* | Reference to Aristotle's works, translated into English in 1547 by John Wilkinson | General Allusion | C, O |
| IV.iv.110 | 'if you could sleep' | Libanius | *Declamation* XXVI.xiv* | 'ouk estin...isos esiga' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O |

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| IV.iv.115 | 'snores like a porpoise' | Libanius | *Declamation XXVI.x.xxxii** | 'oidas gar…phoreton' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O |
| IV.v.36 | 'This is not the wedding the centaurs were at' | Ovid | *Met.* XII.210ff. | Reference to the wedding of Pirithous and Hippodamia | Mythological Allusion | C, O, R, M |
| IV.v.189 | 'Shall I go fetch the ladies to this catastrophe?' | | | Reference to classical structural theory | General Allusion | C, O, R |
| IV.v.207-208 | '*magis patiendo…feriendo*' | | | A Stoic commonplace | General Allusion | C, O, R |
| IV.v.277 | 'Damon and Pythias' | | | Reference to Damon and Pythias | Mythological Allusion | C, O, R, M |
| IV.vi.69 | 'Pylades and Orestes' | Aeschylus | *Lib.* | Reference to Pylades and Orestes | Mythological Allusion | C, M |
| IV.vi.69 | 'Pylades and Orestes' | Euripides | *Or.* | Reference to Pylades and Orestes | Mythological Allusion | M |
| IV.vii.12-16 | 'There is such noise…calm midnight!' | Libanius | *Declamation XXVI.iii-vi** | On speeches | Near Textual Allusion | R, M |
| IV.vii.13-14 | 'citations…afflictions' | Libanius | *Declamation XXVI.vi** | 'eis agoran…onomazein' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, M |
| V.iii.19-23 | 'Salute 'em?...hears this salutation' | Libanius | *Declamation XXVI.vii** | 'kai men…gignetai' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R, M |
| V.iii.33 | 'circumstances' | Libanius | *Declamation XXVI.iii-vi** | On speeches | Near Textual Allusion | M |
| V.iii.36-44 | 'My father…how to be silent' | Libanius | *Declamation XXVI.vi** | 'emoi d'…retoron' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R, M |
| V.iii.83 | 'Alas, sir…this time!' | Terence | *Haut.* 250 | 'Vai mi…spe decidi' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O |
| V.iv.43 | 'a mere comment' | Ovid | *Met.* VI.656 | 'commentaque funera narrat' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O |
| V.iv.127-128 | 'Oh, do…silence, nephew' | Libanius | *Declamation XXVI.iii** | 'ginesthe tacheis…tes gynaikos' | Near Textual Allusion | O, R |
| V.iv.166 | 'You have married a boy' | Plautus | *Cas.* | Olympio unknowingly marries a boy | Near Design Allusion | C, O |
| V.iv.191-93 | 'You are they that…fame suffer' | Ovid | *Ars Amat* II.633-634 | 'Corpora si…crimen habet' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R |

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| Location (Jonson) | Quotation/Allusion (Jonson) | Author | Text and Location (Source) | Quotation/Summary (Source) | Type of Reference | Citation |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Title Page (F).9-10 | '*petere…Musae*' | Lucretius | I.929-930 | '*petere…Musae*' | Direct Textual Allusion | C |
| Ded to L Wroth.1-5 | In the age…sacrifices' | Seneca the Younger | *Ben.* I.vi.2 | 'Ne in victimis…voluntate venerantium' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R, M |
| Reader (Q).1-26 | | Quintilian | *Instit.* II.xi-xii | Arguments about undertstanding readers | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| Reader (Q).2 | 'an understander' | Homer | *Il.* | Reference to 'understanders' in Chapman's translation of Homer | General Allusion | O |
| Persons. 7 | 'PERTINAX' | Dio Cassius | LXXIV.x.3 | Reference to the Emperor Pertinax | Personal Allusion | C |
| Pro.13-14 | 'Howe'er the age…above their cure' | Livy | *Hist.* IV | ad haec tempora…perventum est,' also echo of preface to 1600 edition | General Allusion | C, O |
| I.i.19 | 'translated suburb-captain' | Ovid | *Met.* | Reference to Ovidian metamorphosis? | General Allusion | T |
| I.i.26 | 'meal of steam' | Martial | I.xcii.7-9 | 'Cerea si pendet…pronus aquam' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| I.i.27 | 'Father of Hunger' | Catullus | XXI.1; XXII; XIII | 'Aureli, pater esuritionum' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R, M |
| I.i.29 | 'your complexion of the Roman wash' | Martial | III.iii.1 | 'Formosam faciem…medacamine celas' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O |
| I.i.36-37 | 'a felt of rug…no-buttocks' | Martial | I.xcii.7-8 | 'Cerea si pendet…paeda tegit' | Near Textual Allusion | C |
| I.i.61 | 'fury' | | | Reference to the Furies | Mythological Allusion | C |
| I.ii.56 | 'the Greek Xenophon' | Xenophon | | Reference to Xenophon | Personal Allusion | C, O, R |
| I.ii.57-58 | 'can court His mistress out of Ovid' | Ovid | | Reference to Ovid | Personal Allusion | C |
| I.iv.29 | 'he'll turn the age to gold' | Horace | *Carm.* III.iii.49-52 | Reference to the Golden Age | Mythological Allusion | C |
| II.i.17 | 'Madam Augusta's' | Juvenal | VI.118 | 'meretrix Augusta' | Direct Characterological Allusion | C, O |
| II.i.27 | 'Zephyrus' | | | Reference to the west wind | Mythological Allusion | C |
| II.i.56 | 'fifth age' | Ptolemy | | Reference to the Ptolemaic ages of man | General Allusion | C |
| II.i.61 | 'Marses' | | | Reference to Mars | Mythological Allusion | C, R |
| II.i.61 | 'young Cupids' | | | Reference to Cupid | Mythological Allusion | C |
| II.i.62 | 'decayed vestals' | | | Reference to the Vestal Virgins | General Allusion | C |
| II.i.89-91 | 'piece of Jason's…vellum' | | | Reference to Jason's quest for the Golden Fleece | Mythological Allusion | C, O, R |
| II.i.92 | 'Pythagoras' thigh' | Lucian | *Gall.* II.21 | Reference to Pythagoras | Mythological Allusion | C |
| II.i.92 | 'Pythagoras' thigh' | Diogenes Laertius | VIII.12 | Reference to Pythagoras | Mythological Allusion | C, R |
| II.i.93 | 'Medea's charms' | | | Reference to Medea | Mythological Allusion | C, R |
| II.i.101 | 'th'Hesperian garden' | | | Reference to the Garden of the Hesperides | Mythological Allusion | C, R |
| II.i.101 | 'Cadmus' story' | | | Reference to Cadmus | Mythological Allusion | C, R |
| II.i.102 | 'Jove's shower' | | | Reference to Jove and Danae | Mythological Allusion | C, R |

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| II.i.102 | 'the boon of Midas' | | | Reference to Midas and his golden touch | Mythological Allusion | C, R |
| II.i.102 | 'Argus' eyes' | | | Reference to Argus | Mythological Allusion | C, R |
| II.ii.38-39 | 'as tough as Hercules' | | | Reference to Hercules | Mythological Allusion | C, R |
| II.ii.41-52 | 'I will have…and roses' | Aelius Lampridius | *Heliogabalus* XXV* | 'Multis vilioribus…accubitis sternebat,' details of sexual fantasy | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R, M |
| II.ii.41-52 | 'I will have…and roses' | Suetonius | *Tib.* XLIII | 'Cubicula plurifarum…schemae deesset,' details of sexual fantasy | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R, M |
| II.ii.44 | 'Elephantis' | Martial | XII.xliii.4 | Pornographer mentioned in Martial | Direct Characterological Allusion | C, O |
| II.ii.45 | 'my glasses' | Suetonius | | Possibly derived from Suetonius' account of Horace | General Allusion | C, O |
| II.ii.45 | 'my glasses' | Seneca the Younger | *QNat.* I.xvi | 'cum illi…spectator esset' | Near Textual Allusion | O, R, M |
| II.ii.48 | 'mists' | Suetonius | *Nero* XXXI | Description of Nero's palace | General Allusion | C, O, R, M |
| II.ii.58 | 'fathers, and mothers' | Juvenal | X.304-6 | Prodiga corruptoris…muneribus fiducia,' on using fathers and mothers as bawds | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R, M |
| II.ii.60 | 'the pure and gravest' | Plautus | *Capt.* 278 | 'Quod genus…honoratissimum,' Latin idiom | General Allusion | O |
| II.ii.75 | 'dormice' | Apicius | *De Re Culinaria** | Reference to a Roman culinary delicacy | General Allusion | C, R |
| II.ii.75 | 'dormice' | Pliny the Elder | *HN* VIII.ccxxiii | Reference to a Roman culinary delicacy | General Allusion | O |
| II.ii.75 | 'dormice' | Varro | *Rust.* III.15 | Reference to a Roman culinary delicacy | General Allusion | O, R |
| II.ii.75 | 'camels' heels' | Aelius Lampridius | *Heliogabalus* XX* | Comedit saepius…diceretur,' On Heliogabalus eating camels' heels | General Allusion | C, O, R, M |
| II.ii.76 | 'dissolved pearl' | Pliny the Elder | *HN* IX.lviii.120 | 'Prior id…absorbendos dedit,' on Cleopatra | General Allusion | O, R |
| II.ii.77 | 'Apicius' | | | Reference to Apicius | Personal Allusion | C, O |
| II.ii.82 | 'the beards of barbels' | Aelius Lampridius | *Elagabulus* XX* | Barbas sane…et discis,' on the barbel, a kind of carp | General Allusion | C, O, R |
| II.ii.83 | unctuous paps' | Juvenal | XI.81 | 'qui meminit…popinae' | General Allusion | O |
| II.ii.83 | unctuous paps' | Pliny the Elder | *HN* XI.lxxxiv.215 | On preparing a sow's paps for eating | General Allusion | C, O, R, M |
| II.ii.91 | 'the Persian' | | | Reference to Sardanapalus, a king of Nineveh | Personal Allusion | C, R |
| II.iii.79 | 'Hermes' seal' | | | Partial reference to Hermes | Mythological Allusion | C |
| II.iii.128 | 'eggs, in Egypt' | Pliny the Elder | *HN* X.liv.153; X.lxxvi.154 | On the Egyptians using dung hills to incubate and hatch eggs | General Allusion | C, O, R, M |
| II.iii.174 | 'scorpions of an herb' | Pliny the Elder | *HN* XX.xcviii, cxix | 'Addunt quidam…scorpionem gignerem' reference to the herb basil | General Allusion | C, O |
| II.iii.208 | 'Sisyphus was damned' | | | Reference to Sisyphus | Mythological Allusion | C, R |

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| II.iii.233 | 'Galen' | | | Reference to Galen | Personal Allusion | C, O, R |
| II.iii.310-311 | 'no philosopher…shall weep' | | | Reference to Democritus and Heraclitus | Personal Allusion | C |
| III.iii.8 | 'black boy' | Horace | *Sat.* I.iv.85 | 'hic niger est' | Direct Textual Allusion | C, R, M |
| III.iii.47 | 'Or bees are with a basin' | Virgil | *G.* IV.64 | On the keeping of bees | General Allusion | C, R, M |
| III.iii.69 | 'like a scallop' | Gallienus | * | 'non murmura…oscula conchae' | Near Textual Allusion | R |
| III.v.10 | 'nearer with her smock' | Plautus | *Trin.* 1154 | 'tunica propior palliost,' Latin proverb | General Allusion | O |
| III.v.33ff. | '*Ti, ti*' | Aristophanes | *Av.* 314 | 'Ti, ti' | Direct Textual Allusion | C |
| IV.i.26-27 | 'Rain…Danae' | | | Reference to Danae | Mythological Allusion | C |
| IV.i.30 | 'we will *concumbere* gold' | Juvenal | VI.191 | 'concumbunt Graece' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O |
| IV.i.92 | 'Aesculapius' | | | Reference to Aesculapius | Mythological Allusion | C, O, R, M |
| IV.i.145 | 'Poppaea' | Pliny the Elder | *HN* XXXVII.l | Reference to Nero's wife Poppaea | Personal Allusion | C, O, R, M |
| IV.i.159 | 'Our shrimps to swim again' | Horace | *Sat.* II.viii.42-47 | Possible reference to the centrepiece of the banquet in Horace's poem, with 'squillis natantis' | Near Textual Allusion | C |
| IV.ii.26-27 | 'their causes…formal, final' | Aristotle | *Metaph.* | On Aristotle's four causes | General Allusion | C |
| IV.iii.93 | '*Tengo duda…alguna traycion*' | Plautus | *Poen.* 961-1119 | Comically confused scene in which Hanno, a Carthaginian, is misinterpreted by Milphio and Agorastocles | Near Scenic Allusion | R |
| IV.v.2-3 | '*Perdicas…Ptolemy*' | | | Reference to the four generals of Alexander the Great | Personal Allusion | C |
| IV.v.27 | '*Helen's house*' | | | Reference to Helen of Troy | Mythological Allusion | C |
| IV.vi.34 | 'Hydra' | | | Reference to the Hydra | Mythological Allusion | C, O, R, M |
| V.ii.2 | 'come from this door' | Plautus | *Most.* 425-426 | Tranio keeping his master away from his door | Direct Scenic Allusion | C, O, R, M |
| V.ii.44-47 | 'Nothing's more…conscience' | Plautus | *Most.* 541-545 | 'Sed quidnam…male habet' | Direct Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| V.iii.21 | 'You..house' | Plautus | *Most.* 968 | 'Ita dico…perperam deveneris' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O |
| V.iii.34 | 'cockatrice' | | | Reference to the cockatrice | Mythological Allusion | C, M |
| V.iv.10 | 'I have been fain to say to house is haunted' | Plautus | *Most.* 425ff. | Device of the haunted house | Direct Scenic Allusion | C, O, R |
| V.iv.142 | 'Madam Caesarean' | Juvenal | VI.118 | 'meretrix Augusta' | Near Characterological Allusion | C, O |
| V.v.159 | ''twas decorum' | Horace | *Ars P.* | Neoclassical poetic principle | General Allusion | C, O, R |

## *Bartholomew Fair*

| Location (Jonson) | Quotation/Allusion (Jonson) | Author | Text and Location (Source) | Quotation/Summary (Source) | Type of Reference | Citation |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Title Page (F2) | *'Si foret...surdo'* | Horace | *Epist.* II.i.194-200 | 'Si foret...surdo' | Direct Textual Allusion | C, M |
| Pro to King.6 | 'petulant ways' | Horace | *Ars P.* 332,340 | Jonson's translation of 'obscene and petulant satires' | Near Textual Allusion | C |
| Pro to King.10 | 'or shall think well or can' | Martial | I | 'queri non...bene senserit' | Direct Textual Allusion | C, O |
| Pers.18 | 'MOONCALF' | Pliny the Elder | *NH* VII.lxiii | On congenital idiots being malformed through lunar influence | General Allusion | C |
| Ind.33 | 'mistaking words...in the stage-practice' | Aristophanes | *Thesm.* | Criticism of stage cliché of the foolish comic officer, like the Archer in Aristophanes' play | Near Characterological Allusion | C |
| Ind.103-108 | 'any state-decipherer...so of the rest' | Martial | I | Warning against the audience reading too much against the play's satirical targets | Near Textual Allusion | C |
| Ind.112 | 'scurrility' | Martial | I | Jonson's assertion that his language is truthfully licentious | Near Textual Allusion | C |
| Ind.118-119 | 'the author hath observed a special decorum' | Horace | | Neoclassical tenet | General Allusion | C, R |
| I.i.0.1SD | *'Enter Littlewit'* | | | Text follows a classical formal layout | General Allusion | M |
| I.ii.32 | 'hot coal I'your mouth' | Petronius | Fr. XXVIII* | 'nam citius...secreta tegant' | Near Textual Allusion | O |
| I.iii.19-20 | 'I'll beware how...dangerous memory' | Martial | I.xxvii.5-7 | 'et non sobria...sympotan,' Greek proverb | Direct Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| I.iii.54 | 'currying a carcass' | Martial | III.xciii.18-27 | 'si cadaver...tuum scalpi' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| I.iii.58 | 'must visit 'em as thou would'st a tomb' | Martial | III.xciii.18-27 | 'ustorque taedas...potest cunnum' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| I.iii.60 | 'according to thy inches' | Juvenal | I.41 | 'ad mensuram inguinis' | Direct Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| I.iii.61-62 | 'old woman's embers' | Martial | III.xciii.18-27 | 'cineribus' | Near Textual Allusion | C |
| II.i.3-4 | 'would I meet the Lynceus now...Horace' | Horace | *Sat.* I.iii.26-27 | 'cur in amicorum...serpens Epidauris,' Overdo misapplying passage to current situation | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R, M |
| II.i.4 | 'my Quint. Horace' | | | Reference to Horace | Personal Allusion | C |
| II.i.35-36 | 'under this cover I shall see and not be seen' | Ovid | *Ars Am.* I.99 | 'Spectatum veniunt...ut ipsae,' inversion of Ovidian sentiment | Near Textual Allusion | C |
| II.i.36 | 'On, Junius Brutus' | Livy | *Hist.* II.v | Reference to Junius Brutus | Personal Allusion | C, O, R, M |
| II.ii.107 | *'O tempora! O mores!'* | Cicero | *Cat.* I.i.2 | 'O tempora! O mores!' | Direct Textual Allusion | C, O, R, M |
| II.iii.15 | 'poison me with a newt in a bottle of ale' | Lucan | IX.720 | Newts conventionally believed to poison water | General Allusion | C |

### *Bartholomew Fair*

| Location (Jonson) | Quotation/Allusion (Jonson) | Author | Text and Location (Source) | Quotation/Summary (Source) | Type of Reference | Citation |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| II.iv.61-63 | 'my friend Ovid...*nec ignis*' | Ovid | Meta. XV.871-872 | 'Iamque...ignis' | Direct Textual Allusion | C, O, R, M |
| II.v.7 | 'Orpheus among the beasts' | | | Reference to Orpheus | Mythological Allusion | C, M |
| II.v.10 | 'Ceres selling her daughter's picture in gingerwork' | | | Reference to Ceres | Mythological Allusion | C, M |
| II.v.58 | 'Mother o' the Furies' | | | Reference to the Furies | Mythological Allusion | C |
| II.v.79 | 'lean playhouse poultry...and shoulders' | Martial | XI.c.1-4 | 'habere amicam nolo...eminet culo' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| II.v.109 | 'I'll set you gone' | Homer | *Il.* XIII.587-588 | Similar to Chapman's translation | Near Textual Allusion | C, O |
| II.vi.76 | 'I'll carry you away o' my back' | Virgil | *Aen.* II.721ff. | Burlesque of Aeneas carrying Anchises away from Troy | Near Scenic Allusion | C |
| III.ii.42-43 | 'the heathen man could stop his ears...harlot of the sea' | Homer | *Od.* XII | Reference to Odysseus resisting the Sirens | Mythological Allusion | C, O, R, M |
| III.ii.60 | 'as in Lubberland' | Petronius | *Sat.* XLV | 'Non debemus...coctos ambulare' | Near Textual Allusion | O |
| III.ii.67 | 'huh! huh! huh!' | Aristophanes | *Plut.* 893-895 | 'endon estin...u u u' | Near Textual Allusion | O |
| III.iii.18-31 | 'I remembered...common wealth' | Cicero | *De Or.* LIV | On language and delivery | General Allusion | C |
| III.iii.23-24 | 'who is ever so great...himself' | Cicero | *Rep.* I.iv-v | On the statesman being at least the equal of the philosopher | Near Textual Allusion | C, M |
| III.iii.25-26 | '*ut parvis...solebam*' | Virgil | *Ecl.* I.23 | 'ut parvis...solebam' | Direct Textual Allusion | C, O, R, M |
| III.vi.108-109 | 'when we are translated, Joan' | Ovid | | Reference to metamorphosis? | General Allusion | T |
| IV.i.22-23 | 'It is a comfort...good fame in his sufferings' | Seneca the Younger | *Cl.* I.i | 'recte factorum...ipsas sit' | Near Textual Allusion | C |
| IV.i.23-26 | 'The world...nor bend me' | Seneca the Younger | *Cons. Helv.* XIII.vi | 'qui...fortiter miser' | Near Textual Allusion | C |
| IV.i.67-68 | 'I will be...a virtue' | Seneca the Younger | *Cl.* I.xix.1; II.ii.3; II.iv.3-4; II.v.1; II.v.4 | On the distinction between 'clementia,' 'mansuetudo' and 'misericordia' | Near Textual Allusion | C |
| IV.ii.10 | 'Guilt's...thing' | Plautus | *Most.* 544 | 'Sed quidnam...male habet' | Near Textual Allusion | C |
| IV.ii.45-46 | 'Talk of him to have a soul?...stinking' | Cicero | *Nat. D.* II.clx | Sus vero...esse Chrysippus,' on the soul and the body | General Allusion | C, O |
| IV.ii.45-46 | 'Talk of him to have a soul?...stinking' | Plautus | *Trin.* 491-494 | 'Verum nos...Acherontem mortuus,' | Near Textual Allusion | O |
| IV.iii.96-97 | 'here's our Mercury come' | | | Reference to Mercury | Mythological Allusion | C, M |

## *Bartholomew Fair*

| Location (Jonson) | Quotation/Allusion (Jonson) | Author | Text and Location (Source) | Quotation/Summary (Source) | Type of Reference | Citation |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| IV.iv.137-138 | 'carry him away to the pigeonholes' | Plautus | *Rud.* 888-889 | 'Nam in columbari...nidamenta congeret' | Near Textual Allusion | O |
| IV.v.17-23 | 'my delicate dark chestnut...short heels' | Virgil | *G.* III.75-94 | A lover's blazon | General Allusion | C |
| IV.vi.27 | *Facinus quos inquinat, aequat* | Lucan | V.290 | 'Facinus quos inquinat, aequat' | Direct Textual Allusion | C, O, R, M |
| IV.vi.76 | 'I do not feel it...it is a thing without me' | Epictetus | *Encheiridon* I.i * | 'ta eph' emin...eph' emin,' distinction between interior and outer life | General Allusion | C, O, R |
| IV.vi.87 | *In te manca ruit fortuna* | Horace | *Sat.* II.vii.88 | 'In te manca ruit fortuna' | Direct Textual Allusion | C, O, R, M |
| IV.vi.88 | *Quem...terrent* | Horace | *Sat.* II.vii.84 | 'Quem...terrent' | Direct Textual Allusion | C, R, M |
| IV.vi.90 | *Non...extra* | Persius | I.7 | 'Non...extra' | Direct Textual Allusion | C, O, R, M |
| V.iii.6 | *Hero and Leander* | | | Reference to Hero and Leander | Mythological Allusion | C |
| V.iv.56 | 'Delia' | | | Partial reference to Diana | Mythological Allusion | C |
| V.iv.56 | 'Delia' | | | Partial reference to Delia, the beloved of the poet Tibullus | Personal Allusion | C |
| V.iv.121 | *Nero* | | | Reference to Emperor Nero | Personal Allusion | C |
| V.iv.258 | *Westfabian* | Martial | XIIII.liv | 'perna,' 'missa de Menapis' | Near Textual Allusion | O |
| V.iv.295-296 | *Dionysius, Not like a monarch, but the master of a school* | Cicero | *Tusc.* III.xii.27 | 'Dionysius quidem...non poterat,' reference to either Dionysius I or Dionysius II | Near Textual Allusion | C, R, M |
| V.v.27 | 'Dionysius' | | | Partial reference to the god Dionysus | Mythological Allusion | C |
| V.vi.19-20 | *et digito compesce labellum* | Juvenal | I.160 | 'et digito compesce labellum' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R, M |
| V.vi.30 | 'Hercules' | | | Reference to Hercules | Mythological Allusion | C |
| V.vi.40 | *Redde te Harpocratem* | Catullus | LXXIV.4 | 'Patruum reddidit Harpocratem,' Latin proverb | General Allusion | C, O, R |
| V.vi.81 | 'Forget your other name of Overdo, and invite us all to supper' | | | Conventional New Comic ending | Direct Scenic Allusion | C |
| V.vi.93-94 | *ad correctionem...ad diruendum* | Horace | *Epist.* I.i.100 | 'diruit,' 'aedificat' | Near Textual Allusion | C, R |
| V.vi.93-94 | *ad correctionem...ad diruendum* | Sallust | *Cat.* XX.12 | 'nova diruunt, alia aedificant' | Near Textual Allusion | C, R |
| Epi.5 | 'turn it into licence' | Horace | *Ars P.* 51 | 'dabiturque licentia sumpta pudentur' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R |

## *Bartholomew Fair*

| Location (Jonson) | Quotation/Allusion (Jonson) | Author | Text and Location (Source) | Quotation/Summary (Source) | Type of Reference | Citation |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Epi.7-8 | 'Or whether we to rage or licence break...profane men speak' | Horace | *Ars P.* | Reference to *furor poeticus* | General Allusion | C |
| Epi.7-8 | 'Or whether we to rage or licence break...profane men speak' | Plato | *Ion* | Reference to *furor poeticus* | General Allusion | C |
| Epi.7 | 'we to rage...break' | Homer | *Il.* I.66 | Chapman's translation ('prophetic rage') | General Allusion | C |

### *Every Man In His Humour* (Folio)

| Location (Jonson) | Quotation/Allusion (Jonson) | Author | Text and Location (Source) | Quotation/Summary (Source) | Type of Reference | Citation |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Title Page.11 | '*Haud…pascunt*' | Juvenal | VII.93 | 'Haud…pascunt' | Direct Textual Allusion | C, O, M |
| Pro.10 | 'foot-and-half words' | Horace | *Ars P.* 97 | 'ampullas et sesquipedalia verba' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, M |
| Pro.21-24 | 'But deeds…not with crimes' | Aristotle | *Poet.* 1449a, V.i | 'mimesis…kakian' | General Allusion | C, O |
| Pro.21-24 | 'But deeds…not with crimes' | Donatus | *Donati Fragmentum de Comoedia et Tragoedia** | Sentiment attributed to Cicero by Donatus | Near Textual Allusion | C, O |
| I.i.75-82 | 'I'd ha' you…comes here?' | Juvenal | VIII.68-9 | 'ergo ut…praeter honores' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, M |
| I.i.75-82 | 'I'd ha' you…comes here?' | Seneca the Younger | *Ep.* XLIV.5 | 'Nemo in…nostrum est' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, M |
| I.ii.89 | 'Or play…dragon' | | | Reference to the Garden of the Hesperides | Mythological Allusion | C, O |
| I.ii.107-121 | 'I am resolved…for shame' | Terence | *Ad.* 51-75 | 'do, praetermitto…iure aegre' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, M |
| I.iii.46 | 'Familiar Epistles' | Cicero | *Fam.* | Partial reference to Cicero's *Epistles* | General Allusion | C, O |
| I.iii.46 | 'Familiar Epistles' | Pliny the Younger | *Ep.* | Partial reference to Pliny the Younger's *Epistles* | General Allusion | C, O |
| I.iii.95 | 'let the Idea of what you are' | Plato | | Partial reference to Platonic forms | General Allusion | M |
| I.v.142 | 'Corydon' | Virgil | *Ecl.* | Reference to Corydon from Virgil's *Eclogues* | Direct Characterological Allusion | C, M |
| II.ii.7 | 'tonight' | Plautus | *Amph.* 731 | 'hac nocte,' reference to action taking place on previous night | General Allusion | O |
| II.ii.7 | 'tonight' | Plautus | *Capt.* 127 | 'hac nocte,' reference to action taking place on previous night | General Allusion | O |
| II.iii.45 | 'Muss' | Martial | XI.xxix.3 | 'Cum me murem…lumina dicis' | General Allusion | O |
| II.iv.13 | '*Veni, vidi, vici*' | Julius Caesar | *Gal.* | 'Veni, vidi, vici' | General Allusion | C |
| II.v.5-7 | 'he lived…grey head' | Juvenal | XIII.53 | 'inprobitas illo…aevo' | Near Textual Allusion | C, M |
| II.v.5-7 | 'he lived…grey head' | Ovid | *Fast.* V.57-58, 69-70 | 'magna fuit…senecta dabat' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, M |
| II.v.12-36 | 'But now…with us' | Horace | *Epist.* I.i | On laying aside verses and childish pastimes | Near Textual Allusion | C, M |
| II.v.12-36 | 'But now…with us' | Juvenal | XIV | On teaching through example | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, M |
| II.v.12-36 | 'But now…with us' | Quintilian | *Instit.* I.i-ii | On elementary education | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, M |
| II.v.42-43 | 'This is…leading them' | Juvenal | XIV.36-37 | 'sed reliquos…orbita culpae' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, M |
| II.v.47-64 | 'Nor read…worth a fear' | Horace | *Epist.* I.i.65-66 | 'rem facias…modo, rem' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, M |
| II.v.47-64 | 'Nor read…worth a fear' | Juvenal | XIV.207-209 | 'unde habeas…beta puellae' | Near Textual Allusion | C, M |
| II.v.61-64 | 'But, let…worth a fear' | Juvenal | XIV.59-69 | On teaching through example | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, M |
| II.v.61-64 | 'But, let…worth a fear' | Quintilian | *Instit.* I.i-ii | On elementary education | Near Textual Allusion | C, M |
| II.v.65-66 | 'Nor is…of example' | Quintilian | *Instit.* II.iii.65-66 | On elementary education | Near Textual Allusion | M |
| III.i.16-17 | 'quos aequus amavit Jupiter' | Virgil | *Aen.* VI.129-130 | 'quos aequus amavit Jupiter' | Direct Textual Allusion | C, O, M |
| III.i.21 | 'the mad…girls' | Ovid | *Met.* V.310 | Reference to the Muses, the 'Thespiades deae' | Mythological Allusion | C, O |

### *Every Man In His Humour* (Folio)

| Location (Jonson) | Quotation/Allusion (Jonson) | Author | Text and Location (Source) | Quotation/Summary (Source) | Type of Reference | Citation |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| III.i.21 | 'fury' | Aeschylus | *Ag.; Lib.; Eum.* | Reference to the Furies | Mythological Allusion | C |
| III.i.28 | 'match it in all Pliny the Elder, or Symmachus' epistles' | Pliny the Elder; Pliny the Younger | | Reference to Pliny the Elder and Pliny the Younger | Personal Allusion | C, M |
| III.i.28 | 'match it in all Pliny the Elder, or Symmachus' epistles' | Symmachus | | Reference to the statesman Symmachus | Personal Allusion | C, O, M |
| III.iv.25 | 'the flood…ago' | Ovid | *Met.* I | Partial reference to the Golden Age flood | Mythological Allusion | C |
| III.iv.39 | 'Hannibal' | | | Reference to Hannibal | Personal Allusion | C, O |
| III.v.7 | 'the seven…masters' | | | Reference to the Seven Sages of Greece | Personal Allusion | C |
| IV.ii.48 | 'catastrophe' | | | Reference to classical structural theory | General Allusion | C |
| IV.ii.55 | 'worse than sacrilege' | Syesius | * | 'egoumai de…tumboruchein' | General Allusion | O |
| IV.ii.74 | 'encomions' | | | Reference to Greek poetic form | General Allusion | C, M |
| IV.v.18 | 'brave Trojan' | | | Reference to the Trojans | General Allusion | C |
| IV.vi.27-28 | 'they seemed men' | Varro | *Rust.* I.ii.4 | 'ubi sol…non videtur' | General Allusion | O |
| IV.vi.58-59 | 'Roman histories' | Livy | *Hist.* | Possible reference to Livy or Tacitus' histories | General Allusion | C |
| IV.vi.58-59 | 'Roman histories' | Tacitus | *Ann.; Hist.* | Possible reference to Livy or Tacitus' histories | General Allusion | C |
| IV.vii.136 | 'Oh, manners!' | Cicero | *Cat.* I.ii.2 | 'o tempora! O mores!' | Direct Textual Allusion | C, M |
| IV.viii.8 | 'is never his own man' | Plautus | *Pers.* 472 | 'Ita ancilla…sua nunc est' | General Allusion | O |
| IV.viii.21 | 'mithridate' | | | Partial reference to Mithridates VII of Pontus | Personal Allusion | C |
| V.v.9 | 'Phlegon' | Ovid | *Met.* II.253-255 | Reference to one of the four horses of the Sun | Mythological Allusion | C, O, M |
| V.v.32-33 | 'They…alderman' | Florus | *Minor Latin Poets* IX.1-2* | 'solus rex…nascitur,' mistakenly attributed to Petronius by Jonson | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, M |
| V.v.36-37 | 'They cannot…the fact' | Seneca the Younger | *Ira* III.xxvi.2 | 'Maxima est…poena fecisse' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O |
| V.v.36-37 | 'They cannot…the fact' | Seneca the Younger | *Ep.* XCVII.xiv | 'prima illa…poena pecasse' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O |
| V.v.73-76 | 'Here is…applause' | Virgil | *Ecl.* III | Servius' meditation on Virgil's *Eclogue* | Near Textual Allusion | C |
| V.v.76 | 'applause' | | | Roman comic 'plaudite' | Direct Design Allusion | C |

## Cynthia's Revels (Folio)

| Location (Jonson) | Quotation/Allusion (Jonson) | Author | Text and Location (Source) | Quotation/Summary (Source) | Type of Reference | Citation |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Title-Page.12 | *'Nasutum…polyposum'* | Martial | XII.xxxvii.2 | 'Nasutum…polyposum' | Direct Textual Allusion | C, O |
| Ded.4-6 | 'to grace…venerable' | Seneca the Younger | *Ep.* CIV.iii | 'Quanta esset cum…venerabilem diceret' | Near Textual Allusion | C |
| Ded.6-7 | 'not powdering…beautiful object' | Seneca the Younger | *Ep.* CXV.ii | 'Nosti comptulos…nihil solidum' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O |
| III.i.49 | 'pay for the silence' | Martial | I.lxvi.13-14 | 'Aliena quisquis recitat…silentium debet' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O |
| III.iv.42 | 'Proteus' | | | Reference to the god Proteus | Mythological Allusion | C, O |
| III.iv.48-52 | 'one that dares…all his worth' | Juvenal | I.73-75 | 'Aude aliquid…praetoria mensas' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O |
| III.iv.85 | 'Arachnean' | Ovid | *Met.* VI.1-145 | Reference to the myth of Arachne | Mythological Allusion | C, O |
| IV.i.26 | 'Delia' | | | Partial reference to Cynthia | Mythological Allusion | C |
| IV.i.52 | 'Andromeda' | Ovid | *Met.* IV.662-751 | Reference to Andromeda | Mythological Allusion | C |
| IV.i.107 | 'Juno' | | | Reference to Juno | Mythological Allusion | C |
| IV.i.113-115 | 'which lady…they put it' | Martial | IX.xxxvii.1-5 | 'Cum sis ipsa…tua dormiat' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O |
| IV.i.115-118 | 'There should not…which way' | Juvenal | VI.402-406 | 'Haec eodem novit…modis quot' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O |
| IV.iii.60 | 'Troy-action' | | | Reference to the siege of Troy | General Allusion | C |
| IV.iii.109 | *'Pythagorical'* | | | Partial reference to Pythagoras | Personal Allusion | C, O |
| IV.iii.184 | 'cockatrices' | | | Reference to the cockatrice | Mythological Allusion | C |
| IV.iii.190 | 'lyra' | | | Reference to the Greek instrument, supposedly invented by Hermes | General Allusion | C |
| IV.v.75 | 'take our time by the forehead' | Dionysius Cato | *De Moribus* II.xxvi* | 'Rem tibi…occasio calva,' proverbial | General Allusion | C, O |
| IV.v.80-81 | 'know myself' | | | Misapplication of the Stoic maxim 'nosce te ipsum' | General Allusion | C |
| V.i.12 | 'No man is presently…ill' | Juvenal | II.83 | 'nemo repente…turpisimus' | Direct Textual Allusion | C, O |
| V.i.31 | 'That have…called virtue' | Juvenal | VIII.20 | 'Nobilitas sola…virtus' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O |
| V.i.38-39 | 'Whom equal Jove…better mould' | Juvenal | XIV.34-35 | 'quibus arte…praecordia Titan' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O |
| V.i.38-39 | 'Whom equal Jove…better mould' | Virgil | *Aen.* VI.129-130 | 'Pauci…amavit Iuppiter' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O |
| V.ii.21 | 'antagonist' | | | Reference to the antagonist of Greek tragedy | General Allusion | C, O |
| V.ii.52-53 | 'I know that…be wise' | Petronius | *Sat.* II | 'Qui inter haec…habitant' | Direct Textual Allusion | C, O |
| V.ii.62 | *'sanna'* | Jerome | *Epist.* CXXV | 'Ne credas…protendi linguam' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O |
| V.ii.62 | *'sanna'* | Persius | I.58-62 | 'o Iane, a tergo…occurrite sannae' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O |
| V.iii.71 | 'Polytropus' | Homer | | Homeric epithet for Odysseus | Direct Textual Allusion | C, O |
| V.iv.138 | 'Lucrece' | | | Reference to Lucrece | Personal Allusion | C, O |
| V.iv.196 | 'Janus' | | | Reference to Janus | Mythological Allusion | C |
| V.iv.220 | 'Jovialist' | | | Partial reference to Jupiter | Mythological Allusion | C, O |

## *Cynthia's Revels* (Folio)

| Location (Jonson) | Quotation/Allusion (Jonson) | Author | Text and Location (Source) | Quotation/Summary (Source) | Type of Reference | Citation |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| V.iv.257 | 'You would…all nose' | Catullus | XIII.13-14 | 'quod tu cum…Fabulle, nasum' | Direct Textual Allusion | C, O |
| V.iv.266 | 'phoenicobalanus' | Pliny the Elder | *HN* XII.xlvii | On the Egyptian fruit phoenicobalanus | Direct Textual Allusion | C, O |
| V.iv.267 | 'nard, spikenard' | Pliny the Elder | *HN* XII.xxvi | On the aromatic substances nard and spikenard | Direct Textual Allusion | C, O |
| V.iv.267 | 'calamus odoratus' | Pliny the Elder | *HN* XII.xlviii | On the calamus odoratus, a scented reed | Direct Textual Allusion | C, O |
| V.iv.267 | 'stacte' | Pliny the Elder | *HN* XII.lxviii | On stacte, myrrh-oil | Direct Textual Allusion | C, O |
| V.iv.267 | 'opobalsamum' | Pliny the Elder | *HN* XII.liv | On opobalsamum, an eastern balsam | Direct Textual Allusion | C, O |
| V.iv.267 | 'amomum' | Pliny the Elder | *HN* XII.lxviii | On amomum, an eastern spice | Direct Textual Allusion | C, O |
| V.iv.268 | 'storax' | Pliny the Elder | *HN* XII.lv | On storax, a gum resin | Direct Textual Allusion | C, O |
| V.iv.268 | 'ladanum' | Pliny the Elder | *HN* XII.xxxvii | On ladanum, a resin | Direct Textual Allusion | C, O |
| V.iv.268 | 'aspalathum' | Pliny the Elder | *HN* XII.xxxvii | On aspalathum, an aromatic substance from Cyprus | Direct Textual Allusion | C, O |
| V.iv.268 | 'oenanthe' | Pliny the Elder | *HN* XII.lxi | On oenanthe, a type of plant | Direct Textual Allusion | C, O |
| V.iv.281 | 'he doth indeed smell far worse' | Martial | II.xii.4 | 'non bene…sempet olet' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O |
| V.iv.316 | 'Queen of Love' | | | Reference to Venus | Mythological Allusion | C |
| V.iv.357 | 'panther' | Pliny the Elder | *HN* VIII.xvii | On the proverbial sweetness of the panther's breath | Near Textual Allusion | C, O |
| V.iv.360 | 'he charges like a Frenchman' | Livy | *Hist.* X.xxviii | 'Prima eorum proelia…feminarum esse,' on the Gallic reputation for bravery | General Allusion | C, O |
| V.iv.362 | 'Cupid's baths' | Anacreon | XXVII* | 'graphe rina…mixas,' partial reference to Cupid | Mythological Allusion | C, O |
| V.iv.362 | 'Cupid's baths' | Propertius | II.iii.12 | 'Utque rosae…folia,' partial reference to Cupid | Mythological Allusion | C, O |
| V.iv.363 | 'torches' | Pseudo-Tibullus | III.viii.5-6* | 'Illius exoculis…acer Amor' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O |
| V.iv.443 | 'she kisses as close as a cockle' | Gallienus | *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, 'Vita Gallieni' XI* | 'non mumura…oscula conchae' | Near Textual Allusion | C |
| V.iv.494-495 | ''When men…the care'' | Claudian | *Raptu Proserpine* III.197* | 'Levius communa tangunt,' similar to proverb | General Allusion | C, O |
| V.iv.494-495 | ''When men…the care'' | Seneca the Younger | *Cons. Marc.* XII.5 | 'Malviolum…turba miserorum,' similar to proverb | General Allusion | C |
| V.iv.526 | 'All power…is sin' | Seneca the Younger | *Herc. F.* 250-252 | 'prosperum ac felix…leges timor' | General Allusion | C |
| V.iv.530 | 'Etna of his fires' | Seneca the Younger | *Herc. F.* 105-105 | 'acrior mentem…Aetnaeis furit' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O |
| V.v.9 | 'concord's born of contraries' | Quintilian | *Instit.* I.x.12 | 'illa dissimilium…vocant armonian' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O |
| V.v.15 | 'Hermes' wand' | Virgil | *Aen.* IV.242-244 | On Mercury's caduceus and on Mercury as psychopomp | Mythological Allusion | C, O |
| V.v.17 | 'strife of Chaos' | Ovid | *Met.* I.18-21 | 'Obstabatque aliis aliud…litme natura diremit' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O |

## *Cynthia's Revels* (Folio)

| Location (Jonson) | Quotation/Allusion (Jonson) | Author | Text and Location (Source) | Quotation/Summary (Source) | Type of Reference | Citation |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| V.v.59 | 'Phoebus Apollo' | | | Reference to Apollo | Mythological Allusion | C |
| V.v.65 | 'Cyllenian' | | | Reference to Mercury | Mythological Allusion | C |
| V.v.65 | 'Maia's' | | | Reference to Maia | Mythological Allusion | C |
| V.v.69 | 'statues with discoloured flowers' | Homer | *Il.* I | Chryses' prayer to Apollo | Near Textual Allusion | C |
| V.vi.0SD | 'HESPERUS' | | | Reference to Hesperus | Mythological Allusion | C |
| V.vi.19 | 'Diana' | | | Reference to Cynthia | Mythological Allusion | C |
| V.vi.37-38 | 'the heavens…they do' | Seneca the Younger | *Ben.* IV.ix.1 | 'plurima beneficia ac…res est' | Near Textual Allusion | C |
| V.vi.72 | 'Phoebe' | | | Reference to Cynthia | Mythological Allusion | C |
| V.vi.73 | 'from suspicion free' | Plutarch | *Vit.* | On Julius Caesar's desire to divorce his wife (North's translation) | Near Textual Allusion | C |
| V.vii.0.SD.1 | 'ANTEROS' | | | Reference to Anteros | Mythological Allusion | C |
| V.vii.3 | 'their queen, Perfection' | Ovid | *Met.* I | On Astraea being unable to remain on earth | General Allusion | C |
| V.vii.21 | 'Storge' | Aristotle | *Eth. Nic.* 1168b | On the distinction between vicious and virtuous self-love | Near Textual Allusion | C |
| V.vii.21 | 'nearest to himself' | Terence | *An.* 636 | 'Proximus sum egomet mihi' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O |
| V.vii.25 | *'se suo modulo'* | Horace | *Epist.* I.vii.98 | 'metiri se…verum est' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O |
| V.vii.32 | *'curarum nubila pello'* | Ovid | *Pont.* II.i.5 | 'pulsa curarum nube' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O |
| V.vii.32 | *'curarum nubila pello'* | Ovid | *Met.* VI.692 | 'tristia nubila pello' | Near Textual Allusion | C |
| V.vii.36 | 'petasus' | | | A Greek hat, mainly associated with Mercury | General Allusion | C, O |
| V.vii.37 | *'sic laus ingenii'* | Tacitus | *Dial.* XXXVII | 'Crescit enim…vis ingenii' | General Allusion | C |
| V.vii.46 | 'Cythere' | | | Reference to Venus | Mythological Allusion | C, O |
| V.viii.22-23 | 'But of that…is composed' | Juvenal | XIV.34-35 | 'quibus arte…praecordia Titan' | Direct Textual Allusion | C |
| V.ix.31 | *'divae viragini'* | Seneca the Younger | *Phaed.* 51 | 'divae viragini' | Direct Textual Allusion | C, O |
| V.ix.35 | 'seem double' | Publilius Syrus | *Sententiae* CCLXXIV* | 'bis dat…celeriter' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O |
| V.x.5 | 'nomenclator' | | | Reference to a steward who assisted at Roman banquets | General Allusion | C |
| V.x.56 | *'Ex ungue'* | Lucian | *Herm.* LIV | 'phasi ge toi…anaplastheis,' proverbial | General Allusion | O |
| V.x.66 | 'decorum' | Horace | *Ars P.* | Reference to classical tenet of decorum | General Allusion | C |
| V.x.85 | 'Adonis' garden' | | | Reference to the garden of Adonis | Mythological Allusion | C, O |
| V.xi.14 | 'Actaeon' | Ovid | *Met.* III.131-255 | Reference to Actaeon | Mythological Allusion | C |
| V.xi.15 | 'Niobe' | | | Reference to Niobe | Mythological Allusion | C |
| V.xi.54 | 'without forehead' | Persius | V.103-104 | 'Exclamet…frontem de rebus' | Near Textual Allusion | O |
| V.xi.93 | 'censorian' | | | Partial reference to the Roman censors | General Allusion | C |

## *Cynthia's Revels* (Folio)

| Location (Jonson) | Quotation/Allusion (Jonson) | Author | Text and Location (Source) | Quotation/Summary (Source) | Type of Reference | Citation |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| V.xi.132 | 'fury' | | | Reference to the Furies | Mythological Allusion | C |
| V.xi.151 | 'Trivia' | | | Reference to Cynthia | Mythological Allusion | C, O |
| V.xi.153 | 'Midas' | Ovid | *Met.* XI.136-145 | Reference to the myth of Midas | Mythological Allusion | C, O |
| V.xi.154 | 'Tagus' stream' | Catullus | XXIX.19 | 'Aurifer Tagus' | General Allusion | O |
| V.xi.154 | 'Tagus' stream' | Ovid | *Am.* I.xv.34 | Reference to the river Tagus | General Allusion | O |
| V.xi.175 | 'A virtuous court, a world to virtue draws' | Claudian | *Cons. Hon.* CCXCIX-CCC | 'componitur orbis…ad exemplum,' a commonplace | General Allusion | C, O |
| Palinode | Palinode song | | | Classical song of recantation | Direct Design Allusion | C |
| Epi.22-23 | *'Ecce rubet quidam…nostra placent'* | Martial | VI.lx.3-4 | 'Laudat, amat…nostra placent' | Direct Textual Allusion | C, O |

## *The Devil Is An Ass*

| Location (Jonson) | Quotation/Allusion (Jonson) | Author | Text and Location (Source) | Quotation/Summary (Source) | Type of Reference | Citation |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Title Page.11 | 'Ficta…veris' | Horace | *Ars P.* 355 | 'Ficta…veris' | Direct Textual Allusion | C |
| I.ii.20 | 'If they be not…' | Cicero | *Div.* I.lxxi | 'Si sine…confitendum est' | Near Textual Allusion | O, R |
| I.iv.101 | 'Prince Quintilian' | | | Reference to Quintilian | Personal Allusion | C, O, R |
| I.vi.37-38 | 'For…them' | Ovid | *Ars Am.* I.99 | 'Spectatum veniunt…ut ipsae' | Direct Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| I.vi.89-90 | 'soul…sweet' | Cicero | *Nat. D.* II.clx | Soul as the preserving salt of the body | Near Textual Allusion | R |
| I.vi.131 | 'You…this' | Horace | *Carm.* I.xi.7-8 | 'Dum loquimur…invida aetas' | Direct Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| I.vi.158-159 | 'as…ass' | Lucian | *Asin.* | Protagonist changed into an ass | Near Scenic Allusion | C, O, R |
| II.i.3 | 'via pecunia' | Horace | *Epist.* I.vi.36-37 | Personification of Pecunia | General Allusion | C |
| II.i.151 | 'puts off man and king' | Cicero | *Fin.* V.xxxv | 'hominem exuens ex homine' | Near Textual Allusion | O |
| II.i.151 | 'puts off man and king' | Cicero | *Lig.* V.xv | 'humanitatem exuisses' | Near Textual Allusion | O |
| II.i.168-176 | 'Nor turn…am busy' | Plautus | *Aulu.* 89-100 | 'abi intro, occlude…intro miseris' | Direct Textual Allusion | C, R |
| II.ii.20 | 'stay time now' | Ovid | *Am.* I.xiii.40 | 'lente currite, noctis equi!' | General Allusion | C |
| II.iv.27-32 | 'Yes…first' | Horace | *Sat.* II.ii.129-132 | 'Nam propriae…vivacior heres' | Direct Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| II.vi.72 | 'sister-swelling breasts' | Plautus | *Frivolaria* 8 | 'Tunc…soriariabant' | Direct Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| II.vi.78 | 'crisped groves' | Claudian | * | 'buxus crispata,' description of box-tree | General Allusion | O |
| II.vi.78 | 'crisped groves' | Columella | * | 'crispae frondis apium,' description of parsley | General Allusion | O |
| II.vi.78 | 'crisped groves' | Ennius | * | 'abies crispa,' 'description of fir-tree | General Allusion | O |
| II.vi.82-83 | 'bathe…roses' | Propertius | II.iii.12 | 'Utque rosae…natant folia' | Near Textual Allusion | R |
| II.vi.85 | 'well-turned' | Horace | *Ars P.* 628 | 'male tornatos versus' | Near Textual Allusion | O |
| II.vi.103 | 'elements' strife' | Ovid | *Met.* XV.234-251 | Paraphrase on Pythagoras' teaching on the warring of the elements | Near Textual Allusion | R |

## *The Devil Is An Ass*

| Location (Jonson) | Quotation/Allusion (Jonson) | Author | Text and Location (Source) | Quotation/Summary (Source) | Type of Reference | Citation |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| II.vi.104-107 | 'Have you…smutched it' | Martial | V.xxxvii.6 | 'nivesque primas…non tactum' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| III.ii.22 | 'Plutarch's *Lives*' | Plutarch | *Vit.* | Reference to Plutarch | Personal Allusion | C, R |
| III.ii.44-46 | 'Pretty Plutarchus…military truth' | Plutarch | *Vit.* | Plutarch's text discusses major military engagements | General Allusion | C, R |
| III.iii.41 | 'They owe…pay you' | Martial | II.iii.1-2 | 'Sexte, nihil…Sexte, potest' | Near Textual Allusion | O, R |
| III.iii.79 | 'the hand-gout' | Martial | I.xcviii.1-2 | 'Litigat et…cheragra est' | Near Textual Allusion | O |
| III.iii.159-160 | 'courtesies…stink' | Seneca the Younger | *Ben.* II.i | On good and poor attitudes to gift giving | Near Textual Allusion | C |
| III.iii.213 | 'how…wisely' | Aesop | * | Fable of the Lion, Ass, and the Fox | General Allusion | C, O, R |
| III.iv.45-48 | 'To you…unfruitful piece' | Plautus | *Epid.* 306-307 | 'nullum esse…noster Periphanes' | Near Textual Allusion | R |
| III.vi.38-39 | 'Woe…back' | Plautus | *Capt.* 650 | 'vae illis…meo' | Direct Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| IV.iii.33 | 'Decays…tongue' | Plutarch | *Mor.* III | Proverbial | General Allusion | C, R |
| IV.iii.49 | 'we…banished' | Plato | *Resp.* III.400; X.607 | Criticism of poets | Near Textual Allusion | C, R |
| IV.iv.20 | 'dough-baked' | Juvenal | VI.472-473 | 'coctaeque…madidae' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| V.ii.2-11 | 'yoking…circle' | Virgil | *Ecl.* III.90-91 | 'atque idem…mulgeat hircos' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| V.ii.6 | 'making ropes of sand' | Aristides | II.309* | Proverbial | General Allusion | O, R |
| V.ii.40 | 'Sciptics' | | | Reference to the Sceptics | General Allusion | C, O, R |
| V.v.30 | 'Aesop's fables' | | | Reference to Aesop | Personal Allusion | C, R |
| V.v.47 | 'emissaries' | Plautus | *Aulu.* 41 | 'oculis emissiciis' | Direct Textual Allusion | C |
| V.vi.10 | 'I…sleeps' | Plautus | *Amph.* 282 | 'credo edepol…adpotum probe' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| V.vi.13 | 'I…fact' | Seneca the Younger | *Ira* III.xxvi.2 | | Near Textual Allusion | C |
| V.viii.112-114 | 'Oimoi…myriakis' | Aristophanes | *Plut.* 852-853 | 'Oimoi…myriakis' | Direct Textual Allusion | C, O, R |

## *The Staple of News*

| Location (Jonson) | Quotation/Allusion (Jonson) | Author | Text and Location (Source) | Quotation/Summary (Source) | Type of Reference | Citation |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Title Page.11-12 | 'Aut…vitae' | Horace | *Ars P.* 477-478 | 'Aut…vitae' | Direct Textual Allusion | C, R |
| Persons.4 | 'CYMBAL' | Ovid | *Met.* XII.50 | 'sounding brass' of Fame's house | General Allusion | R |
| Ind.9 | 'to see, and to be seen' | Ovid | *Ars Am.* I.99 | 'Spectatum veniunt…ut ipsae' | Direct Textual Allusion | O, R |
| Ind.58 | 'poetical fury' | Horace | *Ars P.* | Reference to *furor poeticus* | Near Textual Allusion | C |
| Ind.58 | 'poetical fury' | Plato | *Ion* | Reference to *furor poeticus* | Near Textual Allusion | C |
| I.i | Action of the opening scene | Horace | *Sat.* II.iii.226-237 | Criticism of spendthrifts | Near Textual Allusion | O |
| I.ii.29-30 | 'I cannot…relate it' | | | Reference to the story of Midas and his barber | General Allusion | C |
| I.ii.47 | 'emissaries' | Plautus | *Aulu.* 41 | 'oculis emissiciis' | Direct Textual Allusion | C, R |
| I.ii.65 | 'jeerer' | Aristophanes | *Nub.* | The Phrontisterion | Near Design Allusion | C |
| I.ii.65 | 'jeerer' | Aristophanes | *Eccl.* | Female government | Near Design Allusion | C |
| I.ii.65 | 'jeerer' | Aristophanes | *Thesm.* | Female government | Near Design Allusion | C |
| I.ii.88 | 'Aesop's ass' | | | Reference to Aesop | Personal Allusion | C, O, R |
| I.ii.111 | 'The tailor makes the man' | | | Greek proverb | General Allusion | O |
| I.iii.40-41 | 'The covetous…shortly' | Pseudo-Seneca the Younger | *Rem. Fort.* X.3 | 'Aut avarus…non habet' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| I.vi.83 | 'Apollo' | | | Reference to Apollo | Mythological Allusion | C |
| I.vi.91-92 | 'A certain…eye' | Plautus | *Pseud.* 107 | 'Futurumst…salit' | Near Textual Allusion | O |
| I.vi.93 | 'worthy of a chronicle' | Theocritus | *Id.* III.37-38 | On a twitch in the eye of a lover | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| II.i.35-36 | 'Yourself…almighty' | Aristophanes | *Plut.* | Chremylus demonstrates that Plutus more powerful than Zeus | Near Textual Allusion | C |
| II.i.35-36 | 'Yourself…almighty' | Horace | *Epist.* I.vi.37ff. | 'Regina Pecunia' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O |
| II.i.38-43 | 'All this…Pecunia's' | Aristophanes | *Plut.* | Presentation of Pecunia | Near Characterological Allusion | C, O, R |
| II.i.38-43 | 'All this…Pecunia's' | Horace | *Epist.* I.vi.36-37 | 'fidemque et…Pecunia donat' | Direct Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| II.i.38-43 | 'All this…Pecunia's' | Horace | *Sat.* II.iii.37 | 'omnis enim…fortis, iustus' | Direct Textual Allusion | C, O |

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| II.ii.11 | 'deduced her' | Horace | *Epist.* I.vi.36-37 | 'fidemque et…Pecunia donat' | Near Textual Allusion | R |
| II.ii.17 | 'Your…Adam' | Ovid | *Met.* I.125-142 | The earth as a treasure trove | Near Textual Allusion | C |
| II.iii.35-36 | 'Solons…*Pompilii'* | | | Reference to Solon | Personal Allusion | C, R |
| II.iii.35-36 | 'Solons…*Pompilii'* | | | Reference to Numa Pompilius | Personal Allusion | C, R |
| II.iv.50 | 'fishmonger's sleeves' | Suetonius? | *Vitae?* | Account of Horace's father | Near Textual Allusion | C, O |
| II.iv.120-121 | 'I'll stop…gentlemen' | Homer | *Od.* XII.39-44, 158-200 | Odysseus avoiding the Sirens | Near Textual Allusion | C |
| II.iv.168-171 | 'I…chimney' | Plautus | *Aulu.* 299-301 | 'quin divom…exit foras' | Direct Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| II.iv.172 | 'drier than a pumice' | Plautus | *Aulu.* 297 | 'Pumex…est senex' | Direct Textual Allusion | O |
| II.iv.173-175 | 'A wretched…abroad' | Plautus | *Aulu.* 302-305 | 'quin cum…dormiens' | Direct Textual Allusion | C, R |
| II.iv.175-176 | 'cobwebs…fingers' | Plautus | *Aulu.* 87 | 'Araneas mi…volo' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| II.iv.178-180 | 'He…withal' | Plautus | *Aulu.* 308-313 | 'Aquam hercle…praesegmina' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| II.v.50-57 | 'And I…not know' | Apollonius Rhodius | III.286-290 | 'Belos d'enedaieto…thymon anie,' description of Medea's love | Near Scenic Allusion | C, O, R |
| II.v.63-66 | 'My passion…a water' | Virgil | *Aen.* VIII.20-25 | 'animum nunc…tecti' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| To The Readers. 15 | 'Ficta…veris' | Horace | *Ars P.* 338 | 'Ficta…veris' | Direct Textual Allusion | C |
| III.i.34 | 'Vertumnus' | | | Reference to Vertumnus | Mythological Allusion | C, R |
| III.ii.41-42 | 'Witness the…moon' | Lucian | *Icar.* | Story of journey to the moon | Near Scenic Allusion | R |
| III.ii.41-42 | 'Witness the…moon' | Lucian | *VH* | Story of journey to the moon | Near Scenic Allusion | R |
| III.ii.115SD | '*House of Fame'* | Virgil | *Aen.* IV.173-188 | Personification of Fama | Near Scenic Allusion | C, R |
| III.ii.165-180 | 'What, Lickfinger…uncle's' | Athenaeus | IV.660f-661a | ouk oisth'…mageiriken technen,' story about an eminent cook | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| III.ii.172 | 'Japhet's physic' | | | Reference to Prometheus | Mythological Allusion | C, O |
| III.ii.239-248 | 'Dazzle…any' | Seneca the Younger | *Ep.* CX.9 | 'Ab hac…serviret' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O |

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| III.ii.239-248 | 'Dazzle...any' | Seneca the Younger | *Ep.* CXV.9-10 | 'Nec tantum...cecidit' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| III.ii.239-248 | 'Dazzle...any' | Seneca the Younger | *Ep.* CXIX.11 | 'At excaecant...effertur' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| III.ii.272 | 'the fine Poet' | Publius Syrus | * | 'Formos facies...commendatio est' | Near Textual Allusion | O |
| III.ii.306 | 'Memnon's statue' | | | Reference to the statue of Memnon | General Allusion | C, O, R |
| III.iii.20-24 | 'He...cookery' | Athenaeus | I.7f, VII.290b-293e | Encounter between a cook and a poet | Near Textual Allusion | C, R |
| III.iii.20-24 | 'He...cookery' | Martial | IX.lxxxi | Encounter between a cook and a poet | Near Textual Allusion | C |
| III.iii.28-33 | 'I was...allowance' | Athenaeus | VII.290c | Encounter between a cook and a poet | Near Textual Allusion | C, R |
| III.iii.34-35 | 'Siren...Arion' | Petronius | *Sat.* LXIX-LXX | Reference to Sirens and Arion | Mythological Allusion | C, R |
| III.iii.52 | 'obsonare...ambulando' | Cicero | *Tusc.* V.xcvii | 'obsonare...ambulando' | Direct Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| III.iv.1 | 'Hercules' star' | Ptolemy | *Tetrabiblos* I.ix* | Reference to the star of Hercules | General Allusion | C, R |
| III.iv.15 | 'Argus-eyed' | | | Reference to Argus | Mythological Allusion | C |
| III.iv.17 | 'Bacchus' | Euripides | *Eum.* | Reference to Bacchus | Mythological Allusion | C |
| III.iv.45-68 | 'Who...lives' | Seneca the Younger | *Ep.* CX | Indictment of the times | Near Textual Allusion | C, R |
| III.iv.45-68 | 'Who...lives' | Seneca the Younger | *Ep.* CXIX.11 | Indictment of the times | Near Textual Allusion | C, R |
| III.iv.53 | 'gold chamberpots' | Martial | I.xxxvii | 'Ventris onus...excipis auro' | Near Textual Allusion | C, R |
| 3Int.38 | 'Terence' | | | Reference to Terence | General Allusion | C |
| IV.ii.5-7 | 'The...kitchen' | Plato | *Symp.* | Conventions surrounding the symposium | General Allusion | R |
| IV.ii.5-7 | 'The...kitchen' | Xenophon | | Conventions surrounding the symposium | General Allusion | R |
| IV.ii.5-40 | 'The perfect...divine' | Athenaeus | * | Debate between a cook and a poet | Near Scenic Allusion | C, O, R |
| IV.ii.5-40 | 'The perfect...divine' | Nichomachus | *Ilithiya** | 'Pollas technas...iatrichen' | Near Textual Allusion | O |
| IV.ii.9 | 'Pegasus' | | | Reference to Pegasus | Mythological Allusion | C, R |
| IV.ii.10 | 'Muses spring' | | | Reference to Hippocrene | Mythological Allusion | O, R |

## *The Staple of News*

| Location (Jonson) | Quotation/Allusion (Jonson) | Author | Text and Location (Source) | Quotation/Summary (Source) | Type of Reference | Citation |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| IV.ii.11-13 | 'Seduced poet…the universe' | Athenaeus | * | Cook character, conventional to Middle Comedy | Direct Characterological Allusion | R |
| IV.ii.19-20 | 'he's the…professor' | Vitruvius | *De Arch.*I | On the knowledge required of the architect | Near Textual Allusion | R |
| IV.ii.30 | 'influence…stars' | Sosipater | *The Liar* IX.xxii** | Sosipater's work quoted in Athenaeus' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| IV.ii.39 | 'fury' | Plato | *Phdr.* 265b | Reference to *furor poeticus* | Near Textual Allusion | C, R |
| IV.ii.42-47 | 'O…you' | Plato | *Cra.* 403 | Plutus portrayed as a Siren | Mythological Allusion | R |
| IV.ii.44 | 'Charybdis' | Homer | *Od.* XII.101-107 | Reference to Charybdis | Mythological Allusion | C |
| IV.ii.55 | 'Cupid' | | | Reference to Cupid | Mythological Allusion | R |
| IV.ii.59 | 'Graces' | Seneca the Younger | *Ben.* I.3-4 | The iconography of the Graces | Mythological Allusion | C |
| IV.ii.59 | 'Hours' | | | Reference to the Hours | Mythological Allusion | C |
| IV.ii.64 | 'Hebe's' | | | Reference to Hebe | Mythological Allusion | C, R |
| IV.ii.64 | 'Juno's arms' | Homer | *Il.* I.595 | leycholenos 'Ere,' Reference to Juno | Mythological Allusion | C, O |
| IV.ii.64-65 | 'A hair…Morning's' | Ovid | *Am.* II.iv.43 | Description of Aurora | Near Textual Allusion | C |
| IV.ii.64-65 | 'A hair…Morning's' | Ovid | *Met.* V.440; XIII.584 | Description of Aurora | Near Textual Allusion | C |
| IV.ii.67 | 'Leda' | | | Reference to Leda | Mythological Allusion | C |
| IV.ii.68 | 'Hermione' | Homer | *Od.* IV.13-14 | 'paid'…Aphrodites,' reference to Hermione | Mythological Allusion | C, O, R |
| IV.ii.68 | 'Flora' | | | Reference to Flora | Mythological Allusion | C |
| IV.ii.73 | 'A front too slippery' | Horace | *Carm.* I.xix.8 | 'lubricus' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| IV.ii.127 | 'prostitute his mistress' | Lucian | *Tim.* XVI | An analogy between a husband not watching over his wife and a man not being careful with money | Near Textual Allusion | C |
| IV.ii.138-141 | 'engines…monsters' | Lucian | *Pisc.* | Ape-dance trope | Near Scenic Allusion | R |
| IV.ii.179 | 'Parnassus' | | | Reference to Parnassus | Mythological Allusion | C |
| IV.ii.180 | 'Thy ivy…thy bays' | Juvenal | VII.28-29 | 'qui facis…et imagine macra' | Near Textual Allusion | R |
| IV.iii.30-46 | 'Never…six-months' | Aristophanes | *Plut.* 234-235 | 'all' achthomai…ges kato' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R |

### *The Staple of News*

| Location (Jonson) | Quotation/Allusion (Jonson) | Author | Text and Location (Source) | Quotation/Summary (Source) | Type of Reference | Citation |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| IV.iii.30-46 | 'Never…six-months' | Lucian | *Tim.* XIII, XV | On the miser refusing to let Riches leave his house | Near Textual Allusion | C, R |
| IV.iii.65 | 'lares' | | | Reference to the Lares | Mythological Allusion | C |
| IV.iv.55-58 | 'With dimeters…choriambics' | Horace | *Ars P.* 65-103 | Referene to meter | Near Textual Allusion | R |
| IV.iv.89 | 'Apicius'…culinaria' | | | Reference to Apicius | Personal Allusion | C, O, R |
| IV.iv.91 | *'Politics'* | | | Reference to Aristotle and his *Politics* | General Allusion | C |
| V.i.4 | 'comitia' | Plautus | *Truc.* 819 | meo illic…comitia,' reference to the Roman Comitia | General Allusion | C, R |
| V.ii.34 | 'mouth of brass' | Homer | *Il.* V.786 | Description of Stentor | Near Textual Allusion | C, R |
| V.ii.61-62 | 'conscience…witnesses' | Quintilian | *Instit.* V.xi.41 | 'Conscientia mille testis' | Direct Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| V.iv | The dog trial | Aristophanes | *Vesp.* 891-1008 | Philocleon's dog trial | Direct Scenic Allusion | C, O, R |
| V.v.28 | 'But…Capitol' | Livy | *Hist.* V.xlvii | Story of geese protecting Rome | Mythological Allusion | C, R |
| V.vi.36 | 'grasshopper…dew' | Lucian | *Icar.* | Empedocles' diet of dew | General Allusion | R |
| V.vi.36 | 'grasshopper…dew' | Pliny the Elder | *HN* XI.xxxii.94 | On the grasshopper's diet | General Allusion | C, R |
| V.vi.36 | 'grasshopper…dew' | Virgil | *Ecl.* V.77 | 'pascentur…rore cicadae' | General Allusion | C, O |
| V.vi.37 | 'bear's…claws' | Pliny the Elder | *HN* VIII.liv | On hibernating bears | General Allusion | C, R |
| V.vi.37 | 'bear's…claws' | Pliny the Elder | *HN* XI.xxxix.115 | On fleas being generated from dust | General Allusion | C, R |
| V.vi.14 | 'short…anger' | Horace | *Epist.* I.ii.62 | 'Ira furor brevis est' | Direct Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| V.vi.49 | 'stentor' | Homer | *Il.* V.786-787 | Description of Stentor | Mythological Allusion | C, O |
| Epi.2 | 'profit and delight' | Horace | *Ars P.* 344 | 'utile dulci' | Direct Textual Allusion | C |

## *The New Inn*

| Location (Jonson) | Quotation/Allusion (Jonson) | Author | Text and Location (Source) | Quotation/Summary (Source) | Type of Reference | Citation |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Title Page.16-17 | '*me…superbi*' | Horace | *Epist.* II.i.214-215 | 'Verum age…ferre superbi' | Near Textual Allusion | C, R |
| Ded.8 | 'To see, and to be seen' | Ovid | *Ars Am.* l.99 | 'Spectatum veniunt…ut ipsae' | Direct Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| Arg.Act1. 21-22 | 'esteemed…none' | | | Tenet of Neoplatonism | General Allusion | C |
| Arg.Act1. 28 | 'for that day' | Aristotle | *Poet.* | Aristotelian unity of time | General Allusion | C |
| Arg.Act1. 31 | 'melancholic gentleman, one Master Love' | Aristotle | [*Pr.*] 953a | On melancholics being outstanding in philosophy, poetry, or the arts | General Allusion | R |
| Arg.Act3. 47 | 'Here begins, at the third act, the *epitasis*' | Donatus | | Reference to the *epitasis* | General Allusion | C, O, R |
| Arg.Act5. 100 | 'catastrophe or knitting up of all' | Terence | | | General Allusion | O, R |
| Pers.37 | 'SIR GLORIOUS TIPTOE' | Plautus | *Mil.* | Reference to the *miles gloriosus* | Direct Characterological Allusion | C, R |
| Pers.37 | 'SIR GLORIOUS TIPTOE' | Seneca the Younger | *Ep.* CXI.3 | On true philosophers not needing to walk on tiptoe | Near Textual Allusion | C, R |
| Pers.48 | 'without a rival' | Cicero | *QFr.* III.viii.4 | 'O di…sine rivali' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| Pers.48 | 'without a rival' | Horace | *Ars P.* 443-4 | 'nullum ultra…solus amares' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| Pers.55 | 'Fly is the parasite' | | | Parasite a stock character | Direct Characterological Allusion | C, R |
| I.i.31 | 'To be dissected as the sports of nature' | Lucian | *Musc. Enc.* | On the fly | Near Textual Allusion | C |
| I.i.31 | 'To be dissected as the sports of nature' | Pliny the Elder | *NH* XIV.iv.2 | 'lusus naturae' | Direct Textual Allusion | C, R |
| I.ii.13 | 'jovial' | | | Partial reference to Jove | Mythological Allusion | C |
| I.ii.40 | 'saturnine' | | | Partial reference to Saturn | Mythological Allusion | C |
| I.iii.17-19 | 'By degrees, and with a funnel' | Quintilian | *Instit.* I.ii.27-8 | On students being filled with knowledge | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| I.iii.25-6 | '*Substristis…Pulchre*' | Terence | *An.* 447 | 'subtristis visus…aliquantum mihi' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| I.iii.61 | 'centaurs' skill, the art of Thrace' | | | Reference to the centaurs | Mythological Allusion | C, O |
| I.iii.61 | 'Thrace' | Hesiod | *Op.* 507 | Reference to Thrace, a region in northern Greece famed for horse-breeding | General Allusion | C, O, R |
| I.iii.62 | 'Pollux' | | | Reference to Pollux | Mythological Allusion | C, O, R |
| I.iii.63 | 'The Pyrrhic gestures' | Plato | *Leg.* VII.815 | On the war dances of the Greeks | General Allusion | C, O, R |
| I.iii.67 | 'Nestor' | | | Reference to Nestor | Mythological Allusion | C, O, R |
| I.iii.67 | 'Ulysses' | | | Reference to Ulysses | Mythological Allusion | C, O, R |
| I.iii.100 | 'sons of the white hen' | Juvenal | XIII.141 | 'gallinae filius albae' | Near Textual Allusion | O, R |
| I.iii.110 | 'sagacity, and clear nostril' | Horace | *Sat.* I.iv.8 | 'emunctae naris' | Near Textual Allusion | R |

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I.v.6-8 | 'Roman...ass' | Cicero | *Fin.* V.xcii | 'M. Crasso...minus agilastos,' reference to Marcus Licinius Crassus | Personal Allusion | C, O, R |
| I.v.6-8 | 'Roman...ass' | Jerome | *Epist.* VII* | 'seme in vita Crassum...comedente,' the story of the ass | General Allusion | O, R |
| I.v.48 | 'cockatrice' | | | Reference to the cockatrice | Mythological Allusion | C, R |
| I.v.51-53 | 'Fair...servants' | | | Reference to neoplatonic practices | General Allusion | C |
| I.vi.21 | 'Gyges' ring' | Plato | *Resp.* II.359-60 | Reference to the story of Gyges | General Allusion | C, O, R |
| I.vi.129 | 'Achilles' | | | Reference to Achilles | Mythological Allusion | C |
| I.vi.129 | 'Agamemnon's acts' | | | Reference to Agamemnon | Mythological Allusion | C |
| I.vi.131 | 'Tydides' fortitude' | | | Reference to Diomedes | Mythological Allusion | C, R |
| I.vi.131 | 'Homer' | Homer | | Reference to Homer | Personal Allusion | C |
| I.vi.133 | 'Virgil' | Virgil | | Reference to Virgil | Personal Allusion | C |
| I.vi.135 | 'pious Aeneas' | Virgil | *Aen.* | Stock epithet in the *Aeneid* | Direct Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| I.vi.137 | 'pious Aeneas...Rapt' | Virgil | *Aen.* II.700-734 | 'adfaturque deos...micantia cerno,' on Aeneas rescuing his father Anchises from the burning Troy | Near Textual Allusion | C |
| I.vi.140-3 | 'Hours...men' | Hesiod | *Theog.* 901 | Reference to the Hours | Mythological Allusion | C, R |
| II.i.60 | 'sought...without myself' | Persius | I.7 | 'nec te quaesiveris extra' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| II.v.15 | 'Quis magis aucte' | Festus | *De Verborum Significatu* 125* | False etymology of 'magis aucte' derived from Festus' text | Direct Textual Allusion | C, O |
| II.v.15 | 'Quis magis aucte' | Martial | IV.xiii.2 | 'Macte est taedis...tuis' | Near Textual Allusion | O |
| II.v.15 | 'Quis magis aucte' | Priscian | *Instit.* V.lxvi | False etymology of 'magis aucte' derived from Priscian's text | Direct Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| II.v.79 | 'Euclid' | | | Reference to the mathematician Euclid | Personal Allusion | C, O |
| II.v.91 | 'Elysium' | | | Reference to Elysium | Mythological Allusion | C |
| II.v.98 | 'Archimedes' | | | Reference to the inventor and mathematician Archimedes | Personal Allusion | C, O |
| II.v.136 | 'Elysian Fields' | | | Reference to the Elysian Fields | Mythological Allusion | C |
| II.vi.44 | 'Sparta' | | | Reference to Sparta | General Allusion | C |
| II.vi.45 | 'No broom but mine!' | Aristophanes | *Av.* 813-816 | 'Boulesthe to mega...keirian g' exon' | Near Textual Allusion | O, R |
| II.vi.65 | 'syllogise, elenchise' | Plato | | Reference to Socratic questioning | General Allusion | R |
| II.vi.132 | 'she-Trajan' | | | Partial reference to the Emperor Trajan | Personal Allusion | C, O, R |
| III.i.55-56 | 'Juno's...lilies' | | | Reference to Juno and her sacred plant | Mythological Allusion | C, O, R |
| III.i.103 | 'blood of Venus, mother o' the rose' | | | Reference to the myth of Venus and Adonis | Mythological Allusion | C, O, R |
| III.i.190 | 'if he pissed the *Politics*' | Aristotle | *Pol.* | Reference to Aristotle's *Politics* | General Allusion | C, R |

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| III.ii.10 | 'screech-owl' | Pliny the Elder | *NH* X.xii | On the screech-owl | General Allusion | R |
| III.ii.11-12 | 'dragon That kept the Hesperian fruit' | Hesiod | *Theog.* 333-5 | Reference to the garden of the Hesperides | Mythological Allusion | C, R |
| III.ii.40 | 'Ovid *De Arte Amandi*' | Ovid | *Ars Am.* | Reference to Ovid's *Ars Amatoria* | General Allusion | C, R |
| III.ii.46 | 'So help you Love, his mother' | | | Reference to Cupid and Venus | Mythological Allusion | C, R |
| III.ii.70-110 | 'Meets to make...it bestows itself' | Plato | *Symp.* | Discourse on love | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| III.ii.73 | 'Desires of...thing beloved?' | Plato | *Symp.* | On union with the thing beloved | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| III.ii.77-80 | 'Then I have...to be rejoined' | Plato | *Symp.* | Aristophanes' story on the three genders | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| III.ii.89-92 | 'The efficient cause...the union itself' | Aristotle | *Metaph.; Ph.* | Definition of love dependent on four 'causes' | General Allusion | C, R |
| III.ii.98-101 | 'love engraves or stamps' | Aristotle | *De An.* 424a | Idea of sensory perception | General Allusion | C, R |
| III.ii.99 | 'Th' idea of what they love' | Plato | | Reference to Platonic forms or archetypes | General Allusion | R |
| III.ii.123-124 | Beaufort's role in the Court of Love debate | Plato | *Symp.* | Alcibiades role as a disruptive influence | Near Design Allusion | C |
| III.ii.126-129 | 'A form to take the eye...palate' | Aristotle | *De An.* II.vi-xii | On the senses | General Allusion | R |
| III.ii.126-129 | 'A form to take the eye...palate' | Aristotle | *Sens.* 441a | On the senses | General Allusion | R |
| III.ii.128-129 | 'for my taste, / Ambrosiac kisses to melt down the palate' | Catullus | XCIX.2 | 'Suaviolum dulci...ambrosia' | Near Textual Allusion | R |
| III.ii.131 | 'love by that loose scale' | Plato | *Symp.* | On the virtuous soul ascending to absolute beauty | General Allusion | C, R |
| III.ii.157-158 | 'The body's love...mind's is firm' | Ovid | | Contrast between Platonic and Ovidian conceptions of love | General Allusion | C |
| III.ii.157-158 | 'The body's love...mind's is firm' | Plato | | Contrast between Platonic and Ovidian conceptions of love | General Allusion | C |
| III.ii.199 | 'Dixi' | Cicero | *Verr.* I | Conventional end to speeches | General Allusion | R |
| III.ii.204 | 'Who hath read Plato, Heliodore, or Tatius' | Plato | *Symp.* | On love | General Allusion | C, O, R |
| III.ii.204 | 'Who hath read Plato, Heliodore, or Tatius' | Plato | *Phdr.* | On love | General Allusion | C, O, R |
| III.ii.204 | 'Who hath read Plato, Heliodore, or Tatius' | Heliodore | *Aethiopa** | Reference to Heliodore | Personal Allusion | C, O, R |
| III.ii.204 | 'Who hath read Plato, Heliodore, or Tatius' | Tatius | *The Loves of Leucippe and Cleitophon** | Reference to Tatius | Personal Allusion | C, O, R |
| III.ii.234 | 'Most Socratic lady' | | | Partial reference to Socrates | Personal Allusion | C, R |
| III.ii.235 | 'Platonic love' | Plato | *Symp.* | Reference to Platonic love | General Allusion | C, R |
| III.ii.268 | 'Muses' horse, or got Bellerophon's arms' | Hesiod | *Theog.* 319ff | Reference to Bellerophon | Mythological Allusion | C, R |
| IV.ii.101 | 'half-beasts...centaurs' | Ovid | *Met.* XII.210ff | On the wedding of the Lapiths | Mythological Allusion | C, O, R |
| IV.iii.1 | 'Thracian barbarism' | Horace | *Carm.* I.xxvii.1-3 | Natis in usum...barbarem morem,' on the Thracians' reputation for ferocity | General Allusion | C, O, R |
| IV.iii.2 | 'battle o' the centaurs with the Lapithes' | Ovid | *Met.* XII.210ff. | On the wedding of the Lapiths | Mythological Allusion | R |

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| IV.iii.15-17 | 'every stoop...As I have read somewhere' | Sophocles | *Aj.* 167-171? | 'all' ote gar...ptezeian athonoi,' on the description of Ajax's enemies | Near Textual Allusion | C, R |
| IV.iii.15-17 | 'every stoop...As I have read somewhere' | Homer | *Il.* XV.690-2 | 'all' os t'...kuknon doulixodeiron' | Near Textual Allusion | O, R |
| IV.iv.39-46 | 'A certain mean...valour for a private cause' | Seneca the Younger | *Ep.* LXXXV.28 | 'Non dubitarent...quid non sit' | Direct Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| IV.iv.64 | 'Virtue is never aided by a vice' | Seneca the Younger | *Ira* I.ix.1 | 'Numquam enim...se contenta' | Direct Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| IV.iv.65-66 | 'What need is there of anger...or more?' | Seneca the Younger | *Ira* I.xi.2 | 'Deinde quid...proficiat ratio?' | Direct Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| IV.iv.67-68 | ''tis profitable...fit to undertake' | Seneca the Younger | *Ira* I.vii.1 | 'Numquid, quamvis...pericula audaces' | Direct Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| IV.iv.69-75 | 'Why, so will drink...in the stead of it' | Seneca the Younger | *Ira* I.xiii.3-5 | ''Utilis,' inquit...sed in vicem' | Direct Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| IV.iv.76-77 | 'odious kind of remedy...owe our health to a disease' | Seneca the Younger | *Ira* I.xii.6 | 'Abominandum remedi...debere morbo' | Direct Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| IV.iv.78 | 'should follow the *dictamen* of his passion' | Pliny the Elder | * | On the herb 'dictamen' | Near Textual Allusion | R |
| IV.iv.87-92 | 'In the efficient...the end' | Aristotle | *Ph.* | On the Aristotelian division of causation | General Allusion | C, R |
| IV.iv.104-106 | 'The things true valour is exercised about...long disease' | Seneca the Younger | *Const.* X.4 | 'Alia sunt quae...flagrantis calamatis' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| IV.iv.113-118 | 'as all knowledge...daring not of valour' | Cicero | *Off.* I.xix.63 | 'praeclarum igitur...quam fortitudinis' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| IV.iv.113-118 | 'as all knowledge...daring not of valour' | Plato | *Menex.* 246e** | Cicero's text above in reference to Plato's text | General Allusion | C, O, R |
| IV.iv.146-148 | 'The purpose of an injury...valiant' | Seneca the Younger | *Const.* V.3 | 'inuria propositum hoc...iniuria pertinet' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| IV.iv.150-153 | 'It is but reasonable...what opposeth it' | Seneca the Younger | *Const.* VII.2 | 'denique validius...laedi sapiens' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| IV.iv.153-155 | 'not Fortune's self...both lame and less' | Lucan | IX.569-570 | 'an noceat...virtute minas?' | Near Textual Allusion | C, R |
| IV.iv.153-155 | 'not Fortune's self...both lame and less' | Seneca the Younger | *Const.* VIII.3 | 'qui rationi innixus...par recessit' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| IV.iv.157-158 | 'There may an injury...I will take it' | Seneca the Younger | *Const* .VII.3 | 'hoc loco intellegere...non accipiam' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| IV.iv.162-163 | 'We are not so much troubled...of the wrong' | Epictetus | *Enchiridion* V, XX* | 'Tarassei tous anthropous...dogmata,' 'Memneso...os ubrizinton' | Near Textual Allusion | O, R |

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| IV.iv.162-164 | 'We are...visors' | Seneca the Younger | *Const.* V.2 | 'Ad tantas ineptias...depravata facies' | Direct Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| IV.iv.164-174 | 'Such poor sounds...our vice of taking it' | Seneca the Younger | *Const.* X.1-3 | '[Contumelia] est minor...vitio interpretantis' | Direct Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| IV.iv.178 | 'If a woman or child' | Seneca the Younger | *Const.* XII.1 | 'Quem animum...puerilitas est' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| IV.iv.178 | 'If a woman or child' | Seneca the Younger | *Const.* XIV.1 | 'Tanta quosdam...a muliere' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| IV.iv.198-199 | 'If light wrongs touch me not, No more shall...many' | Seneca the Younger | *Const.* XV.2 | 'In quantumcumque...ne plura quidem' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| IV.iv.200-204 | 'There's naught so sacred...not hit' | Seneca the Younger | *Const.* III.3 | 'Nihil in rerum natura...sapientem exhibebo' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| IV.iv.206-211 | 'They that do...an enemy's country' | Seneca the Younger | *Const.* IV.2-3 | 'Ut caelestia humanas...in hostium terra' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| IV.iv.212-214 | 'A wise man never...he to opinion' | Seneca the Younger | *Const.* XIV.4 | 'Non respicit...omnium vadit' | Direct Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| IV.iv.215-220 | 'He will examine...should blush, not he' | Seneca the Younger | *Const.* XVI.3 | 'Utrum merito mihi...erubescendum est' | Direct Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| IV.iv.231 | 'If I but knew what drink the time now loved' | Plautus | *Amph.* 282 | Similar conceit about Time | Near Textual Allusion | R |
| V.ii.11-12 | 'His prentice...plead a stitch' | Homer | *Il.* XIX.246 | Similar section in Chapman's translation | Near Textual Allusion | C, R |
| V.ii.47 | 'My liver's one great coal' | Horace | *Carm.* IV.i.12 | 'si torrere...idoneum,' on the liver as the seat of love | General Allusion | O, R |
| V.iv.58 | 'So you will use your fortunes reverently' | Ausonius | *Ep.* II.vii.7-8* | 'fortunam reverenter...progediere loco' | Near Textual Allusion | C, R |
| V.iv.59 | 'Love...mother' | | | Partial reference to Venus and Cupid | Mythological Allusion | C |
| V.iv.34 | 'genial bed' | Virgil | *Aen.* VI | 'lectus genialis' | Direct Textual Allusion | O, R |
| V.iv.155 | 'like Maecenas, having but one wife' | Seneca the Younger | *Ep.* CXIV.6 | 'Hunc esse...unam habuerit' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| Epi.6 | 'In all the numbers' | Cicero | *Fin.* II.viii.24 | 'omnes numeros virtutis continet' | Near Textual Allusion | O |
| Epi.6 | 'In all the numbers' | Petronius | *Sat.* LXVIII | 'duo tamen...omnium numerum' | Near Textual Allusion | O |

### The New Inn

| Location (Jonson) | Quotation/Allusion (Jonson) | Author | Text and Location (Source) | Quotation/Summary (Source) | Type of Reference | Citation |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Epi.9-10 | 'impute it to his brain. / That's yet unhurt' | Seneca the Younger | *Const.* VII.3 | | Near Textual Allusion | T |
| Epi.23-24 | 'mayors and shrieves...ask an age' | Florus | *De Qualitate Vitae* IX* | 'Consules fiunt...non quotannis nascitur' | Near Textual Allusion | C, R |
| Ode | Form and tone of Horace's *Epistle* II.i | Horace | *Epist.* II.i | Criticism of the *mores* of one's contemporaries | Near Design Allusion | C |
| Ode.0.3 | 'the Play lived not in Opinion' | | | *opinio* a Stoical technical term | General Allusion | R |
| Ode.37 | 'foul comic socks' | | | Reference to the *socci* | General Allusion | C, O, R |
| Ode.42 | 'take the Alcaic lute' | | | Reference to Alcaeus | Personal Allusion | C, O, R |
| Ode.43 | 'thine own Horace' | Horace | | Reference to Horace | Personal Allusion | C, O, R |
| Ode.43 | 'Anacreon's lyre' | Anacreon | | Reference to Anacreon | Personal Allusion | C, O, R |
| Ode.44 | 'Warm thee by Pindar's fire' | Pindar | | Reference to Pindar | Personal Allusion | C, O, R |
| Ode.55 | 'Feel such a...their powers' | Horace | *Epist.* II.i.251-256 | 'repentis per...principe Romam' | Near Textual Allusion | C |
| Ode.58 | 'hit the stars' | Horace | *Carm.* I.i.36 | 'sublimi feriam sidera vertice' | Direct Textual Allusion | C, O, R |

### The Magnetic Lady

| Location (Jonson) | Quotation/Allusion (Jonson) | Author | Text and Location (Source) | Quotation/Summary (Source) | Type of Reference | Citation |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Title-Page.10-11 | '*Iam…Magnete*' | Claudian | *Magnes* LVI-LVII* | 'Iam…Magnete' | Direct Textual Allusion | C, R |
| Persons.2 | '*she-parasite*' | | | Partial reference to New Comic parasite | Near Characterological Allusion | T |
| Persons.3 | 'PLACENTIA' | Terence | *Eun.* | Character's pregnancy shaping plot | Near Design Allusion | T |
| Persons.4 | 'LOADSTONE' | Claudian | *Magnes** | On Venus' union with a loadstone | Near Textual Allusion | R |
| Ind | 'Induction, or Chorus' | | | Neoclassical tenets | General Allusion | T |
| Ind.5 | 'shop' | Aristophanes | *Nub.* | Possible reference to the Phrontisterion | Near Design Allusion | O, R |
| Ind.24 | 'caves or wedges' | Plautus | *Amph.* 66 | 'caveae' | Direct Textual Allusion | C, R |
| Ind.24 | 'caves or wedges' | Virgil | *Aen.* V.46 | 'cunei' | Direct Textual Allusion | C, R |
| Ind.32-33 | '*Populo…fabulas*' | Terence | *An.* 3 | 'Populo…fabulas' | Direct Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| Ind.61 | 'Vitruvius' | | | Reference to the architect Vitruvius | Personal Allusion | C, R |
| Ind.63-64 | 'made present by report' | Terence | *Eun.* | On classical rule of keeping repulsive, impossible or unlikely actions offstage | General Allusion | O, R |
| Ind.68 | '*decorum*' | Horace | *Ars P.* | On classical rules of propriety | General Allusion | C |
| Ind.92 | 'He has lost too much' | Terence | *An.Pro* | Terence defending himself through prologues | Near Design Allusion | C, R |
| Ind.93 | 'Not woo the gentle ignorance so much' | Aristophanes | *Nub.* 560-562 | 'ostis oun…phronein dokesete' | Near Textual Allusion | O |
| I.i.69-72 | 'universal…acts' | Aristotle | *Metaph.* | On Aristotle's theory on universals as opposed to the Platonic theory of Forms | General Allusion | C, O, R |
| I.ii.5 | 'Ripe…husband' | Virgil | *Aen.* VII.53 | 'Iam matura viro' | Direct Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| I.ii.47 | 'afore the door' | Terence | | On Roman (especially Terentian) comedy taking place in the street outside houses | Direct Design Allusion | R |
| I.iii.5 | '*Hinc illae lachrimae*' | Horace | *Epist.* I.xix.41 | 'Hinc illae lachrimae' | Direct Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| I.iii.5 | '*Hinc illae lachrimae*' | Terence | *An.* 126 | 'Hinc illae lachrimae' | Direct Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| I.vi.20 | 'Syracusa's sack on Archimede' | | | Reference to the mathematician Archimedes | Personal Allusion | C, O, R |
| I.vii.32 | 'Tacitus' | | | Reference to Tacitus | Personal Allusion | C, R |
| Chorus1.1 | '*protasis*' | Donatus | *Donati Fragmentum de Comoedia et Tragoedia** | Neo-classical structural division of comedies | General Allusion | C, O, R |

### *The Magnetic Lady*

| Location (Jonson) | Quotation/Allusion (Jonson) | Author | Text and Location (Source) | Quotation/Summary (Source) | Type of Reference | Citation |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Chorus1.7 | *'catastrophe'* | Donatus | *Donati Fragmentum de Comoedia et Tragoedia\** | Neo-classical structural division of comedies | General Allusion | C, O, R |
| Chorus1.8 | *'epitasis'* | Donatus | *Donati Fragmentum de Comoedia et Tragoedia\** | Neo-classical structural division of comedies | General Allusion | C, O, R |
| Chorus1.8 | 'catastasis' | Donatus | *Donati Fragmentum de Comoedia et Tragoedia\** | Neo-classical structural division of comedies, Scaliger's modification of Donatus' *summa epistasis* | General Allusion | C, O, R |
| Chorus1.50-51 | 'call a spade a spade' | Lucian | * | 'ten skaphon…legein,' Greek proverb | General Allusion | O |
| Chorus1.50-51 | 'call a spade a spade' | Plutarch | * | 'ten skaphon…legein,' Greek proverb | General Allusion | O |
| II.ii.7 | 'remora' | Pliny the Elder | *HN* IX.xxv | On the remora | General Allusion | R |
| II.iii.17 | *'aquosus'* | Horace | *Carm. II.ii.15-16* | 'aquosus languor' | Near Textual Allusion | O |
| II.v.11 | 'homely style' | Horace | *Ars P.* | Advocation of the 'plain style' recommended by Horace | General Allusion | C |
| II.v.45-46 | 'hold…wing' | Archilocus | * | Greek proverb about 'holding a grasshopper by the wing' | General Allusion | R |
| II.v.48 | 'your shoe wrings you' | Aemilius Paulus | V.ii* | Proverb on finding sensitive spots | General Allusion | R |
| II.v.48 | 'your shoe wrings you' | Plutarch | *Coniugalia Praecepta* XXII* | 'O 'Romaios upo…opou me thlibei' | Near Textual Allusion | O, R |
| II.vi.20 | 'work like wax' | Horace | *Epist.* II.ii.8 | 'argilla…uda' | Near Textual Allusion | O, R |
| II.vi.132 | 'Cutting of throats with a whispering' | Juvenal | IV.110 | 'saevior illo…aperire susurro' | Direct Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| Chorus2.12 | 'Davus' | Terence | *An.* | Reference to the slave Davus | Direct Characterological Allusion | C, O, R |
| Chorus2.12 | 'Pseudolus' | Plautus | *Pseud.* | Reference to the slave Pseudolus | Direct Characterological Allusion | C, O, R |
| Chorus2.12 | 'Pyrgopolinices' | Plautus | *Mil.* | Reference to Pyrgopolinices | Direct Characterological Allusion | C, O, R |
| Chorus2.13 | 'Thraso' | Terence | *Eun.* | Reference to the soldier Thraso | Direct Characterological Allusion | C, O, R |
| Chorus2.13 | 'Euclio' | Plautus | *Aulu.* | Reference to the miser Euclio | Direct Characterological Allusion | C, O, R |
| Chorus2.13 | 'Menedemus' | Terence | *Haut.* | Reference to Menedemus | Direct Characterological Allusion | C, O, R |
| Chorus2.15 | 'Titius or Seius' | Juvenal | IV.13 | Reference to Titius and Deius | Near Characterological Allusion | C, O, R |
| Chorus2.15 | 'Titius or Seius' | Martial | V.xiv.5 | Reference to Gaius and Lucius | Near Characterological Allusion | C, O, R |
| Chorus2.29-31 | 'glass…manners' | Donatus | *Donati Fragmentum de Comoedia et Tragoedia\** | 'imitatio vitae…veritatis,' sentiment attributed to Cicero by Donatus | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| Chorus2.32 | 'delight or profit' | Horace | *Ars P.* 343-344 | 'utile dulci' | Direct Textual Allusion | C, R |

### *The Magnetic Lady*

| Location (Jonson) | Quotation/Allusion (Jonson) | Author | Text and Location (Source) | Quotation/Summary (Source) | Type of Reference | Citation |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Chorus2.33 | 'malice of misapplying' | Martial | I.Pro.9-10 | On malicious misinterpretations of an author's intentions | Near Textual Allusion | C, R |
| Chorus2.39-40 | 'no barber's art' | Martial | VI.xliv.24-26 | On Cinnamus the barber | Near Characterological Allusion | C, O, R |
| III.ii.33 | 'Hippocrates' | | | Reference to the physician Hippocrates | Personal Allusion | C, O, R |
| III.ii.34 | 'Galen' | | | Reference to the physician Galen | Personal Allusion | C, O, R |
| III.iii.113-114 | 'as furious…Achilles' | Homer | *Il.* | On Achilles returning to battle after the death of Patroclus | Mythological Allusion | C, O, R |
| III.iii.113-114 | 'as furious…Achilles' | Horace | *Ars P.* 121 | On the use of 'furiosus' | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| III.iv.40 | *'chiragra'* | Horace | *Epist.* I.i.31 | On hand gout, and its connection with usurers | General Allusion | C |
| III.iv.40 | *'chiragra'* | Martial | I.xcviii | On hand gout, and its connection with usurers | General Allusion | C |
| III.v.83 | 'generous wine' | Horace | * | 'vinum generosum' | General Allusion | C, R |
| III.v.159-165 | 'Many in our…foot to foot' | Homer | *Il.* XVI.214-217 | Description of military phalanxes | Near Textual Allusion | C, R |
| III.v.159-165 | 'Many in our…foot to foot' | Virgil | *Aen.* X.361 | 'Concurrunt; haeret…viro vir,' description of military phalanxes | Near Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| III.v.175 | *'genii'* | Horace | *Epist.* II.ii.187-189 | 'Genius, natale…albus an ater' | General Allusion | O, R |
| III.v.179 | *'Sine divino aliquo afflatu'* | Cicero | *Nat. D.* II.clxvii | 'Sine divino aliquo afflatu' | Direct Textual Allusion | C, O, R |
| Chorus3.25 | 'to the nail' | Horace | *Sat.* I.v.32 | 'ad unguem' | Direct Textual Allusion | C, R |
| IV.iv.4 | 'My Lady's stroker' | Plautus | *Men.* 260 | 'palpator' | General Allusion | O, R |
| IV.iv.7 | 'viper' | Pliny the Elder | *HN* X.lxxxii.170 | On the viper eating its parent | General Allusion | C, R |
| IV.iv.47 | 'Repentance, if it…too late' | Aesop | * | Proverb from the fable of the Tortoise and the Eagle | General Allusion | C |
| Chorus4.22 | *'catastrophe'* | Donatus | *Donati Fragmentum de Comoedia et Tragoedia** | Neo-classical structural division of comedies | General Allusion | C |
| V.vii.67 | 'Machaon' | Homer | *Il.* II.731-732 | Reference to Machaon, son of Aesculapius | Mythological Allusion | C, O, R |
| V.vii.67 | 'Podalirius' | Homer | *Il.* II.731-732 | Reference to Podalirius, son of Aesculapius | Mythological Allusion | C, O, R |
| V.vii.67 | 'Aesculapius' | | | Reference to Aesculapius | Mythological Allusion | C, O, R |
| V.vii.68 | 'golden beard' | Valerius Maximus | I.137* | On Aesculapius' 'barbam auream' | Mythological Allusion | C, O, R |
| Chorus5.8 | ''fore all the people's hands' | Terence | *An.*3 | An inversion of Terence's populist sentiment | Near Textual Allusion | C |

### *A Tale of A Tub*

| Location (Jonson) | Quotation/Allusion (Jonson) | Author | Text and Location (Source) | Quotation/Summary (Source) | Type of Reference | Citation |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Title-Page.1-3 | 'A TALE OF A TUB' | Apuleius | *Met.* IX.5-7 | Common phrase, originating from Apuleius' story about a lover hiding in a tub | General Allusion | C |
| Title-Page.7 | *'Inficeto…rure'* | Catullus | XXII.14 | 'Inficeto…rure' | Direct Textual Allusion | C |
| Persons.8 | 'DIDO WISP' | Virgil | *Aen.* IV | Jonson's Dido a parodic version of Virgil's original character | Near Characterological Allusion | C |
| Persons.15 | 'TO-PAN' | | | Literal translation of the Greek for Pan | Mythological Allusion | C, O |
| Persons.16 | 'D'OGENES' | | | Reference to the philosopher Diogenes | Personal Allusion | C, O |
| Persons.17 | 'BALL' | | | Partial reference to Hannibal | Personal Allusion | C, O |
| I.i.66-67 | 'Or scarce my…I'll burn it' | Plutarch | *De Garr.* IX | 'Metellos de o…epi pur etheka' | Direct Textual Allusion | C, O |
| I.ii.42 | 'mere cheating' | Plato | *Resp.* 602 | On the argument that the artist or poet does not really know what he makes | Near Textual Allusion | C |
| I.iii.52 | 'Julius Caesar' | | | Reference to Julius Caesar | Personal Allusion | C |
| I.v.28 | *'ad unguem'* | Horace | *Ars P.* 417 | 'ad unguem,' and Jonson's translation | Direct Textual Allusion | O |
| I.v.28 | *'ad unguem'* | Horace | *Sat.* I.v.32 | 'ad unguem' | Direct Textual Allusion | C |
| I.vii.26-27 | 'properest…up' | | | Partial reference to the myth of Pygmalion | Mythological Allusion | C |
| II.iii.41 | 'fool's finger' | Martial | II.xxv.2; VI.lxx.5 | On the 'digitus impudicus' pointed at fools and pathic homosexuals | General Allusion | C, O |
| III.v.23 | 'Juno' | Virgil | *Aen.* IV.90-104 | Reference to Juno, who was sympathetic to Dido | Mythological Allusion | C |
| III.vi.12-15 | 'Virginia…decimir in Rome' | Livy | *Hist.* III.xliv-lviii | Reference to Appius Claudius and Virginia | Personal Allusion | C |
| III.vi.18 | 'Pompey' | | | Reference to Gnaeus Pompeius (Pompey) | Personal Allusion | C |
| III.vi.18 | 'Trajan' | | | Reference to the Emperor Trajan | Personal Allusion | C |
| III.vi.20 | 'Dictator' | | | Reference to the Roman office of dictator | General Allusion | C |
| III.vii.15 | *'Multa cadunt inter'* | Aulus Gellius | *NA* XIII.xviii | 'Multa cadunt inter calicem supremque labra,' attributed to Cato | Direct Textual Allusion | C, O |
| III.vii.37 | *'Tempus edax'* | Ovid | *Met.* XV.234 | 'Tempus edax rerum' | Direct Textual Allusion | C, O |
| III.vii.46 | 'Hercules, the porter' | | | Partial reference to Hercules | Mythological Allusion | C, O |
| III.ix.56 | 'ox did speak' | Livy | *Hist.* XXXV.xxi.4 | On a cow prophesying bad portents for Rome | Near Textual Allusion | C, O |

### *A Tale of A Tub*

| Location (Jonson) | Quotation/Allusion (Jonson) | Author | Text and Location (Source) | Quotation/Summary (Source) | Type of Reference | Citation |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| IV.Scene Interloping.11 | 'architect' | Aristotle | *Eth. Nic.* I.i | 'architectonike' | Direct Textual Allusion | C |
| IV.vi.2 | 'Ruffin' | Homer | *Il.* VI.456 | Chapman's translation as 'ruffinous' | General Allusion | O |
| V.ii.73 | 'Vitruvius' | | | Reference to the architect Vitruvius | Personal Allusion | C |

# Appendix B

# Records of the Performance of Greek and Latin Comedies and Tragedies in Europe, 1450-1640

The date parameters are between 1450 (the year at which *APRGD* records begin) and 1640 (three years after Jonson's death). The plays detailed are original language, translated, adaptations, or 'distant relatives' of works by Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, Aristophanes, Plautus, and Terence. Where a performance date is not precisely known, *APRGD* convention is to list it as '1 Jan [Year]' or '1 Jan [Year]-31 Dec [Year],' with performances assumed to have taken place on, around, or within these dates.

All data have been taken from the *APRGD* Performance Database; full references can be found on the database itself, but scholarly works referred to directly in the table below can be found in the Bibliography.

| Entry | Date of Performance | Play | Playwright | Place of Performance | Language | Relationship to Original | Number of Performances | Company | Notes |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 1 Jan 1474 | *Phaedra* | Seneca | Palais de Cardinal Saint George, France | Unknown | Unknown | ?1 | | |
| 2 | 1 Jan 1476 | *Andria* | Terence | unknown venue, Florence, Tuscany, Italy | Latin | Reading/Recitation | 3 | Students | Pupils of Vespucci delivered recitation at 1) their school; 2) Medici's house; 3) the Palazza della Signoria |
| 3 | 1 Jan 1478 | [A Play by Terence] | Terence | unknown venue, Florence, Tuscany, Italy | Unknown | Reading/Recitation | ?1 | Students (Clerics) | Clerics of S. Maria del Fiore, Domizi's students, delivered |
| 4 | 1 Jan 1479 | [?A Play by Terence] | ?Terence | unknown venue, Florence, Tuscany, Italy | Unknown | Reading/Recitation | ?1 | Students (Clerics) | Clerics of S. Maria del Fiore, Domizi's students, delivered |
| 5 | 1 Jan 1480 | *Asinaria* | Plautus | Quirinal, Rome, Latium, Italy | Latin | Original Language | 1 | | |
| 6 | 1 Jan 1484 | *Aulularia* | Plautus | Quirinal, Rome, Latium, Italy | Latin | Original Language | ?1 | | The first stage performance of a Latin comedy during the Renaissance' (Grismer, p.6) |
| 7 | 1 Jan 1485- 31 Dec 1498 | [A Play by Plautus] | Plautus | unknown venue, Florence, Tuscany, Italy | Unknown | Unknown | ? | ?Students | Probably acted by Luca da Bernadi's students |
| 8 | 1 Jan 1485 | *Asinaria* | Plautus | unknown venue, Rome, Latium, Italy | Latin | Original Language | ?1 | Students | Performed c.1485 by students of Pomponius Laetus, Professor at University of Rome |
| 9 | 1 Jan 1485 | *Hippolytus* | Seneca | unknown venue; Castel Sant' Angelo; Palace of Cardinal Riario, Rome, Latium, Italy | Latin | Original Language | 3 | Students | Performed c.1485 by students of Pomponius Laetus, Professor at University of Rome. Inghirami's performance was highly praised, following the production he was known as Tommaso Phaedra |
| 10 | 1 Jan 1486 | [A Play by Seneca] | Seneca | Universität Leipzig, Leipzig, Saxony, Germany | Latin | Reading/Recitation | ?1 | ?Students | |
| 11 | 25 Jan 1486 | *Menaechmi* | Plautus | Palazzo del Corte, Ferrara, Emilia-Romagna, Italy | Italian | Translation | ?1 | | First presentation of a Roman comedy in translation, probably with additions. Production costs were high, and was performed to approximately 10000 spectators |

| Entry | Date of Performance | Play | Playwright | Place of Performance | Language | Relationship to Original | Number of Performances | Company | Notes |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 12 | 25 Jan 1487-5 Feb 1487 | *Anfitrione* | Plautus | Palazzo del Corte, Ferrara, Emilia-Romagna, Italy | Italian | Translation | 2 | | An expensive production, part of marriage celebrations; two performances because first one cancelled due to weather. |
| 13 | 1 Jan 1488 | *Menaechmi* | Plautus | Palazzo del Corte, Ferrara, Emilia-Romagna, Italy | Italian | Translation | ?1 | | Translation, probably with additions |
| 14 | 12 May 1488 | *Menaechmi* | Plautus | unknown venue, Florence, Tuscany, Italy | Latin | Original Language | ?1 | Clerics | Performed by clerics of San Lorenzo |
| 15 | 10 Feb 1490 | ?*Curculio* | ?Plautus | Sala Grande, Ferrara, Emilia-Romagna, Italy | Italian | Translation | ?1 | | Performance part of wedding celebrations, possibly a contemporary play rather than Plautus |
| 16 | 13 Feb 1491 | *Menaechmi* | Plautus | Sala Grande, Ferrara, Emilia-Romagna, Italy | Italian | Translation | 1 | | Performance part of wedding celebrations |
| 17 | 14 Feb 1491 | *Andria* | Terence | Sala Grande, Ferrara, Emilia-Romagna, Italy | Italian | Translation | ?1 | | |
| 18 | 1 Feb 1491 | *Anfitrione* | Plautus | Sala Grande, Ferrara, Emilia-Romagna, Italy | Italian | Translation | 1 | | Performance part of wedding celebrations |
| 19 | 5 Jun 1491 | *Menaechmi* | Plautus | unknown venue, Bologna, Emilia-Romagna, Italy | Italian | Translation | ?1 | | |
| 20 | 1 Jan 1492 | *Menechino* | Plautus | unknown venue, Cesena, Emilia-Romagna, Italy | Italian | Translation | ?1 | | Production organised by the pontifical governor of Cesena |
| 21 | 1 Jan 1493 | *Menaechmi* | Plautus | unknown venue, Milan, Lombardy, Italy | Unknown | Unknown | ?1 | Professional Actors | Company followed Ercole I on visit to his son-in-law |
| 22 | 22 May 1493 | *Menaechmi* | Plautus | Sala Grande, Ferrara, Emilia-Romagna, Italy | Italian | Translation | 1 | | Translation, probably with additions, to celebrate an aristocratic visitation |
| 23 | 27 Aug 1493 | *Captivi* | Plautus | unknown venue, Pavia, Lombardy, Italy | Italian | Translation | 1 | | Performed before the Duke of Ferrare |
| 24 | 28 Aug 1493 | *Mercator* | Plautus | unknown venue, Pavia, Lombardy, Italy | Italian | Translation | 1 | | Performed before the Duke of Ferrare |

| Entry | Date of Performance | Play | Playwright | Place of Performance | Language | Relationship to Original | Number of Performances | Company | Notes |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 25 | 29 Aug 1493 | *Poenulus* | Plautus | unknown venue, Pavia, Lombardy, Italy | Italian | Translation | 1 | | Performed before the Duke of Ferrare |
| 26 | 1 Jan 1496 | *Captivi* | Plautus | unknown venue, Bologna, Emilia-Romagna, Italy | Italian | Translation | ?1 | | Performance ordered by Antonio Galeazzo Bentivoglio |
| 27 | 1 Jan 1496 | *Captivi* | Plautus | unknown venue, Mantua, Lombardy, Italy | Italian | Translation | ?1 | | Same production as above? |
| 28 | 7 Feb 1499-12 Feb 1499 | *Eunuchus* | Terence | Sala Grande, Ferrara, Emilia-Romagna, Italy | Unknown | Unknown | ?5 | | Performance part of a three-day series. Each production was costly and involved 133 performers |
| 29 | 10 Feb 1499 | *Trinummus* | Plautus | Sala Grande, Ferrara, Emilia-Romagna, Italy | Italian | Translation | 1 | | Performance part of a three-day series. Each production was costly and involved 133 performers |
| 30 | 11 Feb 1499 | *Poenulus* | Plautus | Sala Grande, Ferrara, Emilia-Romagna, Italy | Italian | Translation | 1 | | Performance part of a three-day series. Each production was costly and involved 133 performers |
| 31 | 1 Mar ?1500-1501 | *Asinaria* | Plautus | Sala Grande, Ferrara, Emilia-Romagna, Italy | Italian | Translation | 1 | | Performed either in 1500 or 1501 |
| 32 | 3 Mar ?1500-1501 | *Mercator* | Plautus | Sala Grande, Ferrara, Emilia-Romagna, Italy | Italian | Translation | 1 | | Performed either in 1500 or 1501 |
| 33 | 1 Jan 1500-31 Dec 1520 | [Plays by Terence and Plautus] | Terence | unknown venue, Gazzuolo, Lombardy, Italy | Italian | Reading/Recitation | ?1 | | Plays requested during this period by Bishop Ludovico Gonzago, who was very interested in acquiring Italian translations of classical comedies |
| 34 | 1 Jan 1500-31 Dec 1520 | [Plays by Terence and Plautus] | Plautus | unknown venue, Gazzuolo, Lombardy, Italy | Italian | Reading/Recitation | ?1 | | Plays requested during this period by Bishop Ludovico Gonzago, who was very interested in acquiring Italian translations of classical comedies |
| 35 | 1 Jan 1500-31 Dec 1550 | [A Play by Plautus] | Plautus | unknown venue, Augsburg, Free State of Bavaria, Germany | Unknown | Adaptation | ?1 | | Adapted as an educational comedy |

| Entry | Date of Performance | Play | Playwright | Place of Performance | Language | Relationship to Original | Number of Performances | Company | Notes |
|-------|---------------------|------|------------|---------------------|----------|-------------------------|-----------------------|---------|-------|
| 36 | 1 Jan 1500 | *Eunuchus* | Terence | Wroclaw Philharmony, Wroclaw, Lower Silesian Voivodeship, Poland | Unknown | Unknown | ?1 | | |
| 37 | 1 Jan 1500 | [A Play by Terence] | Terence | unknown venue, Augsburg, Free State of Bavaria, Germany | Unknown | Adaptation | ?1 | | Adapted as an educational comedy |
| 38 | 23 Feb 1500 | *Eunuchus* | Terence | Sala Grande, Ferrara, Emilia-Romagna, Italy | Italian | Translation | 1 | | |
| 39 | 27 Feb 1500 | *Captivi* | Plautus | Sala Grande, Ferrara, Emilia-Romagna, Italy | Italian | Translation | 1 | | |
| 40 | 1 Jan 1501 | *Captivi* | Plautus | Sala Grande, Republic of Italy | Italian | Translation | 1 | | The same Sala Grande as Ferrara? Translated into terza rima |
| 41 | 1 Jan 1501 | *Adelphi* | Terence | Theatre Hall, Mantua, Lombardy, Italy | Italian | Translation | 1 | | Venue newly erected in 1501 |
| 42 | 1 Jan 1501 | *Poenulus* | Plautus | Theatre Hall, Mantua, Lombardy, Italy | Italian | Translation | 1 | | Venue newly erected in 1501 |
| 43 | 31 Jan 1501 | *Captivi* | Plautus | Sala Grande, Ferrara, Emilia-Romagna, Italy | Italian | Translation | 1 | | Performed to mark the visit of Beatrice of Aragon, Queen of Hungary |
| 44 | 2 Feb 1501-3 Feb 1501 | *Menaechmi* | Plautus | Sala Grande, Ferrara, Emilia-Romagna, Italy | Unknown | Unknown | ?2 | | |
| 45 | 21 Feb 1501 | *Pseudolus* | Plautus | Sala Grande, Ferrara, Emilia-Romagna, Italy | Italian | Translation | 1 | | |
| 46 | 1 Jan 1502 | *Aulularia* | Plautus | Universität Wien, Vienna, Vienna, Austria | Unknown | Unknown | ?1 | Students | Performed c.1502 by students of Conrad Celtis |

| Entry | Date of Performance | Play | Playwright | Place of Performance | Language | Relationship to Original | Number of Performances | Company | Notes |
|-------|--------------------|------|-----------|---------------------|----------|-------------------------|------------------------|---------|-------|
| 47 | 1 Jan 1502 | *Aulularia* | Plautus | Wroclaw Philharmony, Wroclaw, Lower Silesian Voivodeship, Poland | Unknown | Unknown | ?1 | Students | Performed c.1502 by students of Corvinus |
| 48 | 1 Jan 1502 | *Menaechmi* | Plautus | unknown venue, Mantua, Lombardy, Italy | Unknown | Unknown | ?1 | Students | Performed by scholars of Pietro Marcheselli di Viadana |
| 49 | 1 Jan 1502 | *Pseudolus* | Plautus | unknown venue, Mantua, Lombardy, Italy | Unknown | Unknown | ?1 | Students | Performed by scholars of Pietro Marcheselli di Viadana |
| 50 | 1 Jan 1502 | *Trinummus* | Plautus | unknown venue, Mantua, Lombardy, Italy | Unknown | Unknown | ?1 | Students | Performed by scholars of Pietro Marcheselli di Viadana |
| 51 | 1 Jan 1502 | *Eunuchus* | Terence | Universität Wien, Vienna, Vienna, Austria | Unknown | Unknown | ?1 | Students | Performed c.1502 by students of Conrad Celtis |
| 52 | 1 Jan 1502 | [A Play by Terence] | Terence | Bishop's Palace, Metz, Région Lorraine, France | Latin | Original Language | 1 | | Performance took place during Carnival, and angered the audience who did not understand it |
| 53 | 2 Jan 1502 | *Menaechmi* | Plautus | Vatican, Rome, Latium, Italy | Latin | Original Language | 1 | Pompomancii | Performed before Pope Alessandro VI; preceded by an allegorical piece |
| 54 | 1 Feb 1502- 28 Feb 1502 | *Epidicus* | Plautus | Palazzo della Ragione, Ferrara, Emilia-Romagna, Italy | Italian | Translation | 1 | | One of five lavish productions of plays performed at wedding festivities |
| 55 | 1 Feb 1502- 28 Feb 1502 | *Asinaria* | Plautus | Palazzo della Ragione, Ferrara, Emilia-Romagna, Italy | Italian | Translation | 1 | | One of five lavish productions of plays performed at wedding festivities |
| 56 | 1 Feb 1502- 28 Feb 1502 | *Bacchides* | Plautus | Palazzo della Ragione, Ferrara, Emilia-Romagna, Italy | Italian | Translation | 1 | | One of five lavish productions of plays performed at wedding festivities |
| 57 | 1 Feb 1502 | *Miles Gloriosus* | Plautus | Palazzo del Corte, Ferrara, Emilia-Romagna, Italy | Italian | Translation | 1 | | One of five lavish productions of plays performed at wedding festivities |

| Entry | Date of Performance | Play | Playwright | Place of Performance | Language | Relationship to Original | Number of Performances | Company | Notes |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 58 | 8 Feb 1502 | *Casina* | Plautus | Palazzo del Ragione, Ferrara, Emilia-Romagna, Italy | Italian | Translation | 1 | | One of five lavish productions of plays performed at wedding festivities; *Casina* performed on the night of the wedding |
| 59 | 19 Feb 1503 | *Aulularia* | Plautus | Sala Grande, Ferrara, Emilia-Romagna, Italy | Italian | Translation | 1 | | |
| 60 | 23 Feb 1503 | *Eunuchus* | Terence | Sala Grande, Ferrara, Emilia-Romagna, Italy | Italian | Translation | 1 | | |
| 61 | 27 Feb 1503 | *Menaechmi* | Plautus | Sala Grande, Ferrara, Emilia-Romagna, Italy | Italian | Translation | 1 | | |
| 62 | 1 Jan 1505-31 Dec 1534 | *Soldato Millantatore* | Plautus | Sala Grande, Ferrara, Emilia-Romagna, Italy | Italian | Translation | 1 | | |
| 63 | 1 Jan 1506-31 Dec 1514 | *Hecuba* | Euripides | Collège du Porc, Leuven, Flanders, Belgium | Unknown | ?Translation | ?1 | | Performance included dialogue prologue written by Hadrianus Barlandus |
| 64 | 25 Sep 1507 | *Menaechmi* | Plautus | unknown venue, Venice, Veneto, Italy | Unknown | Unknown | ?1 | | Probably a production on this date, although there is some uncertainty |
| 65 | 1 Jan 1508-31 Dec 1509 | *Aulularia* | Plautus | unknown venue, Lille, Nord-Pas-de-Calais, France | Unknown | Unknown | 1 | Schoolboys | Director Martinus Dorpius wrote a supplement to the play |
| 66 | 1 Jan 1508 | *Asinaria* | Plautus | unknown venue, Venice, Veneto, Italy | Italian | Translation | 1 | | Francesco Cherea likely translator and/or director |
| 67 | 10 Jan 1508 | *Menechin* | Plautus | Teatro S. Canzian, Venice, Veneto, Italy | Italian | Translation | 1 | | |
| 68 | 25 Feb 1508 | *Truculento* | Plautus | Teatro S. Canzian, Venice, Veneto, Italy | Italian | Translation | 1 | | |
| 69 | 1 Jan 1509 | *I Suppositi* | Plautus; Terence | unknown venue, Republic of Italy | Italian | Distant Relative | ?1 | | Play written by Ariosto |
| 70 | 1 Jan 1509 | *Phaedra* | Seneca | unknown venue, Republic of Italy | Unknown | Unknown | ?1 | | 'Performed under the auspices of the Cardinal Riario' (*APGRD* note) |

| Entry | Date of Performance | Play | Playwright | Place of Performance | Language | Relationship to Original | Number of Performances | Company | Notes |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 71 | 1 Jan 1510-31 Dec 1511 | [A Play by Terence] | Terence | King's Hall, Cambridge, Cambridgeshire, England | Unknown | Unknown | 1 | | |
| 72 | 1 Jul 1511 | *Menaechmi* | Plautus | Ancient Capitol of Rome, Campidoglio, Rome, Latium, Italy | Latin | Original Language | 1 | | 'Arranged and paid for by Federigo Gonzaga' (*APGRD* note) |
| 73 | 1 Jan 1512 | *Plutus* | Aristophanes | unknown venue, Florence, Tuscany, Italy | Unknown | Adaptation | 1 | | |
| 74 | 31 Aug 1512 | *Miles Gloriosus* | Plautus | unknown venue, Venice, Veneto, Italy | Unknown | Reading/Recitation | 1 | | Performed, perhaps in a church or castle, by four gentlemen |
| 75 | 1 Jan 1513 | *Poenulus* | Plautus | Ancient Capitol of Rome, Campidoglio, Rome, Latium, Italy | Latin | Reading/Recitation | 1 | | |
| 76 | 7 Feb 1513 | *Andria* | Terence | unknown venue, Mantua, Lombardy, Italy | Unknown | Unknown | 1 | | Production concluded the 1513 carnival at Mantua and was later revived |
| 77 | 8 Feb 1513 | *Pseudolo* | Plautus | unknown venue, Venice, Veneto, Italy | Italian | Translation | 1 | Gentlemen and some of the people' | Lavish production followed by a 'demonstratione di problemi' |
| 78 | 1 Jan 1514 | *Asinaria* | Plautus | Monastery of S. Stephani, Venice, Veneto, Italy | Italian | Translation | ?1 | | |
| 79 | 1 Jan 1516-31 Dec 1517 | [A Play by Terence] | Terence | King's Hall, Cambridge, Cambridgeshire, England | Unknown | Unknown | 1 | | |
| 80 | 21 Jan 1516 | *Menaechmi* | Plautus | Teatro S. Canzian, Venice, Veneto, Italy | Unknown | Unknown | 1 | | |
| 81 | 1 Jan 1517 | ?*Plutus* | Aristophanes | unknown venue, Zwickau, Saxony, Germany | Unknown | Adaptation | 1 | | Part of a play, possibly *Wealth,* performed |

| Entry | Date of Performance | Play | Playwright | Place of Performance | Language | Relationship to Original | Number of Performances | Company | Notes |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 82 | 1 Jan 1518 | *Eunuchus* | Terence | unknown venue, Zwickau, Saxony, Germany | Unknown | Unknown | 1 | Townspeople | Performed under patronage of Duke Johann von Sacksen, possibly at a carnival. Two vernacular plays also performed |
| 83 | 1 Jan 1519-31 Dec 1519 | [A Play by Plautus] | Plautus | Great Chamber (Greenwich, Greater London, England) | Unknown | Unknown | 1 | ?St Paul's Boys | Earliest record of Plautus on English stage, 'possibly by Colet's St Paul's boys under John Rightwise or Ritwise' (Wilson, p.103) |
| 84 | 7 Mar 1520 | [A Play by Plautus] | Plautus | British Museum, Lecture Theatre, London, Greater London, England | Unknown | Unknown | 1 | | Earliest recorded performance of a classical play at the English court and before Henry VIII. Performed to entertain French hostages |
| 85 | 1 Jan 1521 | *Plutus* | Aristophanes | unknown venue, Zwickau, Saxony, Germany | Greek | Original Language | 1 | Students | Probably one performance in Greek and one in Latin |
| 86 | 1 Jan 1521 | *Plutus* | Aristophanes | unknown venue, Zwickau, Saxony, Germany | Latin | Translation | 1 | Students | Probably one performance in Greek and one in Latin |
| 87 | 1 Jan 1521 | *Geta* | Plautus | unknown venue, ?Germany; ?France | Unknown | Adaptation | ?1 | | Adaptation of Plautine play by Vital de Blois |
| 88 | 1 Jan 1522-31 Dec 1523 | *Miles Gloriosus* | Plautus | Trinity Hall, Cambridge, Cambridgeshire, England | Unknown | Unknown | 1 | | John Leland saw this production |
| 89 | 1 Jan 1522-31 Dec 1523 | [A Play by Plautus] | Plautus | Queens' College, Cambridge, Cambridgeshire, England | Unknown | Unknown | 1 | | |
| 90 | 1 Jan 1522 | [A Play by Terence or Plautus] | Terence or Plautus | The House of Signore Hieronimo de Preti, Mantua, Lombardy, Italy | Unknown | Reading/Recitation | 1 | | |
| 91 | 1 Nov 1522 | [A Play by Terence] | Terence | The House of Signore Hieronimo de Preti, Mantua, Lombardy, Italy | Unknown | Reading/Recitation | 1 | | |
| 92 | 1 Jan 1525 | *Hecuba* | Euripides | unknown venue, Germany | Latin | Translation | 1 | Students | Translation by Erasmus; performed by students of Melanchthon |

| Entry | Date of Performance | Play | Playwright | Place of Performance | Language | Relationship to Original | Number of Performances | Company | Notes |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 93 | 1 Jan 1525 | [Plays by, or in the style of, Terence] | ?Terence | Ipswich School, Ipswich, Suffolk, England | Unknown | Unknown | ?1 | Students | |
| 94 | 19 Feb 1525 | *Trinummus* | Plautus | The House of the sons of Signore Zoanne, Mantua, Lombardy, Italy | Italian | Reading/Recitation | 1 | | |
| 95 | 1 Jan 1526-31 Jan 1526 | *Menaechmi* | Plautus | Hampton Court Palace, East Molesey, Surrey, England | Latin | Original Language | 1 | Gentlemen of Wolsey's household | Performance sponsored by Cardinal Wolsey. Smith (p.135) states that a disguised Henry VIII was in attendance, followed by a Petrarch-inspired afterpiece |
| 96 | 1 Jan 1526 | *Thyestes* | Seneca | unknown venue, Wittenberg, Saxony-Anhalt, Germany | Latin | Original Language | 1 | Students | |
| 97 | 5 Feb 1526 | *Menaechmi* | Plautus | unknown venue, Venice, Veneto, Italy | Unknown | Unknown | ?1 | | |
| 98 | 1 Jan 1528-31 Dec 1528 | *Phormio* | Terence | British Museum, Lecture Theatre, London, Greater London, England | Unknown | Unknown | 1 | St Paul's Boys | Production sponsored by Cardinal Wolsey and presented before Henry VIII. 'A Triumph of Peace' followed the play |
| 99 | 1 Jan 1528 | *Phormio* | Terence | St Paul's School, London, Greater London, England | Unknown | Unknown | 1 | St Paul's Boys | Probably presented before Cardinal Wolsey |
| 100 | 21 Jan 1528 | *Menaechmi* | Plautus | unknown venue, Republic of Italy | French | Translation | 1 | | Performance given to honour the wife of Ercole II |
| 101 | 1 Jan 1530 | *Adelphi* | Terence | University of Löwen, Lowen, North Rhine-Westphalia, Germany | Latin | Original Language | 1 | Students | |
| 102 | 1 Jan 1531 | *Plutus* | Aristophanes | unknown venue, Zurich, Kanton Zurich, Switzerland | Greek | Original Language | 1 | Students | Performed by 'adherents of Zwingli' (Boas, p.16); 1531 the last possible date of performance |
| 103 | 1 Jan 1535 | *Miles Gloriosus* | Plautus | New Town Hall, Prague, Hlavni město Praha, Czech Republic | Unknown | Unknown | 1 | Students | Performed by students at the University of Prague at a festival |

| Entry | Date of Performance | Play | Playwright | Place of Performance | Language | Relationship to Original | Number of Performances | Company | Notes |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 104 | 1 Dec 1536 | *Plutus* | Aristophanes | St John's College, Cambridge, Cambridgeshire, England | Greek | Original Language | 1 | Students | Performed according to new rules of pronunciation established by John Cheke |
| 105 | 1 Jan 1537 | *Electre* | Sophocles | unknown venue, France | French | Translation | ?1 | | Translation by Lazare de Baïf |
| 106 | 1 Jan 1537 | [A Play by Terence] | Terence | unknown venue, Vólos, Thessaly, Greece | Unknown | Unknown | ?1 | | |
| 107 | 1 Jan 1539-31 Dec 1542 | *Alcestis* | Euripides | Collège de Guyenne, Bordeaux, Aquitaine, France | Latin | Translation | ?1 | Students | Translated by George Buchanan and performed by his students. Perhaps a performance at Westminster School? |
| 108 | 1 Jan 1539 | *Medea* | Euripides | Collège de Guyenne, Bordeaux, Aquitaine, France | Latin | Translation | ?1 | Students | Translated by George Buchanan and performed by his students. Perhaps a performance at Westminster School? |
| 109 | 1 Jan 1540-31 Dec 1549 | *Medea* | Euripides | unknown venue, England | Latin | Translation | ?1 | Students | Translated by George Buchanan and performed by his students. Possibly performed in England, but not at Westminster School |
| 110 | 1 Jan 1540-31 Dec 1549 | *Philoctetes* | Sophocles | unknown venue, England | ?Latin | Translation | ?1 | | Translated by Roger Ascham; production uncertain |
| 111 | 1 Jan 1540-31 Dec 1560 | *Philoctetes* | Sophocles | unknown venue, Cambridge, Cambridgeshire, England | Latin | Translation | 1 | | |
| 112 | 1 Jan 1540 | *L'Andrienne* | Terence | unknown venue, France | French | Translation | ?1 | | Translated by Charles Estienne; production uncertain |
| 113 | 1 Jan 1542-31 Dec 1543 | *Miles Gloriosus* | Plautus | Queens' College, Cambridge, Cambridgeshire, England | Unknown | Unknown | ?1 | | |
| 114 | 1 Jan 1543-31 Dec 1547 | *Hippolytus* [*Phaedra*] | Seneca | Westminster School, London, Greater London, England | Latin | Original Language | 1 | Students | Christmas production; probably directed by Alexander Nowell, who also wrote the prologue |
| 115 | 1 Jan 1543 | *Adelphi* | Terence | unknown venue, Ferrara, Emilia-Romagna, Italy | Italian | Translation | 1 | Nobles | Performed by three daughters of Duke Alfonso d'Este and Olympia Morato |

| Entry | Date of Performance | Play | Playwright | Place of Performance | Language | Relationship to Original | Number of Performances | Company | Notes |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 116 | 1 Jan 1545 | *Adelphi* | Terence | Westminster School, London, Greater London, England | Latin | Original Language | 1 | Students | Performed c.1545 |
| 117 | 1 Jan 1545 | *Eunuchus* | Terence | Westminster School, London, Greater London, England | Latin | Original Language | 1 | Students | Performed c.1545 |
| 118 | 1 Dec 1546 | *Pax* | Aristophanes | Trinity College, Cambridge, Cambridgeshire, England | Greek | Original Language | 1 | Students | The alchemist Sir John Dee 'won his reputation as a sorceror [for which he was hanged] for the monstrous winged scarab on which...a character ascended to heaven' (Boas, pp.17, 386; Smith, pp.139, 169-170; Wickham, p.247) |
| 119 | 1 Jan 1547-31 Dec 1548 | *Adelphi* | Terence | Queens' College, Cambridge, Cambridgeshire, England | Latin | Original Language | 1 | Students | |
| 120 | 1 Jan 1547-31 Dec 1548 | *Eunuchus* | Terence | Queens' College, Cambridge, Cambridgeshire, England | Unknown | Unknown | 1 | Students | |
| 121 | 1 Jan 1549 | *Clouds* | Aristophanes | unknown venue, Jáchymov, Karlovarský kraj, Czech Republic | Greek | Original Language | 1 | | Directed by Schulmeister Eberhart |
| 122 | 1 Jan 1549 | *Plutus* | Aristophanes | Collège de Coquerel, Paris, Ile-de-France, France | French | Translation | 1 | Students | Translated by Pierre Ronsard while a pupil under Jean Dorat |
| 123 | 1 Jan 1549 | *Miles Gloriosus* | Plautus | unknown venue, Prague, Hlavní město Praha, Czech Republic | Latin | Original Language | 1 | Students | |
| 124 | 1 Feb 1549 | *Penulus* | Plautus | Queens' College, Cambridge, Cambridgeshire, England | Latin | Original Language | ?1 | | |

| Entry | Date of Performance | Play | Playwright | Place of Performance | Language | Relationship to Original | Number of Performances | Company | Notes |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 125 | 1 Nov 1549 | [*Amphitruo* or *Hercules Furens*] | Plautus or Seneca | unknown venue, Nuremberg, Bavaria, Germany | Unknown | Unknown | ?1 | Italian Travelling Troupe | Witness described the story as Roman story of Hercules |
| 126 | 1 Jan 1550-31 Dec 1567 | *Horestes* | Aeschylus; Euripides | British Museum, Lecture Theatre, London, Greater London, England | English | Distant Relative | ?1 | | Play by John Pikeryng based on medieval versions of the Orestes story. May have links to Aeschylus (*Choephoroi, Eumenides*) and/or Euripides (*Orestes*) |
| 127 | 1 Jan 1550-31 Dec 1552 | *Plutus* | Aristophanes | Collège de Coquerel, Paris, Ile-de-France, France | French | Translation | 1 | Friends of the translator | Translated by Pierre Ronsard |
| 128 | 1 Jan 1550 | *La Comedia de Amphitrion* | Plautus | unknown venue, Spanish State | Spanish; Castilian | Adaptation | ?1 | | Adaptation of *Amphitryo* by Juan Timoneda |
| 129 | 1 Jan 1550 | *La Comedia de los Menennos* | Plautus | unknown venue, Spanish State | Spanish; Castilian | Adaptation | ?1 | | Adaptation of *Menaechmi* by Juan Timoneda |
| 130 | 1 Jan 1551-31 Dec 1552 | *Menaechmi* | Plautus | Trinity College, Cambridge, Cambridgeshire, England | Latin | Original Language | ?1 | | Directed by Rudd |
| 131 | 1 Jan 1551-31 Dec 1552 | *Troas* | Seneca | Trinity College, Cambridge, Cambridgeshire, England | Latin | Original Language | ?1 | | Directed by Rudd |
| 132 | 1 Jan 1551 | *Aulularia* | Plautus | Universität Wien, Vienna, Vienna, Austria | Unknown | Unknown | ?1 | | Staged in the University's gymnasium |
| 133 | 1 Jan 1551 | *Eunuchus* | Terence | Universität Wien, Vienna, Vienna, Austria | Unknown | Unknown | ?1 | | |
| 134 | 1 Jan 1552-31 Dec 1553 | *Hippolytus* | ?Seneca or Euripides | King's College, Cambridge, Cambridgeshire, England | Unknown | Unknown | ?1 | | Production might be based on Euripides (*Hippolytos*) or Seneca (*Phaedra*). Account details indicate that materials for a tent and a thunder-making device were required |
| 135 | 1 Jan 1553-31 Dec 1553 | *La Médée* | Euripides; Seneca | unknown venue, Paris, Ile-de-France, France | French | Adaptation | ?1 | | Production based on Euripides and Seneca. Also referenced Hesiod (*Theogony*), Apollonius Rhodius (*Argonautica*), and Ovid (*Metamorphoses*) |

| Entry | Date of Performance | Play | Playwright | Place of Performance | Language | Relationship to Original | Number of Performances | Company | Notes |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 136 | 1 Jan 1553-31 Dec 1554 | *Médée* | Euripides; Seneca | unknown venue, Paris, Ile-de-France, France | French | Adaptation | ?1 | | Production by Jean-Bastier de la Péruse based on Euripides and Seneca. The production may not have been staged, but an account says that it was not well received |
| 137 | 1 Jan 1554-31 Dec 1555 | *Eunuchus* | Terence | Queens' College, Cambridge, Cambridgeshire, England | Unknown | Unknown | 1 | | |
| 138 | 1 Jan 1554 | *Hippolytus* | Seneca | unknown venue, Wittenberg, Saxony-Anhalt, Germany | Latin | Original Language | 1 | Students | |
| 139 | 2 Jan 1554 | *Die Mördisch Königin Clitimestra* | Aeschylus | unknown venue, Nuremberg, Bavaria, Germany | ?German | Distant Relative | 1 | | Adaptation by Hans Sachs that drew mainly on Boccaccio's medieval reworking of Ovid (*Metamorphoses*) |
| 140 | 1 Dec 1554 | *Stichus* | Plautus | Queens' College, Cambridge, Cambridgeshire, England | Latin | Original Language | 1 | | |
| 141 | 1 Jan 1555 | *Jack Jugeler* | Plautus | unknown venue, England | English | Imitation | 1 | Schoolboys | Partially inspired by the first scene of Plautus' *Amphitruo*. The play was first printed in 1562 but was probably performed around the mid-1550s |
| 142 | 2 Nov 1555 | *Mordopffer der Göttin Diane, mit der Jungkfraw Ephigenie* | ?Euripides | unknown venue, Nuremberg, Bavaria, Germany | ?German | Unknown | ?1 | | Play by Hans Sachs, probably based on Euripides (*Iphigenia at Aulis, Iphigenia among the Taurians*), but the exact relationship is unknown |
| 143 | 1 Jan 1556-31 Dec 1557 | *Rudens* | Plautus | Trinity College, Cambridge, Cambridgeshire, England | Unknown | Unknown | 1 | | |
| 144 | 1 Jan 1556 | *Agamemnon* | Seneca | unknown venue, France | French | Adaptation | 1 | | Adaptation by Charles Toutain; a performance date of 1556 is not certain |
| 145 | 1 Jan 1556 | *Edipo* | Sophocles | unknown venue, Padova, Veneto, Italy | Italian | Adaptation | ?1 | | Adaptation by Lodovico Dolce |
| 146 | 1 Jan 1557 | [A Play by Plautus] | Plautus | Rathaus, Munich, Free State of Bavaria, Germany | Unknown | Unknown | 2 | | Two performances in Munich town hall; it is not clear whether these were of the same play |

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 147 | 1 Jan 1557 | [A Play by Plautus] | Plautus | Trinity College, Cambridge, Cambridgeshire, England | Latin | Original Language | 1 | | |
| 148 | 1 Jan 1558 | *Les Argonautes* | Euripides | ?unknown venue, France; Hôtel de Ville, Paris, Ile-de-France, France | Unknown | Unknown | 2 | | A ballet masquerade prequel to Euripides' *Medea.* The court performance is only a possibility |
| 149 | 1 Jan 1558 | *Electra* | Sophocles | unknown venue, Hungary | Hungarian | Translation | ?1 | | |
| 150 | 1 Jan 1559-31 Dec 1560 | *Mostellaria* | Plautus | Trinity College, Cambridge, Cambridgeshire, England | Latin | Original Language | ?1 | | |
| 151 | 1 Jan 1559 | *Andria* | Terence | Trinity College, Oxford, Oxfordshire, England | Unknown | Unknown | ?1 | | |
| 152 | 1 Dec 1559 | *Hecuba* | Seneca | Trinity College, Cambridge, Cambridgeshire, England | Latin | Original Language | 1 | | Based on Seneca's *Trojan Women;* performed alongside Alexander Neville's translation of Seneca's *Oedipus*. |
| 153 | 1 Dec 1559 | *Oedipus* | Seneca | Trinity College, Cambridge, Cambridgeshire, England | English | Translation | 1 | | Used the acting script of Alexander Neville, an undergraduate at Trinity at the time |
| 154 | 1 Jan 1560-31 Dec 1561 | *Amphitruo* | Plautus | Trinity College, Cambridge, Cambridgeshire, England | Latin | Original Language | 1 | | |
| 155 | 1 Jan 1560-31 Dec 1561 | *Medea* | Seneca | Trinity College, Cambridge, Cambridgeshire, England | Latin | Original Language | 1 | | |
| 156 | 1 Jan 1560-31 Dec 1561 | *Troas* | Seneca | Trinity College, Cambridge, Cambridgeshire, England | Latin | Original Language | 1 | | |

| Entry | Date of Performance | Play | Playwright | Place of Performance | Language | Relationship to Original | Number of Performances | Company | Notes |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 157 | 1 Jan 1560 | *Aulularia* | Plautus | unknown venue, Königsberg in Bayern, Free State of Bavaria, Germany | Unknown | Unknown | 1 | | |
| 158 | 1 Jan 1562-31 Dec 1563 | *Curculio* | Plautus | Jesus College, Cambridge, Cambridgeshire, England | Latin | Original Language | 1 | | |
| 159 | 1 Jan 1562-31 Dec 1563 | *Pseudolus* | Plautus | Trinity College, Cambridge, Cambridgeshire, England | Unknown | Unknown | 1 | | |
| 160 | 1 Jan 1562-31 Dec 1563 | *Adelphi* | Terence | Jesus College, Cambridge, Cambridgeshire, England | Latin | Original Language | 1 | | |
| 161 | 1 Jan 1562-31 Dec 1563 | *Eunuchus* | Terence | Trinity College, Cambridge, Cambridgeshire, England | Unknown | Unknown | 1 | | |
| 162 | 1 Jan 1562-31 Dec 1563 | *Phormio* | Terence | Trinity College, Cambridge, Cambridgeshire, England | Latin | Original Language | 1 | | Directed by Rudd and Waller |
| 163 | 1 Jan 1562 | *?Eunuchus* | Terence | St John's College, Cambridge, Cambridgeshire, England | Unknown | Unknown | 1 | | |
| 164 | 1 Jan 1562 | [A Play by Terence] | Terence | Wroclaw Philharmony, Wroclaw, Lower Silesian Voivodeship, Poland | Unknown | Unknown | 1 | | |
| 165 | 27 Feb 1562 | [A Play by Plautus] | Plautus | Rathaus, Munich, Free State of Bavaria, Germany | Unknown | Unknown | 1 | | Two performances in Munich town hall; apparently these were of different plays by Plautus |

| Entry | Date of Performance | Play | Playwright | Place of Performance | Language | Relationship to Original | Number of Performances | Company | Notes |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 166 | 27 Feb 1562 | [A Play by Plautus] | Plautus | Rathaus, Munich, Free State of Bavaria, Germany | Unknown | Unknown | 1 | | Two performances in Munich town hall; apparently these were of different plays by Plautus |
| 167 | 1 Jan 1563-31 Dec 1564 | *Bacchides* | Plautus | Trinity College, Cambridge, Cambridgeshire, England | Latin | Original Language | 1 | | |
| 168 | 1 Jan 1563-31 Dec 1564 | *Trinummus* | Plautus | Trinity College, Cambridge, Cambridgeshire, England | Latin | Original Language | 1 | | Directed by Thomas Cartwright |
| 169 | 1 Jan 1563-31 Dec 1564 | *Eunuchus* | Terence | Jesus College, Cambridge, Cambridgeshire, England | Latin | Original Language | 1 | | |
| 170 | 1 Jan 1563 | *Le Due Cortigiane* | Plautus | unknown venue, Florence, Tuscany, Italy | Italian | Adaptation | ?1 | | Translation of Lodovico Domenichi of Plautus' *Bacchides* |
| 171 | 1 Jan 1563 | *Medea* | Seneca | Queens' College, Cambridge, Cambridgeshire, England | Latin | Original Language | 1 | | |
| 172 | 1 Jan 1564-31 Dec 1565 | *Miles Gloriosus* | Plautus | ?Whitehall; ?Hampton Court, England | Latin | Original Language | 1 | Students (Westminster School) | Performed as part of Twelfth Night celebrations in the presence of Queen Elizabeth |
| 173 | 1 Jan 1564-31 Dec 1565 | *Heautontimorumenos* | Terence | ?British Museum, Lecture Theatre, London, Greater London, England | Latin | Original Language | 1 | Students (Westminster School) | Performed in the presence of Queen Elizabeth; venue possibly Hampton Court or Whitehall |
| 174 | 1 Jan 1564-31 Dec 1565 | *Stichus* | Plautus | Trinity College, Cambridge, Cambridgeshire, England | Latin | Original Language | 1 | | Directed by Legge and Powell |
| 175 | 1 Jan 1564-31 Dec 1569 | *The Buggbears* | Terence | British Museum, Lecture Theatre, London, Greater London, England | English | Distant Relative | 1 | | An adaptation of Grazzini's *L Spiritata* (1561), including episodes from Terence's *Andria.* Date of performance is uncertain, but certainly later than 1563 |

| Entry | Date of Performance | Play | Playwright | Place of Performance | Language | Relationship to Original | Number of Performances | Company | Notes |
|-------|---------------------|------|-----------|----------------------|----------|--------------------------|------------------------|---------|-------|
| 176 | 6 Aug 1564 | *Aulularia* | Plautus | King's College, Cambridge, Cambridgeshire, England | Latin | Original Language | 1 | Students (University) | Performed before Queen Elizabeth. Followed on subsequent nights by a tragedy on Dido, inspired by Virgil's *Aeneid,* and Nicholas Udall's *Exechias.* The theatrical programme was to conclude with a performance on 9 August, but this was cancelled |
| 177 | 9 Aug 1564 | *Ajax Flagellifer* | Sophocles | King's College, Cambridge, Cambridgeshire, England | Latin | Translation | | Students (University) | Performance was planned for a visit by Queen Elizabeth, but was cancelled because she was too tired to attend |
| 178 | 1 Dec 1564 | *Heautontimorumenos* | Terence | Westminster School, London, Greater London, England | Latin | Original Language | 1 | Students (Westminster School) | Performed before Queen Elizabeth |
| 179 | 1 Jan 1565-31 Dec 1566 | *Asinaria* | Plautus | Trinity College, Cambridge, Cambridgeshire, England | Latin | Original Language | 1 | | |
| 180 | 1 Jan 1565-31 Dec 1566 | *Menechmus* | Plautus | Trinity College, Cambridge, Cambridgeshire, England | Latin | Original Language | 1 | | |
| 181 | 1 Jan 1565 | *Edippo* | Sophocles | unknown venue, Padova, Veneto, Italy | Italian | Adaptation | 1 | | Adaptation based on Sophocles' *Oedipus the King*; production included music and dance |
| 182 | 1 Jan 1565 | *Phormio* | Terence | unknown venue, Strasbourg, Alsace, France | Unknown | Unknown | 1 | | Directed by Johannes Sturm, who had performed in Plautine adaptation *Geta* (1521) |
| 183 | 1 Jan 1566 | *Le Troiane* | Euripides | unknown venue, Venice, Veneto, Italy | Italian | Adaptation | ?1 | | Adaptation by Lodovico Dolce based on Euripides' *Trojan Women.* The production contained orchestral and incidental music |
| 184 | 1 Jan 1566 | *Supposes* | Plautus; Terence | Gray's Inn, London, Greater London, England | English | Distant Relative | ?1 | | Adaptation by George Gascoigne of *I Suppositi* by Ariosto, which in turn was based on Plautus and Terence |
| 185 | 1 Jan 1566 | *Agamemnon* | Seneca | unknown venue, England | English | Translation | ?1 | | Translation by John Studley |
| 186 | 1 Feb 1566 | *Menaechmi* | Plautus | Westminster School, London, Greater London, England | Latin | Original Language | 1 | Students (Westminster School) | |

| Entry | Date of Performance | Play | Playwright | Place of Performance | Language | Relationship to Original | Number of Performances | Company | Notes |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 187 | 12 Mar 1566 | *Andria* | Terence | Schola Bergensis, Bergen Cathedral School, Bergen, Hordaland Fylke, Norway | Unknown | Unknown | ?1 | | Directed by Jon Jamt |
| 188 | 19 Apr 1566 | *Trinummus* | Plautus | Rathaus, Munich, Free State of Bavaria, Germany | Latin; German | Unknown | ?1 | | |
| 189 | 1 Sep 1566 | *Progne* | Seneca | Christ Church, Oxford, Oxfordshire, England | Latin | Adaptation | 1 | Students (University) | Probably a neo-Senecan adaptation of Gregorio Corraro's *Progne*, which is primarily based on Ovid's *Metamorphoses.* The last of a series of plays to mark Queen Elizabeth's visit to Oxford (31 August to 7 September) |
| 190 | 1 Dec 1566 | *Jocasta* | Euripides | Gray's Inn, London, Greater London, England | English | Adaptation | 1 | | Gascoigne and Kinwelmershe's version of Ludovico's adaptation of a Latin translation of Euripides' *Phoenician Women.* The first recorded Greek tragedy in Britain |
| 191 | 1 Jan 1567 | [A Play by Terence] | Terence | unknown venue, Regensburg, Bavaria, Germany | Unknown | Unknown | 1 | Students | One of three performances (two by Terence, one by Plautus) that students performed after studying them |
| 192 | 1 Jan 1567 | [A Play by Terence] | Terence | unknown venue, Regensburg, Bavaria, Germany | Unknown | Unknown | 1 | Students | One of three performances (two by Terence, one by Plautus) that students performed after studying them |
| 193 | 2 Jan 1567 | *Le Brave, ou le Taille-Bras* | Plautus | Hôtel de Guise, Paris, France | French | Adaptation | ?1 | | Adaptation of Plautus' *Miles Gloriosus* by Jean-Antoine de Baïf; performed before King Charles IX |
| 194 | 1 Feb 1567 | *Rudens* | Plautus | Westminster School, London, Greater London, England | Latin | Original Language | 1 | Students (Westminster School) | |
| 195 | 7 Feb 1567 | *Eunuchus* | Terence | Merton College, Oxford, Oxfordshire, England | Latin | Original Language | 1 | ?Students (Merton College) | Audience comprised members of the College and a few visitors |
| 196 | 12 Mar 1567 | *Phormio* | Terence | Schola Bergensis, Bergen Cathedral School, Bergen, Hordaland Fylke, Norway | Unknown | Unknown | ?1 | | |

| Entry | Date of Performance | Play | Playwright | Place of Performance | Language | Relationship to Original | Number of Performances | Company | Notes |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 197 | 1 Dec-31 Dec 1567 | *Orestes* | Euripides | British Museum, Lecture Theatre, London, Greater London, England | Latin | Original Language | 1 | ?Students (Westminster School) | Performed before Queen Elizabeth |
| 198 | 1 Jan 1568 | *Supposes* | Plautus; Terence | Merton College, Oxford, Oxfordshire, England | English | Distant Relative | 1 | | Revival of 1566 production |
| 199 | 21 Jan 1568 | *Menechmus* | Plautus | Merton College, Oxford, Oxfordshire, England | Latin | Original Language | 1 | Students (Merton College) | Audience comprised members of the College and a few visitors |
| 200 | 1 Jan 1569 | *Aulularia* | Plautus | unknown venue, Basel, Basel-City, Switzerland | Unknown | Unknown | 1 | Students | Performed after the completion of doctorates by students at the Gymnasium' |
| 201 | 1 Jan 1569 | *Mostellaria* | Plautus | Westminster School, London, Greater London, England | Latin | Original Language | 1 | | |
| 202 | 1 Jan 1571-31 Dec 1571 | *Ajax and Ulysses* | Sophocles | Windsor Boys' School, Windsor, West Berkshire, England | Unknown | Unknown | 1 | | |
| 203 | 1 Jan 1571 | *Persai* | Aeschylus | unknown venue, Zakynthos, Ionian Islands, Greece | ?Italian | Translation | 1 | | Production performed as part of celebrations following the sea-battle of Lepanto |
| 204 | 1 Jan 1572 | *Médée* | Seneca | unknown venue, France | ?French | Adaptation | ?1 | | Adapted by Parthenay |
| 205 | 1 Jan 1573 | *La Famine, ou Les Gabéonites* | Seneca | unknown venue, France | French | Adaptation | ?1 | | Adaptation by Jean de La Taille, based on Seneca's *Trojan Women* |
| 206 | 1 Jan 1573 | *Hippolyte* | Seneca | unknown venue, France | Unknown | Unknown | ?1 | | Adaptation from Seneca's *Phaedra* by Robert Garnier |
| 207 | 1 Jan 1575-31 Dec 1582 | *Iphigenia* | Euripides | St Paul's School, London, Greater London, England | English | Translation | ?1 | ?Students (St Paul's Boys) | Translated from Euripides' *Iphigenia at Aulis* |
| 208 | 1 Jan 1575 | *Iphigenie* | Euripides | Schultheater, Strasbourg, Alsace, France | Greek | Original Language | ?1 | | Uncertainty over which of Euripides' Iphigenia plays were staged |

| Entry | Date of Performance | Play | Playwright | Place of Performance | Language | Relationship to Original | Number of Performances | Company | Notes |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 209 | 1 Jan 1575 | *Aias* | Sophocles | Schultheater, Strasbourg, Alsace, France | Greek | Original Language | ?1 | | |
| 210 | 1 Jan 1577-31 Dec 1592 | *Oedipus* | Seneca | unknown venue, England | Latin | ?Adaptation | ?1 | | Possibly performed, an adaptation written by neo-Latin dramatist William Gager |
| 211 | 1 Jan 1577 | *Médée* | Seneca | unknown venue, Paris, Ile-de-France, France | French | Adaptation | ?1 | | Adapted by Binet |
| 212 | 1 Jan 1578 | *Néphélococugie* | Aristophanes | unknown venue, France | French | Adaptation | ?1 | | Adaptation of Aristophanes' *Birds* by Pierre Le Loyer; described as a 'comedie irreguliere' |
| 213 | 1 Jan 1578 | *Medea* | Seneca | unknown venue, Strasbourg, Alsace, France | Latin | Original Language | ?1 | | |
| 214 | 1 Jan 1579 | *La Troade* | Euripides; Seneca | unknown venue, France | French | Adaptation | ?1 | | Adaptation by Robert Garnier based on plays by Seneca (*Trojan Women*) and Euripides (*Hecuba, Trojan Women*) |
| 215 | 1 Mar 1579-31 Mar 1579 | *Richardus Tertius* | Seneca | St John's College, Cambridge, Cambridgeshire, England | Latin | Distant Relative | 3 | | A neo-Senecan play partly based on Seneca's *Phaedra*. The 'first English history-play that can be strictly so called' (Boas pp.112-129) |
| 216 | 1 Dec 1579 | *Bacchides* | Plautus | Jesus College, Cambridge, Cambridgeshire, England | Latin | Original Language | 1 | Students | Performed on Christmas Day |
| 217 | 8 Jan 1582 | *Supposes* | Plautus; Terence | Trinity College, Oxford, Oxfordshire, England | English | Distant Relative | 1 | | |
| 218 | 1 Jan 1583 | *Persa* | Plautus | St John's College, Cambridge, Cambridgeshire, England | Latin | Original Language | ?1 | | |
| 219 | 1 Jan 1583 | *Antigone* | Sophocles | ?St John's College, Cambridge, Cambridgeshire, England | Latin | Translation | 1 | | Translation by Thomas Watson; production definitely at Cambridge, probably at St John's College |
| 220 | 9 Oct 1583 | [A Play by Plautus] | Plautus | unknown venue, Strasbourg, Alsace, France | Unknown | Unknown | ?1 | | |

| Entry | Date of Performance | Play | Playwright | Place of Performance | Language | Relationship to Original | Number of Performances | Company | Notes |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 221 | 1 Jan 1584 | *Polyxène* | Euripides; Seneca | unknown venue, France | French | Unknown | ?1 | | Unknown whether this play draws on Euripides (*Trojan Women, Hecuba*) or Seneca (*Trojan Women*) |
| 222 | 21 Jan 1584 | *Captivi* | Plautus | Merton College, Oxford, Oxfordshire, England | Latin | Original Language | 1 | | Performed in the Warden's house |
| 223 | 27 Dec 1584 | *Agamemnon and Ulysses* | Aeschylus; Seneca | unknown venue, Greenwich, Greater London, England | Unknown | Unknown | 1 | The Earl of Oxford's Boys | Performed before Queen Elizabeth |
| 224 | 1 Jan 1585-31 Dec 1586 | *?Mostellaria* | Plautus | Trinity College, Cambridge, Cambridgeshire, England | Unknown | Unknown | ?1 | | |
| 225 | 3 Mar 1585 | *Edipo Tiranno* | Sophocles | unknown venue, Göttingen, Lower Saxony, Germany | Italian | Unknown | 1 | | Translated or adapted by Orsatto Giustiniani; there are no other Greek plays at Vicenza until 1847 |
| 226 | 1 Jan 1587 | *Os Enfatrioes* | Plautus | unknown venue, Portugal | Portuguese | Adaptation | 1 | | Adapted by Camoes from Plautus' *Amphitruo* |
| 227 | 1 Jan 1587 | *Aias* | Sophocles | Schultheater, Strasbourg, Alsace, France | Latin | Translation | 1 | | Translation of Sophocles' *Ajax* by Scaliger |
| 228 | 1 Jan 1588 | *Wealth* | Aristophanes | unknown venue, Cambridge, Cambridgeshire, England | Greek | Original Language | 1 | | |
| 229 | 1 Jan 1588 | *?Octavia* | Seneca | Christ Church, Oxford, Oxfordshire, England | Latin | Translation | 1 | | |
| 230 | 18 Jul 1589 | *Astianatte* | Euripides | unknown venue, Venice, Veneto, Italy | Italian | Distant Relative | 1 | | Libretto by M. Bongianni Gratarolo, likely based on Euripides' *Andromache* |
| 231 | 1 Jan 1589 | *Aulularia* | Plautus | unknown venue, Copenhagen, Region Hovedstaden, Denmark | Unknown | Unknown | ?1 | | |

| Entry | Date of Performance | Play | Playwright | Place of Performance | Language | Relationship to Original | Number of Performances | Company | Notes |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 232 | 1 Jan 1589 | *Pseudolus* | Plautus | ?unknown venue, Denmark | Unknown | Unknown | ?1 | | A decree was passed in 1580 for a yearly performance of Plautus or Terence, later changed by Christian II to a twice-yearly performance |
| 233 | 1 Jan 1590-31 Dec 1591 | *Octavia* | Seneca | Christ Church, Oxford, Oxfordshire, England | Unknown | Unknown | 1 | | |
| 234 | 1 Jan 1591-31 Dec 1592 | *?Miles Gloriosus* | Plautus | Queens' College, Cambridge, Cambridgeshire, England | Unknown | Unknown | 1 | | |
| 235 | 7 Feb 1592 | *Hippolytus* | Seneca | Christ Church, Oxford, Oxfordshire, England | Latin | Adaptation | 1 | | Adaptation by William Gager of Alexander Nowell's earlier Westminster production of Seneca's *Phaedra* (1543-1547), with new speeches, a ghost scene and a prologue |
| 236 | 7 Aug 1592 | [A Play by Terence] | Terence | unknown venue, Basel, Basel-City, Switzerland | Unknown | Unknown | ?1 | | Performed in the garden of the Gymnasium; performances of Terence given on the instruction of Rector Beat Heel |
| 237 | 1 Jan 1597 | *Crispus* | Seneca | unknown venue, Republic of Italy | Latin | Distant Relative | ?1 | | Play by Bernardino Stefonio, partly based on Seneca's *Phaedra*, which also included Senecan influence in its form, poetic metres, tone, and location |
| 238 | 1 Jan 1598 | *Medea* | Euripides | Schultheater, Strasbourg, Alsace, France | ?Greek | ?Original Language; ?Adaptation | ?1 | | There is some dispute over whether this play was performed in Greek (Flashar, p.400), or whether it was an adaptation (Hall, Macintosh and Taplin, p.234) |
| 239 | 1 Jan 1599 | *Agamemnon* | Aeschylus | The Rose Playhouse, London, Greater London England | English | Adaptation | Professional run | Professional Actors | Adaptation by Henry Chettle, based on Aeschylus (*Agamemnon*) |
| 240 | 1 Jan 1599 | *Orestes' Furies* | Aeschylus; Euripides | The Rose Playhouse, London, Greater London England | English | Adaptation | Professional run | Professional Actors | Adaptation by Henry Chettle, based on Aeschylus (*Agamemnon*) and Euripides (*Orestes*). This production may possibly have been identical to *Agamemnon* (1599) |
| 241 | 1 Jan 1599 | *Aulularia* | Plautus | unknown venue, Königsberg in Bayern, Free State of Bavaria, Germany | Unknown | Unknown | ?1 | | |

| Entry | Date of Performance | Play | Playwright | Place of Performance | Language | Relationship to Original | Number of Performances | Company | Notes |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 242 | 11 May 1599 | *Pseudolus* | Plautus | unknown venue, Coburg, Free State of Bavaria, Germany | Unknown | Unknown | ?1 | | |
| 243 | 1 Jan 1600-31 Dec 1600 | *The Birth of Hercules* | Plautus | unknown venue, England | English | Distant Relative | ?1 | | An opera or opera-type production, based on Plautus' *Amphitruo* |
| 244 | 1 Jan 1603-31 Dec 1604 | *Hippolitus* | Seneca | St John's College, Cambridge, Cambridgeshire, England | Unknown | Unknown | ?1 | | Performance or adapation of Seneca's *Phaedra* |
| 245 | 1 Jan 1605 | *Ajax Flagellifer* | Sophocles | Christ Church, Oxford, Oxfordshire, England | Latin | Translation | 1 | | Produced to mark King James' visit to Oxford; Boas believes that this could not have been the same production before Queen Elizabeth at King's College, Cambridge (Boas, p.97) |
| 246 | 1 Jan 1606 | *Alceste, ou La Fidélité* | Euripides | unknown venue, France | French | ?Adaptation; ?Translation | ?1 | | Adaptation or translation of Euripides' *Alcestis* by Alexandré Hardy |
| 247 | 1 Jan 1608 | *Amphitruo* | Plautus | New Theatre, Strasbourg, Alsace, France | Unknown | Unknown | ?1 | | |
| 248 | 1 Jan 1608 | *Aias* | Sophocles | Schultheater, Strasbourg, Alsace, France | Latin | Translation | ?1 | | Translation by Scaliger |
| 249 | 1 Jan 1609-31 Dec 1610 | *Andria* | Terence | Trinity College, Cambridge, Cambridgeshire, England | Unknown | Unknown | ?1 | | |
| 250 | 1 Jan 1609-31 Dec 1613 | *The Four Ages: The Golden Age, The Silver Age, The Bronze Age, and The Iron Age* | Aeschylus; Plautus | Red Bull Theatre, London, Greater London, England | English | Distant Relative | Professional run | Professional Actors | Play by Thomas Heywood that drew on medieval versions of Greek myth (Lydgate, Caxton), as well as Aeschylus (*Agamemnon, Choephoroi, Eumenides*), and Plautus (*Amphitruo*) |
| 251 | 1 Jan 1609-31 Dec 1619 | *The Tragedie of Orestes* | Euripides; Seneca; Sophocles | Christ Church, Oxford, Oxfordshire, England | English | Adaptation | ?1 | | Adaptation by Thomas Goffe, based on Euripides (*Orestes*), Seneca (*Agamemnon, Thyestes*), Sophocles (*Electra*), and Shakespeare (*Hamlet*) |
| 252 | 1 Jan 1609 | *Prometheus* | Aeschylus | Schultheater, Strasbourg, Alsace, France | Unknown | Unknown | ?1 | | |

| Entry | Date of Performance | Play | Playwright | Place of Performance | Language | Relationship to Original | Number of Performances | Company | Notes |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 253 | 1 Jan 1609 | *Intermedio No.3 in Honesta Schiava* | Euripides; Seneca | unknown venue, Venice, Veneto, Italy | Italian | Distant Relative | ?1 | | An opera, musical or related genre based on Euripides (*Medea*) or Seneca (*Medea*) |
| 254 | 22 Feb 1609 | *Deificatione d'Alcide* | Seneca | unknown venue, Rimini, Emilia-Romagna, Italy | Italian | Distant Relative | ?1 | | A sung interval entertainment based on Seneca's *Hercules on Oeta* during the performance of a comedy by Filipo Caetano |
| 255 | 1 Jan 1612 | *La Tancia* | Plautus | unknown venue, Florence, Tuscany, Italy | Italian | Distant Relative | ?1 | | An opera, musical or performance from a related genre based on Plautus' *Aulularia*. Libretto by Michelangelo Buonarotti junior |
| 256 | 1 Jan 1612 | *Eunuchus* | Terence | unknown venue, Boleslawiec, Lower Silesian Voivodeship, Poland | Unknown | Unknown | ?1 | | |
| 257 | 1 Jan 1613 | *Clouds* | Aristophanes | Theatrum Academicum, Strasbourg, Alsace, France | Greek | Original Language | 1 | | |
| 258 | 1 Jan 1613-31 Mar 1613 | *Adelphi* | Terence | Trinity College, Cambridge, Cambridgeshire, England | Unknown | Adaptation | 1 | | Adaptation by Samuel Brooke |
| 259 | 1 Jan 1615-31 Dec 1619 | *Aulularia* | Plautus | Nederduytsche Academie, Amsterdam, North Holland, Netherlands | Unknown | Unknown | 1 | | |
| 260 | 1 Jan 1616-31 Dec 1628 | *Plutophtalmia* | Aristophanes | Trinity College, Cambridge, Cambridgeshire, England | English | Adaptation | 1 | | Adaptation of Aristophanes' *Wealth* by Thomas Randolph, probably performed at Trinity College. According to Smith, it is the 'last recorded production of classical comedy at Oxford or Cambridge in seventeenth century' (Smith, p.172); but Hall is uncertain about whether there is adequate production evidence (no source provided) |
| 261 | 1 Jan 1617 | *Iphigenia* | Euripides | Nederduytsche Academie, Amsterdam, North Holland, Netherlands | Dutch; Flemish | Translation | 1 | | Translation by Samuel Coster; it is uncertain whether the adaptation is of *Iphigenia among the Taurians* or *Iphigenia at Aulis* |

| Entry | Date of Performance | Play | Playwright | Place of Performance | Language | Relationship to Original | Number of Performances | Company | Notes |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 262 | 1 Jan 1618 | *Menaechmi* | Plautus | unknown venue, Nuremberg, Bavaria, Germany | Unknown | Unknown | ?1 | | |
| 263 | 1 Jan 1619-31 Dec 1622 | *The True Tragedy of Herod and Antipater* | Aeschylus | Red Bull Theatre, London, Greater London, England | English | Distant Relative | ?Professional run | ?Professional Actors | Adaptation by Gervase Markham based partly on Aeschylus' *Agamemnon,* including a 'Dumb Shew' of Agamemnon. Probably performed at the Red Bull between 1619-1622 |
| 264 | 1 Jan 1620 | *Il Natal di Amore* | Seneca; Sophocles | unknown venue, Venice, Veneto, Italy | Italian | Distant Relative | ?1 | | An opera, musical or related genre based on Seneca (*Hercules on Oeta*) and Sophocles (*Trachiniai*). Libretto by Giulio Strozzi |
| 265 | 1 Jan 1624 | *Aulularia* | Plautus | unknown venue, Nuremberg, Bavaria, Germany | Unknown | Unknown | ?1 | | Staged alongside Terence's *Adelphi* |
| 266 | 1 Jan 1624 | *The Captives; or, The Lost Recovered* | Plautus | Drury Lane, London, Greater London, England | ?English | Adaptation | ?Professional run | ?Professional Actors | Involves the plot and some speeches from Plautus' *Rudens*, as well as having a sub-plot taken from an Italian novella |
| 267 | 1 Jan 1624 | *Adelphi* | Terence | unknown venue, Nuremberg, Bavaria, Germany | Unknown | Unknown | ?1 | | Staged alongside Plautus' *Aulularia* |
| 268 | 1 Jan 1625 | *De Amsteldamsche Hecuba* | Seneca | ?unknown venue, Holland | Dutch; Flemish | Adaptation | ?1 | | Adaptation by Joost van den Vondel of Seneca (*Trojan Women*), as well as Virgil (*Aeneid*), Ovid (*Metamorphoses*) and Quintus Smyrnaeus (*Posthomerica*) |
| 269 | 1 Jan 1626 | *Amphitruo* | Plautus | Komödienhaus, Dresden, Saxony, Germany | Unknown | Unknown | ?1 | ?English travelling troupe | |
| 270 | 1 Jan 1627 | *The English Traveler* | Plautus | Drury Lane, London, Greater London, England | English | Adaptation | Professional run | Professional Actors | Adaptation by Thomas Heywood of Plautus' *Mostellaria* crossed with an Italian novella |
| 271 | 1 Jan 1629-31 Dec 1659 | *Captivi* | Plautus | unknown venue, France | French | Unknown | ?1 | | |
| 272 | 1 Jan 1632 | *Hercule Mourant* | Seneca | Hôtel de Bourgogne, Paris, Ile-de-France, France | French | Unknown | ?1 | Confrères de la Passion | Translation or adaptation by Jean de Rotrou of Seneca's *Hercules on Oeta* |
| 273 | 1 Jan 1634 | *Admeto* | Euripides | unknown venue, Bologna, Emilia-Romagna, Italy | Italian | Distant Relative | ?1 | | An opera, musical or related genre based on Euripides' *Alcestis*. Composed by Melchiorre Zoppio |
| 274 | 1 Jan 1634 | *Hercule Mourant* | Seneca | unknown venue, France | Unknown | Adaptation | ?1 | | Adaptation by Jean de Rotrou of Seneca's *Hercules on Oeta* |

| Entry | Date of Performance | Play | Playwright | Place of Performance | Language | Relationship to Original | Number of Performances | Company | Notes |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 275 | 1 Jan 1635 | *Ercole alla Conocchia* | Seneca; Sophocles | unknown venue, Pesaro, The Marches, Italy | Italian | Distant Relative | 1 | | A ballet, probably based on Seneca's *Hercules on Oeta* and/or Sophocles' *Trachiniai* |
| 276 | 1 Jan 1635 | *Médée* | Seneca | Théatre du Marais, Paris, Ile-de-France, France | French | Adaptation | ?1 | Professional Actors | Adaptation of Seneca's *Medea* by Pierre Corneille, performed before 3 Apr 1635 |
| 277 | 1 Mar 1635 | *Deianira* | Seneca; Sophocles | unknown venue, Venice, Veneto, Italy | Italian | Distant Relative | ?1 | | A choreographic/opera, musical work based on Sophocles' *Trachiniai* and Seneca's *Hercules on Oeta* |
| 278 | 1 Jan 1636-31 Dec 1636 | *Los Tres Mayores Prodigios* | Euripides; Seneca | Buen Retiro, Madrid, Madrid, Spain | Spanish; Castilian | Adaptation | 1 | | A comedy adaptation by Pedro Calderón de la Barca, based on Euripides (*Medea*), Seneca (*Medea*), Hesiod (*Theogony*), Ovid (*Metamorphoses*), and Apollonius Rhodius (*Argonautica*) |
| 279 | 1 Jan 1638-31 Dec 1641 | *Elektra* | Sophocles | Stadsschouwberg, Amsterdam, North Holland, Netherland | Dutch; Flemish | Translation | 1 | | Translation of Sophocles' *Electra* by Joost van den Vondel |
| 280 | 1 Jan 1638 | *Les Captifs* | Plautus | unknown venue, France | French | Adaptation | ?1 | | Adaptation of Plautus' *Captivi* |
| 281 | 1 Jan 1638 | *Antigone* | Sophocles | Hôtel de Bourgogne, Paris, Ile-de-France, France | French | Adaptation | ?1 | | Translation of Sophocles' *Antigone* by Jean de Rotrou |
| 282 | 1 Jan 1640 | *Troades* | Seneca | unknown venue, Republic of Italy | Unknown | ?Translation; ?Adaptation | ?1 | | Translation or adaptation of Seneca's *Trojan Women*, produced by J.J. Bouchard, and sponsored by Francesco Barberini |

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