CHAPTER

3

The Rehearsal of Cultures

I

In the autumn of 1599, Thomas Platter of Basle visited the London apartments of Walter Cope—gentleman, adventurer, and member of Elizabeth's Society of Antiquaries—to view Cope's collection of curiosities gathered from around the world. No catalogue of the objects displayed in the room could presume to be complete. Platter himself records only a selection, but he does take an evident pleasure in compiling his list—a *plaisir de conter* akin to that which Jean Céard has found at work in contemporaneous accounts of nature's oddities and marvels, such as the anonymous *Histoire prodigieuses* published in 1598.[1] It is a pleasure in the recollection, literally, of such wonders as an African charm made of teeth, a felt cloak from Arabia, and shoes from many strange lands. An Indian stone axe, "like a thunderbolt." A stringed instrument with but one string. The twisted horn of a bull seal. An embalmed child, or *Mumia.* The bauble and bells of Henry VIII's fool. A unicorn's tail. Inscribed paper made of bark, and an artful Chinese box. A flying rhinoceros (unremarked), a remora (explicated at some length), and flies of a kind that "glow at night in Virginia instead of lights, since there is often no day there for over a month." There are the queen of England's seal, a number of crowns made of claws, a Madonna made of Indian feathers, an Indian charm made of monkey teeth. A mirror, which "both reflects and multiplies objects." A sea-halcyon's nest. A sea mouse (*mus marinus*), reed pipes like those played by Pan, and a long narrow Indian canoe, with oars and sliding planks, hanging from the ceiling. They are all strange things, *frembden Sachen.*[2]

The canoe lodged on the ceiling may have been a convention of sorts, judging from its promiscuity of appearance in better-known collections of the same variety (fig. 3). Cope's room is a *Kunst* or *Wunderkammer,* a wonder-cabinet: a form of collection peculiar to the late Renaissance, characterized primarily by its encyclopedic appetite

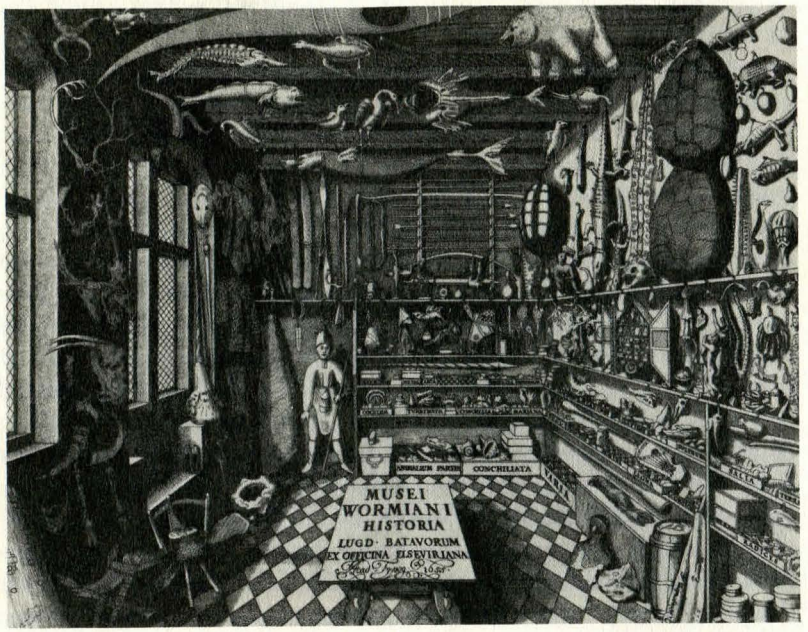

FIGURE 3. Frontispiece from *Museum Wormianum* (1655). By permission of the Houghton Library, Harvard University.

for the marvellous or the strange and by an exceptionally brief historical career.[3] The first *Wunderkammer* was established in Vienna in 1550; for perhaps one hundred years such collections flourished, but by the middle of the seventeenth century they were rapidly vanishing. As early as *The Advancement of Learning* (1605), where Bacon calls for the "substantial and severe collection of the Heteroclites or Irregulars of nature," wonder-cabinets were derided as "frivolous impostures for pleasure and strangeness."[4] The well-known Dresden collection proved to be a late survivor: founded in 1560, it remained intact until 1721, when it was broken up to form the separate exhibits—works of Nature, Art, Science—whose outlines can still be observed today.

The dates serve to remind us that a wonder-cabinet is not a museum, not even a vague or half-formed gesture toward one. Its relation to later forms of collection is a discontinuous one, even when the objects displayed were themselves preserved and carried over, as in the case of Dresden. The museum as an institution rises from the ruins of such collections, like country houses built from the dismantled stonework of dissolved monasteries; it organizes the wonder-cabinet

by breaking it down—that is to say, by analyzing it, regrouping the random and the strange into recognizable categories that are systematic, discrete, and exemplary. The museum represents an order and a categorical will to knowledge whose absence—or suspension—is precisely what is on display in a room such as Cope's.

As Platter notes, these are strange things: a category that in fact withholds categorization, that neither specifies nor defines but rather sets the objects to which it refers aside, grants them the freedom to remain as they are. Rhetorically, Platter's designation duplicates the effect which the wonder-cabinet itself produces in the objects thus displayed: it maintains them as "extraneous" in the Latin sense of the word, lodges them, at least for the time being, beyond the bounds of cultural hierarchies or definitions. Regarded as such, anything could reside in a room like Cope's. No system determines the organization of the objects on display or separates one variety of the marvellous from another. We are surprised upon entering the room, but our surprise is occasioned not so much by the individual items we encounter, impressive though they are, as by the immediate, even immoderate familiarity they show for whatever joins them. These are things on holiday, randomly juxtaposed and displaced from any proper context; the room they inhabit acts as a liberty or sanctuary for ambiguous things, a kind of halfway-house for transitional objects, some new but not yet fully assimilated, others old and headed for cultural oblivion, but not yet forgotten or cast off. Taken together, they compose a heteroclite order without hierarchy or degree, an order in which kings mingle with clowns, or at least the props of their respective stations do; in which the outworn relics of Folly and the inconsequential charms of Alchemy (the unicorn's tail: neither its most potent nor even its most distinctive feature) hold court with icons of the Crown, and with such genuine novelties as the Indian artifacts collected by Cope himself.

In the space of such a room, under the gaze of a spectator like Platter, the New World coincides with the Old and is even woven into the very fabric of European beliefs—as in the case of Cope's feathered Madonna, the handiwork of some forever unknown Archimboldo of the Americas. How are we to interpret signs of such consubstantiality between the Old World and the New? Is this Madonna, for example, the record of a heathen brought into the Christian fold and eager to portray the image of his new faith—or is it rather a blasphemous parody of such conversions, an infernal representation in which the immaculate image finds itself appropriated by pagan craft? In the sixteenth century, there was cause for apprehension when Christian and pagan cultures mingled, even in so token a fashion as this. "There

is scarce anything," as Father Joseph de Acosta noted in his *Natural and Moral History of the Indies* (1598), "instituted by Jesus Christ our Saviour in his Lawe and his Gospels, the which the Devil hath not counterfeited in some sort and carried to his Gentiles."[5] Such questions, however, do not occur to Thomas Platter, our remarkably incurious Swiss curieux. This is a room of wonder, not of inquiry. It requires and to a certain extent produces an audience that is at once passive and attentive, willing to suspend its critical faculties in order to view "strange things" as precisely that: as known but in a certain sense unaccountable, alien yet recognized as such, and so granted temporary license to remain without "authentic place" (as Ulysses says in his speech on Degree) in the cultural and ideological topography of the times.

What it means to be thus maintained, as something Other, is a question that will take us beyond the confines of the wonder-cabinet and into the field of a broader cultural dynamic, one that is dramaturgical at heart and is organized around the spectacle of strange cultures during the period defined by the wonder-cabinet. In this context, Cope's display of strange things will serve as our introduction not to Renaissance collections, but to Renaissance collection: to the process rather than the product of what we might call the collective activity of the period. The late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries collected and exhibited not only the trappings but also the customs, languages, and even the members of other cultures on a scale that was unprecedented. In forums ranging from wonder-cabinets to court masques and popular romances, from royal entries and traveler's narratives to the popular playhouses of Elizabethan London, the pleasures of the strange are consistently invoked to solicit our attention as spectators, auditors, or readers, but the motives of what the period knew merely as its "curiosity" are far from clear. This is an essay into that curiosity, or more precisely, an inquiry into the attention which the period ostensibly devoted to the cultivation of wonder, but directed, often with paradoxical ends, toward its various cultural Others—toward the old and the new, the residual, emergent, and otherwise strange cultures that occupied an expanding horizon of concern for the dominant cultures of early modern Europe.

The wonder-cabinet and the suspension of cultural decorum and discrimination it exhibits provide us with the most literal but by no means the fullest representation of what the early modern period embraced as strange. I will be concerned, in the pages that follow, with a large and often lively cast of what the period perceived as alien, anomalous, dissimilar, barbarous, gross, or rude, and yet (if this is the proper conjunction of ambivalence) sought out for purposes

of exhibition and display—what the period maintained and produced, as something Other. What comes to reside in a wonder-cabinet are, in the most reified sense of the phrase, strange things: tokens of alien cultures, reduced to the status of sheer objects, stripped of cultural and human contexts in a way that makes them eminently capable of surviving the period that thus produced them. Although many *Wunderkammern* did indeed provide the raw materials for later collections and institutions, what we encounter in them is not the proleptic beginning of a civilizing process—the confused and somewhat frivolous origins of the museum—so much as the final stage of a historical dynamic specific to the period in question. In less objective forums, where other cultures were not—or at least, not yet—so radically reduced to their representative trappings, the attention directed toward strange ways and customs reveals an ambivalent and even paradoxical rhythm; in such forums, as we shall see, the maintenance and production of the strange takes on its most dramatic form, as a process of cultural production synonymous with cultural performance.

II

Within and without the wonder-cabinet, the "spectacle of strangeness"[6] enjoyed a remarkable currency during the early modern period. Upon first encountering Caliban's indeterminate form, Trinculo observes that any strange beast could make a man: a comment which condenses in a phrase the period's investment—both mercenary and imaginative—in the sheerly Other, and the increasing instability, even interchangeability, of cultural categories such as self and other, monster and man:

> Were I in England now, as once I was, and had but this fish painted, not a holiday fool there but would give a piece of silver; there would this monster make a man; any strange beast there makes a man: when they will not give a doit to a lame beggar, they will lay out ten to see a dead Indian.
>
> (*The Tempest,* II.ii.27ff.)

When cultural difference is less ambiguously affirmed, it can solicit our resources not merely as spectators or consumers but also as fellow travelers. Where the Medieval explorer employed analogy and correspondence to make even the unprecedented familiar, a Renaissance ethnographer like Jean de Léry insists on an irreducible, inexpressible, but compelling residuum of difference in the lands and people he describes. After a full and evocative portrait of native Brazilians comes this disclaimer: "Their gestures and countenances are so different

from ours, that I confess to my difficulty in representing them in words, or even in pictures. So, to enjoy the real pleasures of them, you will have to go and visit them in their own country."[7]

Difference draws us to it; it promises pleasure and serves as an invitation to firsthand experience, otherwise known as colonization. Where words and portraits failed, the thing itself was there for the taking. Trinculo's hypothetical Indian was something of a historical commonplace in Elizabethan London. In 1577, for example, Martin Frobisher brought an Eskimo couple back from his second voyage to Meta Incognita, later known as Nova Scotia. The captives survived in England for over a year, a lengthy duration for such ethnic "tokens" of New World Voyages. During that time, upheld by the queen's license and a skin-covered boat, the man could be seen (without charge, as far as we know) hunting the royal ducks and swans on the Thames; before her death the woman gave birth to a child who survived its parents briefly—residing at the Three Swans Tavern while alive, and the Church of St. Olave's thereafter, apparently with the grace of a Christian burial.[8]

What the period could not contain within the traditional order of things, it licensed to remain on the margins of culture: a procedure which not only maintained literal aliens like Frobisher's Eskimos, but also upheld figures of Elizabethan society such as the common players who, without a proper place of their own, were licensed to "make" any strange beast on stage, from Caliban to gentlemen and even kings. I will want to turn to the marginal status of the Elizabethan stage, to consider both its role in the representation of other cultures and, more importantly, the degree to which the popular stage occupied the position of a strange thing itself, fascinating but subject, as a consequence, to the same rituals of inclusion and exclusion as anything else that was deemed marginal, masterless, vagabond, or otherwise outlandish and out of place. For the moment, however, it will suffice to note that the line between Frobisher's Eskimos and the theatrical creations of court and popular theater was by no means a firm one; when cultural productions of the period achieved their fullest dramaturgical form, the distinction between the alien and its representation, the real and the theatrical, virtually ceased to exist—at least for a brief and studiously foreclosed period of time.

The city of Rouen provides us with an example worth considering at some length. In 1550, a meadow bordering on the Seine and located on the outskirts of Rouen was planted with trees and shrubs, some natural, some artificial, all foreign to the locale and all combining to create the semblance of a Brazilian forest landscape. From the reports of those present, it was a re-creation convincing to the knowing and

well-traveled observer, both in what it revealed and in what it left concealed. The foliage was at certain points impenetrable to the eye, allowing the simulated forest to serve as habitat and refuge for the parrots, marmots, and apes that had been set at large within it. The *bons bourgeois* of the city had also constructed two authentically detailed Brazilian villages, the huts carved from solid tree-trunks at great labor but "in true native fashion." The villages themselves were stocked with over fifty Tabbagerres and Toupinaboux Indians freshly imported for the occasion. Supplementing the genuine Brazilians were some two hundred and fifty Frenchmen appropriately costumed—"sans aucunement couvrir la partie que nature commande"—and drawn from the ranks of seamen, merchants, and adventurers who had been to Brazil and knew the manners, customs, and tongues of the tribes involved. "Elle sembloit véritable," as an account published in 1551 testified, "et non simulée."[9]

The occasion was Henri II's royal entry into Rouen: an event which can hardly explain the genesis of one of the most thorough performances of an alien culture staged by the Renaissance, but does at least illuminate the pragmatic function of Brazil in the ongoing dramaturgy of city and state. A delicate negotiation of power and prestige was at once necessitated and accomplished by a monarch's passage into an early modern city of any size. In keeping with the conventions of the Roman Triumph as transformed and elaborated by the Renaissance, it had become customary for a monarch and his procession to pause outside the city gates, on the threshold of the community, at that tenuous point where royal domain shaded into civic jurisdiction. Halting made the royal visitor more spectator than actor in the drama at hand and, prompted by his gaze, a mock battle or sciamachy would commence. Oftentimes the martial triumphs thus staged would celebrate the royal spectator's own military prowess and accomplishments. A mock siege was common. A castle erected on the margins of the city would be stormed and taken: rather than lay siege to gain entry, the monarch granted an entry was entertained by the comfortably displaced spectacle of a siege, a dramatic enactment that at once represented the potential for conflict manifested by a royal visit and sublimated that potential, recasting it as a cultural performance to be enjoyed by city and Crown alike. When Queen Isabella of Bavaria entered Paris in 1389, it was only after watching Saladin and his Saracens defend a castle eventually taken by Richard Coeur de Lion; at Rome in 1492, in commemoration of the victory at Granada, Spanish troops stormed a wooden castle occupied by citizens in Moors' clothing.[10]

Henri did not witness a siege, but he did view what the Imperial ambassador described as "a sham combat illustrating the manner of fighting in Brazil."[11] Before the battle began, however, the royal party lingered for some time, delighted with the convincing performance of natives real and counterfeit as they went about their daily rounds. Such a delay marked a temporary suspension in the momentum of the king's entry—lingering on the threshold not only of the city, but also of the sciamachy which customarily manifested that threshold—but the breach in ceremonial decorum was quite understandable. The "Figures des Brasilians" (fig. 4) that accompanies the official account of the entry shows men hunting monkeys with arrows and spears, or scaling trees to gather the fruit that was either lashed in place or growing there. A group of men and women dance in a clearing, their hands joined in a circle reminiscent of European May-games. Couples stroll arm in arm through the foliage; toward the right-hand margin of the scene, a man and a woman strike a pose that recalls period illustrations of Genesis. Yet the tableau is polymorphous, overdetermined in the sense that it represents more than a single scene should be able to contain. Along with its version of Edenic pastoral it reveals a land of unbiblical license and enterprise. Some of the couples are partially obscured in the underbrush, taking advantage of the cover

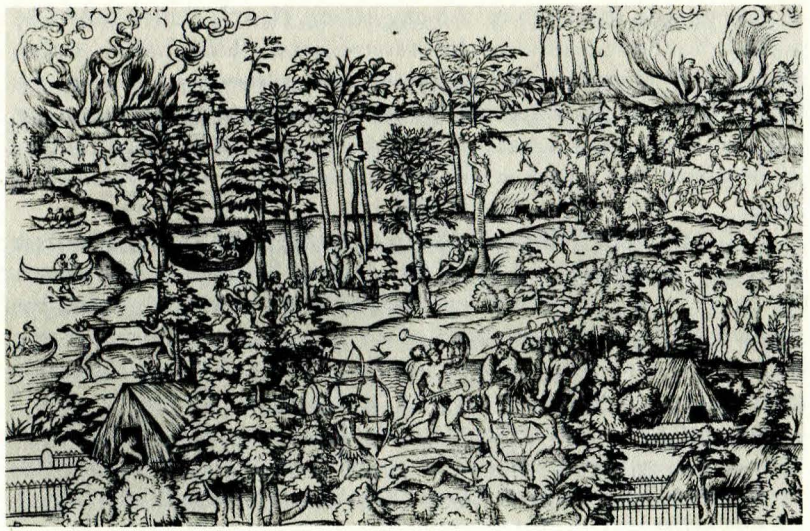

FIGURE 4. From *C'est la Déduction* . . . (Rouen, 1551). By permission of the Houghton Library, Harvard University.

to indulge in relatively unabashed foreplay; men are hewing trees, then carrying them to the river to build primitive barks. The soft primitivism of biblical tradition coexists with a harder interpretation of pagan cultures, akin to the portraits of barbaric life composed by Piero di Cosimo.[12]

What we have is a detailed mise-en-scène of Brazilian culture, re-creating even the moment of the natives' capture—on the Seine, a French merchant ship is under sail, gradually approaching the bank where a group of naked and unknowing figures awaits its arrival[13]—and the projection of European libido and myth onto that scene. The New World is both recreated in the suburbs of the Old and made over into an alternate version of itself, strange but capable of imagination. Dominating the field of the spectacle, a man and woman occupy a hammock stretched prominently between two trees. The two are naked like those below them, but even so they are invested with a regal bearing; the man holds a scepter, and both figures wear crowns that contrast sharply with the leaves and fronds worn as headgear by their savage subjects. Similarly crowned but fully cloaked in the robes of state, watching his heathen surrogate from the vantage point of a scaffold placed at the edge of the meadow, Henri must have been especially pleased to find a version of himself and his queen, Catharine de Medici, thus occupying the scene he beheld. A major theme of the day would be revealed in the final emblematic display of the entry, in the heart of the city, where Henri's father would be praised "for having restored letters and saved [Rouen] from barbarism,"[14] and Henri himself would be admonished to follow in his father's footsteps. It was a duty foreshadowed, its barbaric metaphor cast into more literal terms, in these figures of primitive patriarchy, raised above the savage scene they commanded, over which they ruled.

At some point, fighting broke out between the two tribes. One decimated the ranks of the other, then burned its village to the ground. On the following day victor and vanquished would trade roles, for the entire Triumph was repeated in an encore performance for Catharine's own entry,[15] during which the second village, faithfully and elaborately fashioned so as to be "le certain simulacre de la verité," was also set ablaze and reduced to ash. The re-creation of Brazil had been surprisingly detailed and complete, and its consummation followed suit. It was the age of conspicuous expenditure and ostentatious display; what was displayed in public ceremony was often, in one sense or another, used up in the process, consummation being in fact the point: what you had was most clearly manifested by how much you could afford to expend in lavish and costly celebration.[16] But the

consumption of Brazil can hardly be explained by such generalities of early modern culture. What was most conspicuously expended in this instance was neither money, time, nor other indigenous resources, but an alien culture itself, at least in terms of theatrical representation. It is difficult to say which is more awesome: the painstaking expense of spirit and wealth that went into such a carefully reconstructed and authenticated verisimilitude, or the thoroughness with which it was all effaced, even though full effacement required a full-scale repetition of the entire entry.

Representation is always a form of repetition, but in the two-day course of events at Rouen both representation and re-presentation, imitation and repeated performance, conspired to achieve a paradoxical end: not the affirmation of what was thus represented and repeated, but its erasure or negation. The enthnographic attention and knowledge displayed at Rouen was genuine, amazingly thorough, and richly detailed; the object, however, was not to understand Brazilian culture but to perform it, in a paradoxically self-consuming fashion. Knowledge of another culture in such an instance is directed toward ritual rather than ethnological ends, and the rite involved is one ultimately organized around the elimination of its own pretext: the spectacle of the Other that is thus celebrated and observed, in passing. To speak of Renaissance curiosity or fascination with other cultures hardly begins to address what is odd in such an anthropology, geared not toward the interpretation of strange cultures but toward their consummate performance.[17] What we glimpse in the field outside Rouen is not a version of the modern discipline of anthropology, but something preliminary to it; not the interpretation, but what I would call the *rehearsal* of cultures.

III

A rehearsal is a period of free-play during which alternatives can be staged, unfamiliar roles tried out, the range of one's power to convince or persuade explored with some license; it is a period of performance, but one in which the customary demands of decorum are suspended, along with expectations of final or perfected form.

For us, as a phenomenon most immediately associated with the stage, a rehearsal is also fully distinct from actual performance, but such a distinction is a modern one. In Elizabethan England, for example, rehearsal referred as easily, and as often, to performance or recital—*recitare* is commonly translated as "rehearse"—as it did to some practice session preparatory to public performance. For Shakespeare and his contemporaries, to recite, rehearse, or perform were synonymous terms, fully interchangeable and appositely applied to al-

most any dramatic situation. The one exception, where a rehearsal was a necessary prerequisite to public performance, is an important one for our purposes, for it takes us outside a strictly theatrical arena and introduces us to a form of rehearsal dictated by jurisprudential rather than artistic concerns. A rehearsal was fully distinct from public performance when it took place at the Office of Revels, "where our Court playes have become in late daies," as Thomas Heywood wrote in his *Apology for Actors,* "yearly rehersed, perfected, and corrected before they came to the publike view."[18]

Such a rehearsal, performed under the gaze of jurisprudence for purposes of cultural review, is only coincidentally related to the history of the stage. Plays came to be rehearsed before the Master of Revels not because they were plays, that is to say, but because they attained a prominence that made them potentially dangerous (and hence, potentially useful) to reigning cultural hierarchies. Other matters, nondramatic in nature, were likewise rehearsed before the powers that be. When John Dee, accused of conjuration and rumored to be a papist, published an account of his life and studies, he named his treatise *The Compendious Rehearsal:* it was to be read by Elizabeth and the public at large, to be judged and, along with its author, either censured or given a clear imprimatur.[19] The genealogy of such rehearsals lies not with the stage but with the larger dramaturgy of power and its confrontations with the forbidden or the taboo, with all that stood outside the strict confines of authority, whether embodied in magical science, plays, or alien cultures themselves. In England, what appears to be the earliest example of cultural rehearsal in this sense comes from the reign of Edward I, whose colonization of Wales in the thirteenth century would provide a model and precedent for the foreign and subcultural excursions of sixteenth-century England. Edward first conquered Wales, then "rehearsed" Welsh culture as a necessary prolegomenon to full colonization. "We have caused to be rehearsed [*recitari*] before Us and the Nobles of our Realm," he declares in the *Statuta Wallia* (1284), "the laws and customs of these parts hitherto in use: which being diligently heard and fully Understood, We have, by the Advise of aforesaid Nobles, abolished certain of them, some of them We have allowed, and some of them We have corrected."[20]

The field cleared by the conflagration of Brazil was, of course, French to begin with; Henri occupied the position not of a judge or censor but of an appreciative and admiring spectator. In describing the Brazilian interlude at Rouen as the rehearsal of a strange culture, I mean to cast it neither as a practice session nor as the mere performance of something alien; neither do I mean to reduce it to the merely colonial, although we are obviously involved with the symbolic, socially "misrecognized" armature of the colonial enterprise of the period. We are concerned here with a cultural practice that allows, invites, and even demands a full and potentially self-consuming review of unfamiliar things. Whatever the ultimate end of such a rehearsal, whether consummation, colonization, or a less clearly defined negotiation between a dominant culture and its Others, the attention directed toward Brazilian ways at Rouen was by no means reserved for New World cultures. "The 'ethnicks' of the Americas," notes J. R. Hale, "had a special, though delayed, power to jolt the Europeans into taking fresh stock of themselves."[21] Of themselves or, more accurately, of those "ethnicks" they could call their own. In the sixteenth century, a commonly drawn analogy articulated a certain equivalence between inquiries into newly discovered cultures of the Western hemisphere and the increasingly important subcultures of the Old World. "We have Indians at home," one Englishman observed, "Indians in Cornwall, Indians in Wales, Indians in Ireland."[22] Europe had begun to mind its own, to take note of its rural and suburban populations, to review their customs and rituals, their ways of speech and community. "Their languages, names, surnames, allusions, anagrams, armories, monies, poesies, epitaphes," to quote from the title of Camden's *Remaines concerning Britaine* (1614).

The late sixteenth century stands as an odd interregnum in history. The impressive but ineffectual body of Elizabethan poor laws began, at this time, to compose its growing list of peddlars, wandering scholars, unlicensed players, sturdy beggars, and the like, all brought together as "vagabonds," assembled, like the marvels of a wonder-cabinet, to await the disposition of a later age—in this instance, to wait nearly one hundred years before the early modern state articulated itself well enough to create a bureaucracy capable of implementing the Vagabond Acts. Madness was confined and maintained during the period, but not excluded from public view or shut away from the light—of day or of Reason—as it would be during the Enlightenment. Rather, Folly in all its variety was gathered together so that it could be fully licensed for display, made more accessible and given greater currency than had ever been the case in the Middle Ages, when madness was free (or subject) to wander. Throughout Europe, writes Michel Foucault, "a new and lively pleasure is taken in the old confraternities of madmen, in their festivals, their gatherings, their speeches."[23] In England, Bedlam Hospital was operated as a concession under its Tudor administration, a playhouse of Folly that served as much to showcase madness and oversee its performance as to confine or control it.

The theatrical metaphor is hardly inappropriate, if it can be called a metaphor at all. We find the same audience, the same suspension of cultural decorum and blurring of xenophilia and phobia, in attendance at madhouses, royal entries, and wonder-cabinets as we find at the popular playhouses of Elizabethan London. When we do turn to the popular stage, however, its place in this larger cultural review proves to be a fully ambivalent one. According to Muriel Bradbrook, a great many "social and customary forms might have passed relatively unobserved" if the popular stage had not recorded and transformed them into drama, if Marlowe and Shakespeare had not cultivated a language and a stagecraft capable of sustaining such a *bricolage* of other cultures—New World, European, and most importantly, popular. "Country pastimes too might have vanished . . . leaving no signs other than those to be disinterred by the social historian."[24] While a great deal of what we know about country ways and pastimes does indeed come from the stage, rural and folk customs were not merely vanishing, however. Far from being neglected in Elizabethan England, they were being accorded an unprecedented degree of attention. In his archaeological quest for pastime, the modern social historian turns to a quite full archive, made up of sermons such as Lattimer's attack on May-games, Puritan tracts detailed in the objects of their revulsion, city ordinances and Statutes of the Realm protecting the Sabbath, exiling or branding rogues, vagabonds, and other masterless men, banning and regulating country pastimes, festivities, and of course, plays themselves. Documents of criticism, as E. K. Chambers called them, and documents of control.

Such documents were designed to be read by as large an audience as possible; some even became works of popular literature in their own right, read with as much delight as Hakluyt's *Voyages* or Peter Martyr's *Decades*. It is customarily regarded as one of the ironies of history that works such as Phillip Stubbes' *Anatomie of Abuses* (1583) provide us with our fullest account of the country, alien, heathen, or otherwise strange ways they would see repressed but must first review or rehearse at some length. Indeed, repression may be too crude a mechanism to describe the paradoxical process involved. Stubbes, for example, charges that stage plays "maintaine bawdrie, insinuat folery, and revive the remembrance of hethen idolytrie," but is himself forced or otherwise compelled to stoke the popular memory with detailed descriptions of the "babblerie" and pastimes he would see abolished:

> Against *May, Whitsonday* or other time, all the yung men and maides, olde men and wiues, run gadding ouer night to woods, groves, hills, & mountains, where they spend all night in pleasant pastimes; & in the morning they return, bringing with them birch & branches of trees,

> to deck their assemblies withall. And not meruaile, for there is a great Lord present amongst them, as superintendent and Lord ouer their pastimes and sportes, namely, Sathan, prince of hel. But the cheifest iewel they bring from thence is their May-pole, which they bring home with great veneration, as thus. They haue twentie or fortie yoke of Oxen, euery Oxe hauing a sweet nose-gay of flouers and hearbes, bound round about with strings from the tope to the bottome, and sometime painted with variable colors, with great deuotion. And thus beeing reared vp with handkercheefs and flags houering on the top, they straw the ground rounde about, binde green boughes about it, set vp sommer haules, bowers, and arbors hard by it; And then fall they to daunce about it, like as the heathen people did at the dedication of the Idols, wherof this is a perfect pattern, or rather the thing it self. I haue heard it credibly reported (and that *viua voce*) by men of great grauitie and reputations, that of fortie, threescore, or hundred maides going to the wood ouer night, there haue scaresly the third part of them returned home againe undefiled.[25]

Stubbes recreates the May festival for us and draws us into it with his conspiratorial air (*viva voce*). To a degree, the need for such detail stems from the audience for which Stubbes composed his *Anatomie*. The work poses as a description of a foreign land and its customs, a *Discoverie*, as Stubbes calls it, of "a very famous Ilande called Ailgna." Thomas Platter's *Travels* is of the genre imitated; the country visited is England, but Stubbes' fiction of traveling to a distant land was, as C. L. Barber writes, "not altogether inappropriate, for Merry England was becoming foreign to the pious tradesman's London for which Stubbes was the spokesman."[26]

But it is not merely cultural alienation or distance that accounts for Stubbes' apparent fondness for detail. When the Church sought to put down pagan customs, it did so with circumspection, making sure the customs it proscribed could not be recreated from the description it gave. Jean-Baptiste Thiers described magic rituals in his *Traité des superstitions qui regardent les sacramens*, but he suppressed certain signs and words, marking the deletions with ellipses, in order to insure that his readers would not be able to try out the spells he denounced.[27] In Stubbes we encounter no analogue to such caution. In place of a more elliptic depiction we find, if not a perfect, then a fully fleshed portrait of "the thing itself." We could recreate the May-games, thanks to Stubbes, with as much verisimilitude as we encountered in the re-creation of Brazil. Remembrance is at any rate renewed by such a rehearsal of culture; Stubbes' treatise is an exercise in cultural mnemonics, an effort to displace or recreate cultural memory. The question, for pastimes and for us, is what it means to be attended to in such fashion.

An answer is suggested by Sir Thomas Browne. "Knowledge is made by oblivion," Browne writes in *Pseudodoxia Epidemica*,[28] "and to purchase a clear and warrantable body of Truth, we must forget and part with much we know." Browne's work, otherwise known as *Enquiries into Vulgar and Common Errors* (1649), is a collection of proverbial and country wisdom compiled for a learned audience, many of whom had never heard the folk sayings he would have them forget. Forgetting becomes a more arduous task when its first stage is the review or remembrance, even the initial learning, of what is to be consigned to oblivion. The paradox requires Browne to compose "a long and serious *Adviso*, proposing not only a large and copious List, but from experience and reason attempting their decisions [from *decidere*, to cut off]." Although collections of proverbs existed throughout the medieval period, Browne's work belongs to a new genre, as characteristic of its age as wonder-cabinets were. Laurent Joubert's *Erreures populaires* (1578) is the earliest of such anthologies: forays by the learned into the new-found land of popular culture, in which "vulgar" thought and customs were recorded and collected as Error. Such collections were made for the sake of posterity, but it was a posterity that would only be achieved if the errant proverbs and pastimes thus gathered together were not included in it. As Natalie Davis has shown, the aspirations of French and English collectors of proverbs were at best contradictory. On the one hand, the recording of popular thought marked an effort to enrich the vernacular by absorbing folk and country sayings into the learned discourse of the mother tongue; on the other, there was an effort to purify the vernacular, to control and correct popular thought—also by collecting it.[29]

Although the aims seem mutually exclusive, they were often announced by one and the same collector; purification could only come after all that would ultimately be banished from the language was first worked through, in full. The rhythm is one of exhibition, followed by exclusion or effacement; a rehearsal of popular culture, with a self-consuming end in mind. The process of observation and review does not merely precede the subsequent revision, where a rehearsal of culture is involved. As with the Brazilian interlude at Rouen, the exhibition of what is to be effaced, repressed, or subjected to new and more rigorous mechanisms of control can be a surprisingly full one. It is a form of exhibition, in fact, that recalls one of the more archaic uses of the word. "Exhibition" once referred to the unveiling of a sacrificial offering—to the exposure of a victim, placed on public view for a time preliminary to the final rites that would, after a full and even indulgent display, remove the victim from that view. Early

modern collection was not merely an idle assembly of strange and outlandish things: such collection was a ritual process, a rehearsal of cultures which can be glimpsed in a number of settings and forums, and which comes into clearest view on the Elizabethan stage.

The juxtaposition of Elizabethan playhouse and the more explicit collective activity of the period takes us back to Thomas Platter—who was, at least implicitly, the first to relate such apparently distinct cultural phenomena. Before visiting Cope's apartments, Platter crossed the Thames to sample the entertainments of Bankside: a bullring, a bear-baiting and a cockfight, the taverns of Southwark (where women drinking freely alongside their husbands or lovers proved as astonishing a sight as any other spectacle of the day), and one of the first performances in the recently constructed Globe—a version of *Julius Caesar*, almost certainly Shakespeare's. The phenomenon of the Elizabethan play was as striking and unfamiliar to Platter as Cope's collection is to us; unfamiliar enough, at any rate, to require some explanation, as *Wunderkammern* did not. "With these and many more amusements the English pass their time, learning from the plays what is happening in other lands; indeed, men and women visit such places without scruple, since the English do not travel much, but prefer to learn of strange things [*frembde* (sic) *Sachen*] and take their pleasures at home."[30]

Platter surveys and samples London's Liberties quite thoroughly, failing only to note what a foreign visitor could not know: that the stage he visits and finds to be a dynamic and dramatic exhibition of "strange things" was itself a recent cultural phenomenon, fully contemporaneous with wonder-cabinets and the like. As Platter's brief observation suggests, the popular stage did indeed serve as a glass in which Elizabethan culture could find the objects of its fascination represented and reflected; yet that stage was also, like Cope's feathered Madonna, a strange thing in and of itself. Shakespeare's contemporaries did not take their pleasures quite at home. The journey across the Thames, from the city to the Liberties, was a short but considerable one: a passage into a domain of cultural license as diverse as any wonder-cabinet, a field of ambivalent cultures and marginal pastimes lodged, like Rouen's Brazil, on the margins of order and community. At once native and strange, the popular stage also stood enough outside the dominant culture of its time to be capable of some reflection on what it meant to be thus maintained, as something Other—to be upheld for a while, as Hal says early in *1 Henry IV*, when he moves to the edge of an extraordinary career collecting and rehearsing strange ways, tongues, and of course, companions.

IV

Thomas Platter speaks only of the "pleasure" of learning strange things after his encounter with an Elizabethan play; few of Shakespeare's contemporaries (Elizabethan or modern) have more to tell us. Warwick in *2 Henry IV* is a significant exception.[31] It is an unfamiliar process of education, a theory of learning unformulated in any contemporaneous text I know, that Warwick articulates when he endeavors, late in both the play and the history of the King's doubts, to convince Henry IV that his prodigal son will soon sequester himself from open haunts and popularity, cease to be the royal familiar of Eastcheap's taverns and brothels, and most notoriously, will cut short his tutelage with that immensity known as Falstaff:

> The prince but studies his companions
> Like a strange tongue, wherein, to gain the language,
> 'Tis needful that the most immodest word
> Be look'd upon and learnt; which once attain'd
> Your Highness knows, comes to no further use
> But to be known and hated. So, like gross terms,
> The prince will, in the perfectness of time,
> Cast off his followers . . . .
>
> (*2HIV,* IV. iv. 68–75)

By this point in the Lancastrian tetralogy, we are strangers neither to the situation nor the import of Warwick's words. The cycle of doubt and reassurance has been repeated more than once since Henry first linked riot and dishonor to the name of his young Harry (I.i.80–90); Hal himself announces his reasons for misrule at his first opportunity, as if to allay our own doubts about his character, and Warwick's tone ("Your Highness knows . . .") lends a familiar air to the scene. Like the prince himself, Warwick speaks to what is intentional in Hal's prodigal career. Hal has planned to attain propriety and respectability through a sort of *via negativa,* a self-conscious rite of passage that will carry him from the stews of Eastcheap to the halls of Westminster, from ritual defilement to purification in the public eye. "He is getting to know the seamy side of life," as Jonas Barish paraphrases the passage, "acquainting himself with vices *so as* to hate and shun them, as men learn foul words in foreign tongues *in order to* purify their vocabularies."[32]

The paraphrase is an accurate one, perhaps too much so. It repeats not only Warwick's meaning but his tone as well. But is the language lesson Warwick describes such a commonplace affair? It would be one thing to say that we inevitably acquire immodest words and gross terms in the process of learning a strange tongue, that only when we attain some mastery of the language are we in a position to recognize

what is gross as gross, and eliminate it from our discourse. It is quite another thing to say, as Warwick does, that gross or obscene words are learned *because* they offer material for future reformations, that they are acquired *in order that* we may purify our vocabularies by casting them off, after a period of what Barish calls an "immersion in an alien element." Such a language lesson, described in terms proper to ritual exclusion and sacrifice, would have been no more familiar to its original audience than it is to us. It would, however, have registered in a more immediate and highly charged context, considering the ambivalence attached to "strange tongues," foreign or domestic, during the sixteenth century. Warwick's comment comes at a time when learned culture was in the midst of an extraordinary and awesome linguistic shift, a shift from Latin to the competing dialects, idioms, and grammars we generalize into something singular enough to be called *the* vernacular.

Earlier in the century, in 1535, Henry VIII had addressed the problem of linguistic variety with characteristic bluntness when he outlawed Welsh, finding that "great Discord Variance Debate Division Murmur and Sedition" had arisen, due to the fact that the Welsh "have and do daily use a Speech nothing like, nor consonant to the natural Mother Tongue within this Realm" (*27 Henry 8,* c. 26).[33] But as that mother tongue came into more universal use, its "naturalness" proved the sign of its inadequacy and lack of eloquence rather than the mark of its pure self-sufficiency. Even in the earlier half of the century, when compared to other European vernaculars, English was found wanting. It was judged to be "rude, base, unpleasant, grosse, and barbarouse."[34] The mother tongue was in need not of protection but of supplementation from other languages; English itself began to study strange tongues. Richard Foster Jones has traced in detail the long debate that the vernacular carried on with and about itself throughout the sixteenth century,[35] gradually coming to justify the importation of "straunge termes" and foreign phrases, licensing, against all precedent, a principle of linguistic change that Richard Mulcaster exuberantly proclaimed to be the "*prerogative,* and libertie" of all languages.[36]

One of the results was Elizabethan English, a language "which combined both a vast range of reference—social and natural—with a unique freedom of *epiphora,* a freedom, that is, to transpose, a liberty of transference and application."[37] The vernacular was not a fixed linguistic system so much as a linguistic crossroads, a field where many languages—foreign tongues, local dialects, Latin and Greek—intersected; as the vernacular transposed and assimilated words and phrases from other languages, it came more and more to be a "gallimaufray, or

hodgepodge of al other speeches."[38] The medieval world had been structured around a dual language hierarchy: on the one hand, a stable and monolithic Latin for learned and official society, and on the other, the metamorphic, plural, and largely oral vernacular, a plethora of local dialects, idioms, and jargons that was the province of popular culture. As that hierarchy broke down, however, the linguistic worlds that had formerly been held apart, as distinct and separate entities, came into increasing contact with one another. The European vernaculars came to inhabit the boundaries of other languages, to import values, concepts, and ideologies from strange tongues both foreign and domestic. The literary and linguistic vitality of the Renaissance was born in the space of such contact and assimilation, where a certain capacity for linguistic self-estrangement was possible—a capacity, as Mikhail Bakhtin says of Rabelais' linguistic world, to stand outside one's own mother tongue, to cultivate it as one would the tongue of another:

> The primitive and naive coexistence of languages and dialects had come to an end; the new consciousness was born not in a perfected and fixed linguistic system but at the intersection of many languages and the point of their most intense interorientation and struggle. Languages are philosophies—not abstract but concrete, social philosophies, penetrated by a system of values inseparable from living practice and class struggle. . . . The language of the sixteenth century, and especially the language of Rabelais, are sometimes described as naive even today. In reality the history of European literature presents no language less naive. Rabelais' exceptional frankness and ease are anything but that. The literary and linguistic consciousness of his time was aware of its media not only from the inside but also from the outside, in the light of other languages.[39]

When we are dealing with learned society, we must remember that the vernacular in and of itself was a strange tongue. Montaigne learned Latin before French, and despite neglecting the former for nearly forty years—avoiding Latin altogether in speech and only rarely employing it for writing—it remained his "naturall" tongue, surfacing immediately in times of crisis or anxiety. "In some extreame emotions and sudden passion," he reports, "I have ever, even from my heart uttered my first words in Latine: Nature rushing and by force expressing itself, against so long a custom."[40] When the translators of the 1611 Bible compared their work with other translations "both in our owne, and *other* [my emphasis] forreigne languages," they identified, with their eloquent and inclusive "other," a state of linguistic alienation characteristic of the Renaissance. It was a period when the shift to the vernacular meant speaking and writing daily in a language regarded as one's own mother tongue and as a barbarous language.

This is most emphatically the case where English was concerned. English was neither Greek, Hebrew, nor Latin, but rather "the rudest countrie, and most barbarous mother language."[41] The voice of the Other, of the *barbaros,* sounded in the throat whenever the mother tongue was spoken; one's own tongue was strange yet familiar, a foreigner within, a quite literal internal *émigré.*

English manifested an extreme inadequacy and barbarity for sixteenth-century Englishmen; no other European vernacular met with such ambivalence from its native speakers. According to Richard Carew, however, the poverty and strangeness of the English language were not to its disadvantage. Rather, they were the sign of its potential, a sign, in fact, of power. Growing up with a mother tongue that was itself barbarous and strange, to be likened to "other forreigne languages," made linguistic chameleons of the English, developing in them a capacity to adopt and assimilate foreign cultures as if they were their own. It is such a capacity which Carew praises as "The Excellencie of the English Tongue":

> a Stranger, though never so long conversant among us, carrieth evermore a Watchword upon his tongue, to descry him by; but turn an *Englishman* at any time of his Age into what Country soever, allowing him due respite, and you shall see him profit so well, that the imitation of his Utterance will in nothing differ from the Pattern of that native language, the want of which towardness cost the *Ephraimites* their skins.[42]

Carew also praises English for the forcefulness of its metaphors ("our speech doth not consist only of words, but in a sort even of deeds") and for the many puns and equivocations open to it in its expansiveness. What he calls the "towardness" of the language—a resource native to Englishmen, wanting in the Ephraimites—is a kind of linguistic sympathy, a capacity for imitation that allows the Self and the Other to speak the same tongue, indistinguishably. It is an imaginative sympathy that allows alien voices and ideologies not merely to be recorded or studied, but entered into and enacted quite fully: a theatrical capacity, then, with which boundaries between nations, tongues, and classes can be crossed with liberty.

It is just such a quality of "towardness" that Shakespeare's Prince Hal relies upon and displays so brilliantly in his antithetical rise to power. His time in the taverns of Eastcheap is a literal as well as a figurative language lesson; although the tenor of Warwick's simile concerns Hal's companions, studied like a strange tongue, the comparison is also something of a two-handed engine. In the context of *Henry IV* it is fully reversible, since the language lesson deployed as an analogy also acts as a literal and quite apposite description of Hal's marginal pursuits. Shakespeare's prince studies strange tongues (En-

glish in its various dialects and idioms) *as* he learns his companions—that is, in the same fashion and at the same time:

> Sirrah, I am sworn brother to a leash of drawers, and can call them all by their christen names, as Tom, Dick, and Francis. . . . they call drinking deep "dyeing scarlet," and when you breathe in your watering they cry "hem!" and bid you "play it off!" To conclude, I am so good a proficient in one quarter of an hour that I can drink with any tinker in his own language during my life. (*1HIV,* II. iv. 6ff.)

In Elizabethan legend, Henry V first acquired the English language during his prodigal youth in the inns and alehouses of London. He went on, once he assumed the throne, to make the King's English—a phrase that originates with the reign of Henry V—the official language of the Court.[43] Shakespeare's Hal likewise descends from "a prince to a prentice" (*2HIV,* II. ii. 174), but with a difference. Shakespeare does not repeat history but instead displaces it into his own present. The English that Hal acquires when he sounds the base string of humility is not Chaucer's but Shakespeare's English; he does not learn the mother tongue for the first time, but he does immerse himself in the native yet alien element of country dialects and "rude" words with which Shakespeare's dramatic language abounds—in which the two parts of *Henry IV* are most significantly immersed.

Learning tinker's tongues, Hal also acquires their tastes, becoming "so loosely studied as to remember so weak a composition" (*2HIV,* II. ii. 7–8) as small beer, and to desire it with an unprincely appetite.[44] It is an appetite that ranges from the tongues of the taverns to the items on Falstaff's sack-heavy shopping list—"What there is else keep close, we'll read it at more advantage" (*1HIV,* II. iv. 534–35)—and the easily mastered comings and goings of an apprentice like Francis;[45] an appetite for the unfamiliar details of popular culture, for the manners and morals, the ways of speech and material conditions of life on the margins of society, among the masterless men, bawds, bankrupts, wayward apprentices, and refugees from country reforms whom Falstaff sums up as the "tattered prodigals" of the land. From the vantage point of Henry IV, of course, the prince's marginal pastimes are merely "vile participation" in a cultural domain removed from the province of proper authority or efficacious rule. Such participation in the life of the taverns removes the prince from his place in the hierarchy of state and makes him "almost an alien to the hearts / Of all the court" (*1HIV,* III. ii. 34–35). As far as Henry is concerned, the prince is in his errancy: a prodigal son.

It is a point of view with which Shakespeare's audiences expected to occupy themselves when they ventured beyond the confines of sixteenth-century London to see the first part of *Henry IV.* They

came to see a familiar and well-known story. As Richard Helgerson has shown, the parable of the prodigal son was deeply engrained in the cultural imagination of Elizabethan England; its rhythm of exorbitance and recovery, of wayward youth succeeded by mature responsibility, held such great appeal for Elizabethans that men whose adolescence was relatively staid and well-mannered often depicted their youth as a time of license and riot, projecting back upon the past the contours of a prodigality never experienced yet nonetheless remembered and recounted as real.[46] The two versions known to the full spectrum of Elizabethan society were the biblical parable itself and the much-mythologized story of Henry V's wild adolescence. Hal's initial appearance on stage—bantering with Falstaff and Poins, baffling the former with unsavory similes and plotting Gadshill with the latter—would have met with immediate and self-gratified recognition from the audience. Immediate, yet pointedly short-lived:

> I know you all, and will awhile uphold
> The unyok'd humour of your idleness.
> Yet herein will I imitate the sun,
> Who doth permit the base contagious clouds
> To smother up his beauty from the world,
> That, when he please again to be himself,
> Being wanted he may be more wonder'd at
> By breaking through the foul and ugly mists
> Of vapours that did seem to strangle him.
> If all the year were playing holidays,
> To sport would be as tedious as to work;
> But when they seldom come, they wish'd-for come,
> And nothing pleaseth but rare accidents:
> So when this loose behaviour I throw off,
> And pay the debt I never promised,
> By how much better than my word I am,
> By so much shall I falsify men's hopes. . . .
> (*1HIV,* I. ii. 190ff.)

Hal alienates himself from the audience in an unexpected sense—falsifying *their* hopes—when he steps aside from his prodigal career to discourse on its strategic potential. Moving forward to deliver his opening soliloquy, he moves beyond the confines of audience expectation to reveal a strange and unfamiliar visage: not a prodigal youth given over to vile participation but a prince who plays at prodigality, and means to translate his rather full performance into the profession of power.

Henry continues to see only a prodigal son, but for the audience Hal's participation in the taverns represents a prodigality of a different order—the sign not of errant youth but of power, making a far

from traditional passage through the margins and subcultures of its domain. As a result of that passage, the taverns of Eastcheap are difficult to navigate without a copy of Tilley's *Proverbs* as a guidebook: they comprise a kind of wonder-cabinet themselves, composed not of strange artifacts but of country proverbs, idiomatic expressions drawn from local dialects, and phrases of popular jargon, many of which would have gone unrecorded if they had not appeared in these plays, the richest in Shakespeare's corpus for popular speech. Some expressions remain as inaccessible to us as the Welsh we assume was spoken by Glendower and Lady Percy in *1 Henry IV* (III. i. 185ff.), and may have been equally inaccessible to a large part of Shakespeare's audience.[47] Others are relatively clear:

> By the mass, here will be old utis; it will be an excellent strategem. (*2HIV,* II. iv. 19)

The drawer's exclamation to Francis anticipates the prince and Poins dressed in jerkins and leather aprons, playing prentices to Falstaff's disadvantage. In the dialect of Worcester, "utis" meant noise, confusion, or din; yet "utas" is also a corruption of "octave," the traditional term for the eighth and final day of a festival, and generally used for any period of festivity or customary celebration. " 'Utis' is either," writes Humphreys in his gloss on the passage above, "or both": a high old time, but not without a certain disorder, an attendant ambivalence.[48] Ultimately, however, the most authoritative gloss comes from Hal himself—when Hal, no longer himself but the newly crowned Henry V, puts his apprentice days behind him and redefines, in retrospect, the world of festivity and popular pastimes as mere confusion and disorder, to be banished like the gross terms and immodest words of any strange tongue.

Learning strange tongues or collecting strange things, rehearsing the words and ways of marginal or alien cultures, upholding idleness for a while—these are the activities of a culture in the process of extending its boundaries and reformulating itself, and they embody a form of license, a suspension of customary limits, taboos, and other modes of cultural definition, that can only be temporary, a thing of passage. To speak of the sixteenth century as a period of transition is, of course, nothing new. But the shock we continue to feel at the end of *2 Henry IV,* when Hal achieves his own transition, suggests that we have yet to comprehend the cultural process by which a moment such as this is made inevitable—as inevitable, in its way, as the consummate Brazilian performance we encountered outside of Rouen:

Falstaff: My King, my Jove! I speak to thee, my heart!

King: I know thee not, old man. Fall to thy prayers.
How ill white hairs becomes a fool and jester!
I have long dreamt of such a kind of man,
So surfeit-swell'd, so old, and so profane;
But being awak'd I do despise my dream.
Make thy body hence, and more thy grace;
Leave gourmandizing; know the grave doth gape
For thee thrice wider than for other men.
Reply not to me with a fool-born jest;
Presume not that I am the thing I was;
For God doth know, so shall the world perceive,
That I have turn'd away my former self;
So will I those that kept me company.
When thou dost hear I am as I have been,
Approach me, and thou shalt be as thou wast,
The tutor and feeder of my riots.
Till then I banish thee, on pain of death.
(*2HIV,* V. v. 46ff.)

At Westminster Abbey, Falstaff and his companions are the only gross terms to be literally cast off. The old knight presents a rather large figure, however: he is a medieval Vice, a decadent noble and coward, an irrepressible spirit of wit, a religious rebel, a quite substantial embodiment of the festive impulse. "It is hard," as Empson said, "to get one's mind all round him."[49] And despite all the anticipations of the promised end, as well as all that has been written on the topic since Morgann, the banishment of Falstaff also remains hard for criticism to comprehend or encompass. It still takes us somehow by surprise, and can prove discomfiting. According to C. L. Barber, it is the playwright's aesthetic failure that makes us uneasy; at the point of Falstaff's rejection we slip from the world of festive comedy back into untransformed ritual, and Shakespeare slips with us.[50] Jonas Barish records a more significant rupture in the scene, a forcible and even violent displacement of play and audience "from the domain of comedy to the grimmer realm of history."[51] Yet *Henry IV* never was a comedy; its genre like its language is mixed throughout. What surprises us is not the event itself but the fact that the world being cast off has been so consummately rehearsed: so fully represented to us, and consequently so fully foreclosed. We do not move into history at the end of the play so much as we feel the abrupt shock of history on the move, transforming itself and its direction, taking over rhythms proper to ritual and imbuing them with a new morality and an unprecedented purpose. The ritual course of language identified in Warwick's simile does not merely reflect back upon Hal's career, his character, or his intentions, whether good, bad, or politic; nor does it merely look forward to the end so often anticipated, to prepare us once again for the banishment we always knew was on its way. Rather,

Warwick's gloss on the play opens out onto a dramaturgy much larger than Shakespeare's tetralogy, one being performed, as it were, by history itself.

The course of instruction is a curious one—a passage through certain aspects of the vernacular, strange tongues and the companions who speak them—yet it is an apt description of our experience of *Henry IV* and of the historical moment which produced it. It is a course Natalie Davis has also charted in her study of the raids upon popular culture being made by French collectors of proverbs during the same period. In French, too, the gross or vulgar—terms which were themselves in the process of acquiring the moral opprobrium they carry today—were being for a while upheld, entertained, to an extent assimilated, and then cast off. "As the language perfected itself," Davis writes, "it pulled away from the proverbial style and rejected with disdain all words that were lowered by passing too often through the mouths of the people."[52] In Elizabethan England, such disdain was increasingly focused on the popular stage—a collection of strange things, marginal pastimes, and subcultures, to be sure, but one that was itself lodged on the tenuous margins of its society, as much an object of ambivalent fascination as any of the other extravagant and extraneous cultural phenomena being maintained and, for a while, upheld by the period.

A new sense of propriety was in the wings, listening to the language of the stage with an ear attuned to the gross and improper. Words "fetched from Latin inkhorne or borrowed of strangers seldom are pleasant," according to Puttenham,

> saving perchaunce to the common people, who reioyce much to be at playes and enterludes, and besides their natural ignoraunce, have at all times their eares so attentive to the matter, and their eyes upon the shewes of the stage, that they take little heede to the cunning of the rime and therefore be as well satisfied with that which is grosse, as with any other finer and more delicate.[53]

Shakespeare could hardly have been unaware of the fragility of the social and cultural conditions that made possible the range of language, character, and ideology that we properly locate at the heart of his dramaturgy. He was an Elizabethan playwright, which is to say that he was continually reminded of the potential (if not inevitable) consummation of the cultural license enjoyed by popular drama. His company was annually rehearsed by the Court and barely tolerated by a city which, quite against its own will, also provided its livelihood. London annually threatened that livelihood, but in 1597—the year of composition for *1 Henry IV*—it seemed on the verge of translating threat into reality for the first time in nearly fifty years. The city had

won an unprecedented order from the Privy Council, calling for "the present staie and fynall suppressinge of . . . stage plays, as well at the Theatre, Curten, banckside, as in all other places in and about this Citie."[54] It is difficult today to say why the order had such little effect; it was impossible to predict at the time that it would not severely constrict the world Shakespeare inhabited—the world so amply represented in the "prodigally lavish" economy of *Henry IV,* and so fully proscribed at its close.

V

History moves at a different pace than drama does, as Shakespeare's histories always remind us; the world that felt threatened in 1597, the world being rehearsed and maintained by the dominant cultures of early modern society as they redefined themselves and their domains, was upheld for a while longer. When history does move, however, it moves along the lines intimated by Shakespeare's second tetralogy: toward the regulation of the vernacular into a clear and ordered discourse, and toward the suppression of popular ritual and pastimes that Weber christened as "the disenchantment of the world."[55]

In England, the disenchantment was more abrupt, the shock of history on the move more pointedly dramatic; as a result, the paradoxical process by which such a conclusion is achieved or made inevitable also comes into clearer focus. An anecdote from the Commonwealth reveals in miniature the outlines of that process.[56] In 1649, a Parliamentary soldier entered a village church in Surrey, at the moment when evening services were drawing to a close. He bore a lantern in one hand and four candles in the other, and declared that he carried a message from God, to be delivered to the parishioners. Denied the use of the pulpit, he went into the churchyard to make his message known. His vision consisted of five points, each an example of what was "merely ceremonial" in the church, and to be abolished: the Sabbath, tithes, ministers, magistrates, and finally the Bible itself, which was to be rejected as a repository of ceremonies and practices no longer necessary, "now Christ himself is in Glory amongst us." But the abolition of all ceremony was ceremoniously conducted. For each of his cardinal points, the soldier lit a candle from the lantern; describing the ceremony to be abolished, he extinguished the corresponding flame and declared the feat accomplished. When he reached the Bible he set fire to its leaves, allowed it to be fully consumed, then put out the lantern itself, declaring, "And here my fifth light is extinguished." What he performed was a working through of Church ceremony, a last rite for Christian ritual. That he employed ceremony to extinguish ceremony was a contradiction, but

just such a contradiction was fundamental to the recreation of early modern culture: a process that begins in the adoption of the strange, and that ends with a full entrance into and performance of alien and residual cultures, consummately rehearsed and thus consummately foreclosed.

It is a process that Hal first performs proleptically when he steps forward to announce the shape of his future "reformation." He steps out of the play that is at once his context and his vehicle, and in a sense he steps into a historical moment that does not yet exist, except on the stage he occupies. It is a position that allows the gross terms and improprieties of Shakespeare's language to be observed, as if in retrospect; for all the attacks on the stage, it is a form of observation or surveillance, a view of the strange or gross as Error, that Dryden, looking back on Shakespeare from the stage of history itself, associates with the Restoration:

> Neither would I be understood, when I speak of impropriety of language, either wholly to accuse the last age, or to excuse the present; and least of all, myself; for all writers have their imperfections and failings; but I may safely conclude in the general, that our improprieties are less frequent, and less gross than theirs. One testimony of this is undeniable; that we are the first who have observed them; and, certainly, to observe errours is a great step to the correcting of them.[57]

Our course through the rehearsal of cultures in the Renaissance suggests that the observation of Error is a more complex and paradoxical process than Dryden's self-satisfaction can quite comprehend. If Dryden's language is, in his terms, less gross or improper, this is only because Shakespeare's language was what it was. The first stage of Dryden's observation was not passive, but an active participation in all that passed for the gross, the improper, the anomalous, the strange.

The terms are ones Shakespeare rehearses once again, in the last play of the Lancastrian cycle. Against Dryden's retrospective on the state of Shakespeare's language, we should juxtapose the playwright's own rearward glance at the improprieties that occupied the ambivalent center of Hal's prodigality. I began with a list of strange things gathered together in an Elizabethan wonder-cabinet, and would conclude with another list, a strange wonder in its own peculiar way, as recited by Katharine of Valois:

> Le foot, et le count? O Seigneur Dieu! ils sont les mots de son mauvais, corruptible, gros, et impudique, et non pour les dames d'honneur d'user. Je ne voudrais pronouncer ces mots devant les seigneurs de France, pour tout le monde. Foh! le foot et le count! Néanmoins je reciterai une autre fois ma leçon ensemble: d'hand, de fingre, de nails, d'arm, d'elbow, de nick, de sin, de foot, le count. (*Henry V,* III.iv.52ff.)

Marx notoriously suggested that the major events of history occur twice: once as tragedy, and again as farce. Tragedy may be too strong a term for the catastrophe of Hal's language lesson, but Katharine's scene of instruction is indeed borrowed from French farce, and as such is nearly unique in Elizabethan drama.[58] What we have is a fully staged language lesson, conducted in one strange tongue and concerned with another; quite literally, Katharine's list is a recital or rehearsal of gross terms. Most striking after *Henry IV* is the ease with which Katharine first rejects what is gross and dishonorable and then revisits it, repeats it, recites it anew. The sign of that ease is "néanmoins": once the strange has been proscribed as gross Error, it can be allowed to return, but in a much reduced and vitiated form. Like Katharine's gross terms, Falstaff and his companions will return, or so we are promised—but not until "their conversations / Appear more wise and modest to the world" (*2HIV,* V. v. l00–101). The old knight passes with a great deal less ease than Katharine's gross terms; his rehearsal reaches its final conclusion offstage, and "néanmoins" is the word missing from his babbling end. Nevertheless, as Katharine would say, he returns to the stage in *The Merry Wives of Windsor,* where he will "speak like an Anthropophaginian" (IV.v.8): still an emblem of strange tongues and unsavory cultures, but reduced to the only stage provided for such repeat performances—that of farce.

later; Elizabeth subsidized the latter's funeral procession and burial. See Lawrence Stone, "The Anatomy of the Elizabethan Aristocracy," *The Economic History Review* 28 (1948): 12–13.

22. I quote from the second English edition (London, 1635), p. 32; Botero's treatise was originally published in 1588.

23. Cited by Derrick Sherwin Bailey, *Sexual Relation in Christian Thought* (New York: Harper and Row, 1959), p. 162.

24. See "La pharmacie de Platon," in *La Dissémination* (Paris: Editions de Seuil, 1972), pp. 71–197, esp. 108–53.

25. For Freud's brief but influential essay, see "The Antithetical Sense of Primal Words," in *Character and Culture,* ed. P. Rieff (New York: Collier, 1963), pp. 44–50.

26. Tony Tanner, "Licence and Licencing: To the Presse or to the Spunge," *The Journal of the History of Ideas* 38 (1977): 5. The quotation from Chesterfield is cited by Tanner, p. 5.

27. On the economic threat of the Liberties to the City, see Peter Clark, "Town Occupations and Town Economies," in *Crisis and Order in English Towns 1500–1700,* ed. P. Clark and P. Slack (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1972), pp. 156–61.

28. Christopher Hill, *The World Turned Upside Down* (Middlesex: Penguin, 1975), p. 40.

29. For Burke's use of the term, see his *Permanence and Change* (Los Altos: Hermes, 1954), pp. 71ff.

30. From a sermon delivered in 1577, cited by E. K. Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1923), 4:197.

31. Orgel, *The Illusion of Power,* p. 2.

32. Muriel Bradbrook, *The Rise of the Common Player* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1962), p. 74.

33. E. K. Chambers, *The Medieval Stage* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1903), 2:7–9.

34. Altman, *Tudor Play,* p. 269.

35. Sir Thomas Elyot, *The image of governance* (London, 1540–41), p. 69.

36. For a full discussion and bibliography on the recent debate about the place and potential of ritualized misrule, see Natalie Z. Davis, *Society and Culture in Early Modern France* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1975), pp. 97–123.

37. "The Remembrancia," in *Dramatic Records of the City of London,* ed. E. K. Chambers (London: The Malone Society, 1907), 1:1, 48. The *OED* fails to note Woodrofe's usage; the earliest example it gives of "incontinence" without reference to sexual appetite is from 1641.

38. See J. Dover Wilson, "The Puritan Attack upon the Stage," in *The Cambridge History of English Literature,* ed. A. W. Ward and A. R. Waller (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966), 6:381.

39. Thomas Nashe, *The Wonderfulle yeare* (London, 1603), D1r.

40. "The Remembrancia," p. 68.

41. Ibid., p. 77.

42. For the Protean player, as well as an excellent study of the reciprocal relationship between Elizabethan drama and culture, see Louis Adrian Montrose, "The Purpose of Playing: Reflections on a Shakespearean Anthropology," *Helios,* n.s. 7 (1980): 51–74.

43. Stephen Gosson, *Plays Confuted in Five Actions* (London, 1582), G7v.

44. See *The Elizabethan World Picture* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1967), esp. pp. 9–17. For a succinct critique of Tillyard's view, see Montrose, "The Purpose of Playing," pp. 54–57.

45. Montrose, "The Purpose of Playing," p. 54.

46. Muriel Bradbrook, *The Common Monument* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), p. 51.

47. See Alfred Harbage, *Shakespeare and the Rival Traditions* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1970), p. 85.

48. S. L. Bethell, *Shakespeare and the Popular Dramatic Tradition* (London: Staples Press, 1948); A. P. Rossiter, *Angel with Horns* (London: Longman, 1961).

49. Robert Weimann, *Shakespeare and the Popular Tradition in the Theater,* ed. R. Schwartz (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978), p. 177.

50. Maurice Godelier, *Perspectives in Marxist Anthropology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), p. 5.

51. Hayden White, "Literature and Social Action: Reflections on the Reflection Theory of Art," *New Literary History* 11 (1980): 364.

52. Terry Eagleton, *Criticism and Ideology* (London: New Left Books, 1976), p. 72.

53. Louis Althusser, *Lenin and Philosophy* (London: New Left Books, 1971), pp. 222–23.

Chapter 3

1. See Jean Céard, *La nature et les prodiges: l'insolite au 16e siècle, en France* (Geneva: Droz, 1977), p. 460. For a related study of the shifting cultural significance of "monsters," see Katharine Park and Lorraine J. Daston, "Unnatural Conceptions: The Study of Monsters in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century France and England," *Past and Present* 92 (1981): 20–54.

2. *Thomas Platter's Travels in England, 1599,* trans. Clare Williams (London: Jonathan Cape, 1937), pp. 171–73. I have modified Williams' translation slightly. For the original, see *Thomas Platters des Jungeren Englandfahrt im Jahre 1599,* ed. Hans Hecht (Halle: N. Niemeyer, 1929).

3. The most thorough study is still Julius von Schlosser, *Die Kunst und Wunderkammer der Spätrenaissance* (Leipzig, 1908). See also Alma Stephanie Wittlin's useful work, *The Museum: Its History and Its Tasks in Education* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1949); the sections on the early collection at Dresden in *The Splendors of Dresden: Five Centuries of Art Collecting in Dresden* (New York: George Braziller, 1978), pp. 19–25, 75–77; Niels von Holst, *Creators, Collectors, and Connoisseurs: The Anatomy of Public Taste*

from Antiquity to the Present Day (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1967), pp. 103–7, 144. E. H. Gombrich makes brief comments of interest in "The Museum: Past, Present and Future," *Critical Inquiry* 3 (1977): 449.

4. Francis Bacon, *Works*, ed. James Spedding et al. (London, 1859), 3:330–31.

5. Cited by Margaret Hodgen in her useful and thorough *Early Anthropology in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1964), p. 302.

6. The phrase is Jonson's, referring to the anti-masque of *The Masque of Queens;* see *Ben Jonson: Selected Masques*, ed. Stephen Orgel (New Haven, 1975), p. 81.

7. Jean de Léry, *Voyage fait en la Terre du Brésil* (1578); cited by J. H. Elliott, *The Old World and the New* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1970), p. 22.

8. A contemporary account of the voyage, written by George Best, appears under the title *The Three Voyages of Martin Frobisher,* ed. Richard Collinson (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1863). For the fate of the family, see Sidney Lee, *Elizabethan and Other Essays*, ed. Frederick S. Boas (Clarendon: Oxford University Press, 1929), p. 275; also J. R. Hale, "Geographical and Mental Horizons," in *The Age of the Renaissance*, ed. Denys Hays (London, 1967), p. 335.

9. Henri II's entry was chronicled in two prose accounts and one verse. The fullest, from which I have quoted, is *C'est la Deduction du sumpteux ordre plaisantz spectacles et magnifiques theatre dresses, et exhibes par les citoiens de Rouen ville Metropolitane du payes de Normandie, A la sacre Maieste due Tres Christian Roy de France, Henry second, leur soverain Seigneur, Et a Tres illustre dame, ma Dame Katharine de Medicis* (Rouen, 1551); reprinted as *Entree a rouen du Roi Henri II et de la Reine Catherine de Medicis* (Rouen, 1885), Kiiiv. An excellent and full-length study of the entry has been made by Margaret M. McGowan, "Form and Themes in Henri II's Entry into Rouen," *Renaissance Drama*, n.s. 1 (1968): 199–252.

Hodgen erroneously reports the villages outside of Bordeaux in 1565, in *Early Anthropology*, p. 112. Gilbert Chinard mentions the Bordeaux festivities parenthetically while discussing the Rouen Entry, and may be the source of confusion of two quite different ceremonies; see Chinard, *L'exotisme americain dans la littérature Française au 16e siècle* (Paris, 1911), pp. 105–6.

10. For the history of the use of a sciamachy in royal entries, see Sidney Anglo, "The Evolution of the Early Tudor Disguising, Pageant, and Mask," *Renaissance Drama*, n.s. 1 (1968): 13–18.

11. *Calendar of State Papers (Spanish), 1550–1552*, 10:182.

12. See Erwin Panofsky, *Studies in Iconology: Humanistic Themes in the Art of the Renaissance* (New York: Harper & Row, 1962), 13–18. I am indebted for this reference and a clarifying discussion on the point to Professor Terry Comito.

13. The French ship is shown in an illuminated edition of the *Entrée;* see the reproduction in Roy Strong, *Splendor at Court: Renaissance Spectacle and the Theater of Power* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin 1973), pp. 88–89.

14. *Calendar of State Papers (Spanish)*, 182.

15. The one exception was the exclusion of the previous day's triumphal references to the acquisition of Boulogne—suppressed, as Simon Renard reports, in order not to offend the English spectators present. See McGowan, "Forms and Themes," p. 80.

16. On conspicuous expenditure and its devastating effects on the English aristocracy, see Stone, "The Anatomy of the Elizabethan Aristocracy," 3–13. Charles Pythian-Adams provides an excellent analysis of the rhetoric of civil ceremony in "Ceremony and the Citizen," pp. 106–28.

17. For efforts to "justify" Renaissance interest in other cultures as a precursor of Enlightenment ethnography, see Hodgen, *Early Anthropology*, and to a lesser degree, John Howland Rowe, "The Renaissance Foundations of Anthropology," *American Anthropologist* 67 (1965): 1–14. For an illuminating counterargument, see James A. Boon, "Comparative Deenlightenment: Paradox and Limits in the History of Ethnology," *Daedalus* 109 (1980): 73–91.

18. Thomas Heywood, *An Apology for Actors* (1612); in *Shakespeare Society Papers* (London, 1843), 15:40.

19. *Autobiographical Tracts of Dr. John Dee*, ed. James Crossley (London: The Chetham Society, 1851).

20. In *Statutes of the Realm*, 1:47.

21. J. R. Hale, "Sixteenth-Century Explanations of War and Violence," *Past and Present* 51 (1971): 6.

22. Cited by Christopher Hill, *Change and Continuity in Seventeenth-Century England* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1974), p. 20.

23. Foucault, *Madness and Civilization*, pp. 36–37.

24. Bradbrook, *The Living Monument*, p. 43.

25. Reprinted in the *New Shakespeare Society*, ed. Frederick V. Furnival (London, 1877–82), series 6, pts. 4–6, 149.

26. C. L. Barber, *Shakespeare's Festive Comedy* (New York: The World Publishing Co., 1968), p. 149.

27. Cited by Natalie Z. Davis, "Proverbial Wisdom and Popular Errors," in her *Society and Culture in Early Modern France* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1975), p. 249.

28. Sir Thomas Browne, *Selected Writings*, ed. Geoffrey Keynes (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968), p. 227.

29. See Davis, *Society and Culture*, pp. 245–64.

30. *Platter's Travels*, p. 170. See also Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage*, 2:365–66.

31. All quotations from *Henry IV* and *Henry V* are from the Arden Shakespeare, ed. A. C. Humphreys.

32. Jonas A. Barish, "The Turning Away of Prince Hal," *Shakespeare Studies* 1 (1965): 13.

33. See *The Statutes of Wales*, ed. Ivor Bowen (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1908), p. 75.

34. *An Epitome of the Psalmes, or briefe meditations upon the same*, trans. Richard Taverner (1539); cited by Richard Foster Jones, *The Triumph of the English Language* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1966), p. 29.

35. See Jones, *Triumph*. Also useful is J. L. Moore, *Tudor-Stuart Views on the Growth, Status, and Destiny of the English Language*, in *Studien zur Englischen Philologie* 41 (1910).

36. Richard Mulcaster, *The First Part of the Elementarie* (1582; rpt. Menston: Scolar Press, 1970), p. 158.

37. Robert Weimann, "Shakespeare and the Study of Metaphor," *New Literary History* 6 (1974): 166.

38. From the prefatory epistle to *The Shepheardes Calendar*, by "E. K."; in *The Poetical Works of Edmund Spenser*, ed. J. C. Smith and E. de Selincourt (London: Oxford University Press, 1961), p. 417.

39. Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World*, trans. H. Iswolsky (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1968), pp. 470–71.

40. "Of Repenting," in Montaigne's *Essayes*, trans. John Florio (New York: Modern Library, 1933), p. 731.

41. Roger Ascham, *The Scholemaster* (1570); cited in Jones, *Triumph*, p. 15.

42. "The Excellencie of the English Tongue" (1596?), in *The Survey of Cornwall*, ed. F. E. Halliday (London, 1953), p. 305. Carew's "towardness" is an example of what Stephen Greenblatt defines as "improvisation" in *Renaissance Self-Fashioning*, pp. 222–24.

43. William Empson, "Falstaff and Mr. Dover Wilson," *Kenyon Review* 15 (1953): 247. Shakespeare does not employ the legend directly, but its popular acceptation was at the heart of Henry's Elizabethan image as the first truly *English* king of the realm. It was the original "King's English" that Henry learned; his influence appears to have been significant in shaping Chancery English into what would become, by Shakespeare's day, the standard of the nation. See Malcolm Richardson, "Henry V, the English Chancery, and Chancery English," *Speculum* 55 (1980): 726–50.

44. On the cultural heterogeneity of *Henry IV* and Hal's appetites, see Erich Auerbach, *Mimesis*, trans. W. R. Trask (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974), pp. 312–33.

45. For an insightful reading of Hal's rehearsal of Francis—focused on the prince's efforts to awaken, even momentarily, the apprentice's discontent—see Stephen Greenblatt, "Invisible Bullets: Renaissance Authority and Its Subversion," *Glyph* 8 (1981): 40–60.

46. See Richard Helgerson, *The Elizabethan Prodigals* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977).

47. Glendower's Welsh certainly was. Unlike Cornish and other Celtic tongues, Welsh resisted the pressures of assimilation and suppression quite ably, despite juridical efforts to control or outlaw it; Welsh remained a strange tongue, a discomfiting reminder that Wales continued to be a foreign and hostile colony, ruled and to an extent subjected but never quite controlled by Tudor power. See R. R. Davies, "Colonial Wales," *Past and Present* 65 (1974): 3–23, and "Race Relations in Post-Conquest Wales: Confrontation and Compromise," in *Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion* (1974), pp. 32–56.

In a period devoted to the collection of alien customs, persons, and languages, understanding and use were not necessarily interdependent. In November of 1608, Captain Peter Wynne encountered a previously unknown tribe of Indians while on an exploratory expedition from Jamestown. Their dialect was unfamiliar, but the civilian authorities on the expedition solved the linguistic dilemma without apparent difficulty. Noting that the natives' tongue sounded as strange as Wynne's Welsh, perhaps even similar to it, they assigned him the task of translation. "The people of Monacan speak a far differing language from the subjects of Powhatan," as Wynne himself reported to Sir John Egerton on November 21, "their pronunciation being very like Welsh, so that gentlemen in our company desired me to be their interpreter."

48. See the Arden edition, p. 63 n. 19.

49. Empson, "Falstaff and Mr. Dover Wilson," 221.

50. Barber, *Shakespeare's Festive Comedy*, pp. 217ff.

51. Barish, "The Turning Away of Prince Hal," p. 10.

52. Davis, *Society and Culture*, p. 256.

53. George Puttenham, *The Arte of English Poesie* (1589; rpt. Westminster: Constable & Co., 1895), p. 96.

54. See Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage*, 4:221–22, for the letter from the mayor to the Privy Council. Glynne Wickham called the order "a watershed in English theatrical history. . . . Its advent spelt the end of a predominately amateur and casual theatre and the start of the strictly professional and commercial theatre that we know"; see "The Privy Council Order of 1597 for the Destruction of all London's Theatres," in *The Elizabethan Theatre*, ed. D. Galloway (Toronto: Macmillan, 1969), 1:21.

55. See Max Weber, *General Economic History*, trans. F. H. Knight (New York: Greenberg, 1927), p. 265.

56. From the *Anarchia Anglicana* (1649); the passage is cited in full by Alan Simpson, *Puritanism in Old and New England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1955), pp. 54–55.

57. John Dryden, "The Defence of the Epilogue," in *Critical and Miscellaneous Prose Works*, ed. E. Malone (London, 1800), p. 232. For the history of such "surveillance," understood in Dryden's sense of observing Error, see Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*.

58. See M. L. Radoff, "Influence of French Farce in *Henry V* and *The Merry Wives*," *Modern Language Notes* 48 (1933): 427–35.

Chapter 4

1. Niccolò Machiavelli, *The Prince*, trans. and ed. Robert M. Adams (New York: Norton, 1977), p. 22. I have amended the translation slightly.

2. Gentillet's treatise, written in 1576, was published in English translation in 1602. See Innocent Gentillet, *A discourse upon the meanes of wel governing and maintaining in good peace, a kingdome, or other principalitie. Divided into three parts, namely, The Counsell, The Religion, and the Policie, which*