Violent Passions and Vulnerable Bodies: Emotion and Power from Marlowe to Ford

Kibrina Davey

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of
Sheffield Hallam University
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

October 2017

Abstract

This study will explore the relationship between violence, emotion and power in early modern drama ranging from the Elizabethan to the Caroline period and including the works of: Christopher Marlowe, William Shakespeare, Thomas Heywood, William Davenant, Philip Massinger, and John Ford. The dramatic texts in this thesis will be read in conversation with early modern proto-psychological, medical, philosophical, and theological doctrines on the passions in order to demonstrate how the drama of the period reflects and reveals the various early modern discourses of emotion, and how in turn, these discourses illuminate new meanings within the drama.

Excessive passion in early modern tragedy usually results in violence and, more often than not, proves fatal. This study will consider extreme emotions such as grief, anger, love, lust, and jealousy and their transformative effects which provoke the bloody, violent, and ultimately fatal endings of early modern tragedies. Not only will this study examine this correlation between emotion and death from a proto-psychological and medical point-of-view, but also as a consequence of and reaction against the social and political power hierarchies of early modern society. This thesis will consider power in two ways: the power that the passions have on the vulnerable human body and how this provokes violent responses, and the ways in which these acts of passionate violence are used by playwrights to comment on, reveal, and criticise the socio-political hegemonic discourses of early modern society. Specifically, this exploration of emotion and power will take into account, the early modern patriarchal family and gender roles, the Protestant and Catholic churches, their authority figures and the religious power struggles of the period, early modern conceptions of race and foreign cultures, and the role of the monarch and debates about what constitutes the idea ruler.

This study makes an original contribution to knowledge through its examination of previously understudied plays by dramatists such as Philip Massinger and William Davenant. Additionally, this study extends the existing remit of scholarship on early modern drama that uses the history of emotions as a framework, by considering the representations of emotion on the early modern stage, as well as affectual responses to the drama itself in plays that have until now been absent or underrepresented in this area of research, such as Christopher Marlowe's *Dido, Queen of Carthage* (1586) and Thomas Heywood's *A Woman Killed with Kindness* (1603). Finally, this study will re-examine the passions in plays which are more frequently studied by emotions scholars such as Shakespeare's *Othello* (1603), a play renowned for its exploration of sexual jealousy, and the works of John Ford, known for their engagement with and allusions to Robert Burton's *The Anatomy of Melancholy* (1621), to offer new insights into the various representations of emotion which are present in these plays.

For my Grandads, Mick and Joe.

For all of your love and lessons.

I miss you every day.

For my Uncle Pat, who we lost so suddenly.

Thank you for teaching me that great poetry comes in all forms and is written by all kinds of people, and for showing me the power of music. These words will always remind me of you…

‘My feet is my only carriage

And so I’ve got to push on through.

[...]

Everything’s gonna be alright.’

-Bob Marley

For Claire Gatley.

For showing me the wonder and importance of stories and for teaching me to dream.

Rest in peace Mrs Gatley.

From one of the magical stories that you introduced me to:

“Well, maybe it started that way. As a dream, but doesn’t everything. Those buildings. These lights. This whole city. Somebody had to dream about it first. And maybe that is what I did. I dreamed about coming here, but then I did it.”

-Roald Dahl, *James and the Giant Peach*

Acknowledgements

To begin with I would like to thank Sheffield Hallam University for providing me with the opportunity and the funding to turn this research from a proposal to a completed thesis. I would also like to say thank you to SHU for giving me the opportunity to teach during my PhD.

Special thanks go to my brilliant director of studies, Professor Lisa Hopkins whose own work inspired me to embark on this PhD. I thank Lisa for always being honest, keeping me motivated, for encouraging me to keep writing, and for suffering through the blood and the guts. I also thank my supervisor Annaliese Connolly for always listening, for her kindness, support, and advice over the last three years. I am truly appreciative of all of the energy, time, and expertise they have both offered me. I am deeply grateful for all of the opportunities they have given me, the lessons they have taught me, and all of their guidance in every aspect of this thesis and more.

I would also like to express my gratitude to Professor Matt Steggle for all of his valuable advice and for proof-reading my entire thesis. I am truly privileged to have worked with Matt and wish him all the best for the future.

I would like to thank all of my wonderful early modern colleagues at Sheffield Hallam for providing such a stimulating and supportive research network and allowing me to try out my ideas in a friendly environment.

Particular thanks to my fellow postgrad and Associate Lecturer Emma Hutson, who I met at the interviews for our studentships. I am so glad that I got to take this journey with her, she has been an inspiration and a great friend from the first day we met.

I have greatly benefited from the guidance and encouragement of several inspiring teachers across my academic career. Particular thanks go to Dr Peter Smith for all of his advice, wisdom, friendship and generosity over the years. I would not be here if it were not for him. Thanks also go to Claire Gatley, Gill Argent, Jacki Melit, Jeremy Fry, Julia Brown, Caroline McKen, Dr Anna Ball, Dr David Coleman and Dr Chloe Porter for believing that I could do this and giving me the tools to do so.

My heartfelt appreciation goes to all of my exceptional friends. I am indebted to Caroline Heaton, who has been my rock throughout these last three years. I am truly grateful for all of the late night phone calls, invaluable advice, overwhelming generosity, and complete and utter confidence she has in me. I feel extremely lucky to have had her friendship throughout this process.

Similar profound gratitude goes to Michelle Manning, my early modern partner-in-crime who has been there since the beginning. She never let me doubt that I could do this, she always understood, and she knew just what to say to calm my pre-conference nerves. I could not have done this without her. Thanks to Michelle for having faith in me, for reading numerous abstracts, and for arguing about plays with me.

Special thanks go to Kath Bradley for her unbelievable generosity, wonderful friendship, and warm hospitality. I am hugely appreciative of the long late night chats, her unfailing kindness, and for inviting me to stay on countless trips to Stratford-Upon-Avon (scholarly and otherwise).

I would also like to extend my deepest appreciation to Chan Arnold for always making me smile, for all of the care and kindness, all of the thoughtful gifts and messages along the way. I am truly grateful that she was there to keep me going.

I am hugely thankful to Tree Branson for always being there whenever I needed her, for going out of her way to understand all of this, and for reminding me that I am only

human. She always has my best interests at heart and I truly appreciate all of her love and support. Thanks also to Scott Ford, Daniel Dolan, James Walker, Lee Hoppis, and Hayley Allen for believing in me and being the best friends that anyone could ask for.

I owe a very important debt to my loving family, the most important people in my life. Thanks go to my mum for teaching me about what is important in life, for being a strong woman that I can look up to, and for her unconditional love. I am also so very grateful to my brothers, Shane and Conor, my sister Amber and my sister-in-law Becca for their love and support. I would also like to extend my appreciation to my brothers Aden and Brent, who are further away, but support me nonetheless. Last but not least, thanks go to my nan, who is always proud of me even when she has no idea what I am talking about. This thesis is for all of them.

Special mentions also go to: Dr Erin Sullivan, Sarah Waters, Cheryl Birdseye, Dr Thea Buckley, Emer McHugh, Giulia Mari, Dr Nora Williams, Robbie Hand, Ronan Hatfull, Laura Nicklin-Reeves, Professor Rebecca Totaro, Dr Miranda Thomas, and Dr Riyukta Raghunath, for reading things, for sending me things, for offering advice and answering questions, for providing emotional support and friendship, and for making this journey fun and interesting.

Note on the texts

All of the quotations taken from pre-1700 secondary texts come from the facsimile versions of the texts available in the online database Early English Books Online, unless stated otherwise. I have also used the version of William Davenant's *The Tragedy of Albovine* which is available on EEBO, but have used specific modern editions of the other plays that feature in this thesis. The spelling, capitalisation, and punctuation have not been changed.

Contents

Violent Passions and Vulnerable Bodies: Emotions and Power from Marlowe to Ford

Introduction: Early Modern Emotion

> By this alteration which Passions worke in the Witte and the Will, we may vnderstand the admirable Metamorphosis and change of a man from himselfe, when his affectes are pacified, and when they are troubled. *Plutarch* sayde they changed them like *Circes* potions, from men into beastes. Or we may compare the Soule without Passions, to a calme Sea, with sweete, pleasant, and crispling streames; but the Passionate, to the raging Gulfe, swelling with waves, surging by tempests, mina|cing the stony rockes, and endevouring to overthrowe Mountaines: even so, Passions make the Soule to swell with pride and pleasure; they threaten woundes, death and destruction, by audacious boldnesse and ire: they vndermine the mountaines of Vertue, with hope and feare; and in summe, never let the Soule be in quietnes, but ever, eyther flowing with Pleasure, or ebbing with Payne.[1]

The above extract is taken from Thomas Wright's *The Passions of the Minde in Generall* (1604), a pivotal text for any scholar of the early modern passions. I chose to begin the thesis with this particular passage, as in it, Wright conveys many of the ideas central to the ensuing discussion of emotion in early modern drama. Firstly, Wright describes the transformative effects of 'troubled' affects, which can change men into 'beasts'. Secondly, he makes the connection between emotion and the environment, linking the passions to the weather and the elements in order to convey their power and potential for destruction before suggesting that the passions can prove fatal. Thirdly, Wright discusses the soul, describing how particular emotions overwhelm the soul and cause an individual to sin. Finally, Wright describes the two extremes of passion, 'pleasure' and 'pain'. This thesis is concerned with each of the points that Wright makes in this passage: it will consider the transformative effects of passion, the relationship between bodies and the environment, the link between sin and passion, and the ways in which pleasure, specifically desire, leads to both physical and emotional pain.

[1] Thomas Wright, 2nd edn, *The Passions of the Minde in Generall* (London: Valentine Simmes, 1604), pp.58-59.

Excessive emotion in early modern tragedy leads to violence and bloodshed. These highly passionate acts of violence are usually related to social and political power structures of the period, and used to make a statement about the hegemonic discourses of early modern society which posited the monarch as divine, the Church as authoritative, men as the head of the family, and foreign cultures as inferior.[2]

This study will explore the relationship between violence, emotion and power in early modern drama from 1586-1633. It is concerned with extreme emotions such as grief, anger, and jealousy and their transformative effects which so often result in the bloody, violent, and usually fatal endings of early modern tragedies. This thesis will consider the vulnerability of the human body in plays by Christopher Marlowe, William Shakespeare, William Davenant, Philip Massinger and John Ford, exploring how characters in these plays contract emotion, experience emotion, and attempt to govern emotion.

In addition to considering how excessive passion leads to violence in the plays, I will contemplate the link between passion and power in two ways. Firstly, the power of the emotions themselves will be a principal concern of this thesis and in the first half of the thesis I will show how the passions are generated in the human body through the work of specific senses and body parts. In the second half, I will discuss how characters from early modern plays attempt to exert their own power over the passions, often to no avail and how violence is the typical consequence of this failure to govern the passions. Moreover, I will

[2] For discussion of divine rights of Kings see James I, 'The True Law of Free Monarchies', in *The Political Works of James I,* ed. by Charles Howard McIlwain (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1918) More detailed reference can be found on p. 247 of the thesis. For evidence of men as the head of the household, see conduct books such as William Whatley, *A Bride-Bush* (London: Felix Kyngston, 1619), p.18 which describes the wife as 'inferiour'. For historical discussion of the inferiority of foreign cultures see Reginald Scot, *Discoverie of Witchcraft* 3rd edn, *The Discovery of Witchcraft* (London:1665), p.25. in which he links Moors to 'a damned soul', and Thomas Wright who links blackness with excessive sexuality, writing that 'the black is lustie' in *The Passions of the Mind in General,* p.43.

demonstrate that excessive passion, often expressed through violence, has the power not only to transform the person experiencing said passion, but can also infect and affect those who are witnessing it.

Secondly, I will argue that the relationship between emotion and violence in early modern drama is used to reveal, engage with, and more often than not, problematise the social and political hierarchies of early modern society. Through the portrayal and staging of excessive emotion and passionate violence, the playwrights featured in this thesis criticise and undermine the power of the Church, the monarchy, the patriarchy and the early modern discourses which perpetuated fear about foreign cultures. This thesis will show that an exploration of the passions in early modern drama not only teaches us something about the workings of the human body and mind in this period, but can also teach us about the politics, religion, and social issues that affected the early modern subject.

The plays that I have chosen to look at range from the Elizabethan period to the Caroline period: Christopher Marlowe's *Dido, Queen of Carthage* (1586), William Shakespeare's *Othello* (1603), Thomas Heywood's *A Woman Killed with Kindness* (1603), Philip Massinger's *The Duke of Milan* (1623) and *The Roman Actor* (1629), William Davenant's *The Tragedy of Albovine* (1629) and three plays by John Ford: *The Lover's Melancholy* (1629), *'Tis Pity She's a Whore* (1633), and *The Broken Heart* (1633). The thesis will begin with a play that was written and performed approximately halfway through the Elizabethan period, and while *Dido* is not known for its exploration of the humoral body, I will show that in Marlowe's play the physiological and psychological concerns that pervade the tragedies of the Jacobean period were beginning to appear. I will also look at the works from the Jacobean period, such as *Othello* and *A Woman Killed with Kindness* as well as Davenant's *Albovine* and the Caroline tragedies of Philip Massinger

and John Ford. I will therefore trace how the various discourses of the passions become increasingly explicit in drama from the Elizabethan to the Caroline period. Furthermore, I will demonstrate how the presentation of emotions is often linked to specific historical moments such as a new monarch and religious upheaval.

The History of Emotions

The History of Emotions is a burgeoning field of study due largely to the work of centres such as the Australian Research Council's *Centre for Excellence for the History of Emotions*, the *Centre for the History of Emotions* at Queen Mary University of London, and the History of Emotions Research Centre at the Max Planck Institute for Human Development. The last forty years has seen an emergence of numerous studies on emotions from disciplines including: history, psychology, sociology, literary history, art history, and anthropology. Influential theorists in this area of study include William M. Reddy, Jan Plamper, Thomas Dixon, and Barbara H. Rosenwein.[3]

In the last few years studies on the representation of emotion in literature from a variety of historical periods have increased. The early modern period is no exception, and there are several recent works on emotion in early modern literature. Seminal texts include Gail Kern Paster's *The Body Embarrassed: Drama and the Disciplines of Shame in Early Modern England* (1993) and more recently *Humoring the Body: Emotions and the Shakespearean Stage* (2010).[4] In the latter study, Paster states that the aim of her book is to

> look for traces of a historical phenomenology in the language of affect in early modern drama in order that readers of that drama and other texts of the period may

[3] See William M. Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling: A Framework for the History of Emotions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), Jan Plamper, *The History of Emotions: An Introduction* trans by. Keith Tribe (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), Thomas Dixon, *From Passions to Emotions: The Creation of a Secular Psychological Category* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), Barbara H. Rosenwein, *Generations of Feeling: A History of Emotions, 600-1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016).
[4] Gail Kern Paster, *The Body Embarrassed: Drama and the Disciplines of Shame in Early Modern England* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1993).

> begin to recover some of the historical particularity of early modern emotional self-experience.[5]

For Paster, the drama of the period teaches us about the emotional experiences of early moderns. This study will continue in the same vein, demonstrating how early modern drama often reveals the beliefs, ideas, theories and experiences of emotion in the early modern period. Moreover, it will show that the various non-fiction discourses of emotion from the period can teach us something about early modern drama, bringing to light new meanings and ideas that have previously been overlooked in early modern literature.

Other similarly influential studies include: *Reading the Early Modern Passions* (2004) also edited by Paster along with Mary Floyd-Wilson and Katherine Rowe, Floyd-Wilson's and Garret A. Sullivan's *Embodiment and Environment in Early Modern Drama and Performance* (2007), and *Shakespearean Sensations: Experiencing Literature in Early Modern England* (2013) by Katherine A. Craik and Tanya Pollard, all of which stress the importance of the relationship between the emotional and the corporeal in early modern humoral theory, ideas which are indisputably key to any dialogue of early modern emotion and will undoubtedly inform the ensuing discussion on the passions in the plays in this thesis.[6]

A large proportion of this scholarship so far has focused on the works of Shakespeare. Take for instance, Lynn Enterline's *Shakespeare's Schoolroom: Rhetoric, Discipline and Emotion* (2012), Bridget Escolme's *Emotional Excess on the Shakespearean*

---

[5] Gail Kern Paster, *Humoring the Body: Emotions and the Shakespearean Stage* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), p.23.

[6] See *Reading the Early Modern Passions: Essays in the Cultural History of Emotion* ed. by Gail Kern Paster, Katherine Rowe, Mary Floyd-Wilson (Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), *Environment and Embodiment in Early Modern England* ed. by Mary Floyd-Wilson, and Garrett A. Sullivan Jr (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2007), and *Shakespearean Sensations: Experiencing Literature in Early Modern England* ed. by Katherine A. Craik, and Tanya Pollard, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

Stage (2014), and Steven Mullaney's *The Reformation of Emotion in the Age of Shakespeare* (2015).[7] Some of these studies do discuss the works of other playwrights, however minimally, and increasingly, works of other early modern authors such as John Lyly, James Shirley, and Philip Sidney are also being examined through the lens of early modern proto-psychology, in studies such as *The Renaissance of Emotion: Understanding Affect in Shakespeare and his Contemporaries* (2015) edited by Richard Meek and Erin Sullivan and *Historical Affects and the Early Modern Theatre* (2015) edited by Ronda Arab, Michelle Dowd and Adam Zucker.[8] This study will widen the scope of research in this area further by exploring the representation of emotion in many works that are rarely or never studied using this framework, including works by Philip Massinger, Thomas Heywood, Christopher Marlowe and William Davenant.

In *The Renaissance of Emotion*, Sullivan and Meek seek to 'recover the plurality and creativity of Renaissance and early modern emotion.'[9] Meek and Sullivan's study attempts to move away from 'physiological determinism' and highlight the significance of other 'intellectual and creative frameworks, such as religious or philosophical belief, political performance' and the ways in which they 'shaped cultural beliefs about emotional experience.'[10] This study will support Meek and Sullivan's contention, combining evidence of the influences of physiological understandings of early modern emotion, with a

[7] See Lynn Enterline, *Shakespeare's Schoolroom: Rhetoric, Discipline, Emotion* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012), Bridget Escolme, *Emotional Excess on the Shakespearean Stage: Passion's Slaves* (London: Bloomsbury, 2014), and Steven Mullaney, *The Reformation of Emotions in the Age of Shakespeare* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015).

[8] See *The Renaissance of Emotion: Understanding Affect in Shakespeare and His Contemporaries* ed. by Richard Meek and Erin Sullivan (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015) and *Historical Affects and the Early Modern Theatre* ed. by Ronda Arab, Michelle Dowd, and Adam Zucker (New York: Routledge, 2015).

[9] Meek and Sullivan, *The Renaissance of Emotion: Understanding Affect in Shakespeare and His Contemporaries*, p.3.

[10] Meek and Sullivan, *The Renaissance of Emotion*, p.3.

consideration of philosophical and religious views on the passions, as well as exploring the relationship between the socio-political and the proto-psychological in early modern representations of emotion. Therefore, alongside early modern medical doctrines, this thesis will also examine spiritual doctrines, artistic renderings, political tracts, and polemical texts about the theatre itself from the period. I will demonstrate that a wide variety of ideas and theories from different frameworks of knowledge influenced how early moderns thought about emotion and how they were represented in the drama of the period. I will show that in the selected plays, violence is a direct result of excessive passion, and that this relationship between violence and emotion should be considered not only as physiological responses but as acts imbued with social, religious, and political meaning.

The Turn to Affect

A term that recurs frequently in the discussion of key critical texts above is 'affect.' Recently there has been a particular upsurge in scholarship on what has been termed Affect Theory or the 'turn to affect.'[11] Key scholars in this area include: Eve Sedgwick, Sianne Ngai, Patricia Clough, Lawrence Grossberg, Teresa Brennan, and Brian Massumi.[12] Examples of recent publications in this field include Melissa Gregg and Gregory J. Seigworth's *The Affect Theory Reader* in 2010 and Brian Massumi's *The Politics of Affect* in 2015.[13]

[11] For detailed discussions of the 'turn to affect' see Ruth Leys, 'The Turn to Affect: A Critique', *Critical Inquiry*, 37.3 (2011), pp.434-472 and Margaret Wetherell, 'Trends in the Turn to Affect: A Social Psychological Critique', *Body and Society*, 21.2 (2014), pp.139-166.

[12] See Eve Sedgwick, *Touching Feeling: Affect Pedagogy, Performativity* (London: Duke University Press, 2003), Sianne Ngai, *Ugly Feelings* (Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2005), *The Affective Turn: Theorizing the Social* ed. by Patricia Ticineto Clough and Jean Halley (London: Duke University Press, 2007), Lawrence Grossberg, 'Affect's Future: Rediscovering the Virtual in the Actual' in *The Affect Theory Reader* ed. by Melissa Greg and Gregory J. Seigworth (London: Duke University Press, 2010), pp.309-339, Teresa Brennan, *The Transmission of Affect* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2014), Brian Massumi, *Politics of Affect* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2015).

[13] *The Affect Theory Reader* ed. by Melissa Greg and Gregory J. Seigworth (London: Duke University Press, 2010) and see above for Massumi's *Politics of Affect.*

As Affect Theory is a relatively modern concept it is usually used in analyses of modern art, culture, politics, and literature. However, even more recently, there have been new studies that focus on affect in the early modern period such as Arab, Dowd, and Zucker's *Historical Affects and the Early Modern Theatre* (2015) mentioned briefly above, and the very new *Affect Theory and Early Modern Texts: Politics, Ecologies and Form* (2017) by Amanda Bailey and Mario DiGangi, who argue that

> affect theory can speak to early modern texts and culture in the following ways: (1) affect can illuminate the role of embodiment in early modern representations of political subjectivity and agency; (2) affect intersects with recent interests among early modern scholars in ecologies and environments, particularly the de-centering of human agency and subjectivity in post-humanism; (3) affect can shed new light on the formal elements of literary texts, as well as enhance our understanding of the social, political, and physiological dynamics of theatrical experience.[14]

For Bailey and DiGangi, the application of affect theory to early modern texts allows us to learn more about early modern emotion and to see early modern texts and culture in new ways. They also stress how looking at 'affect' in an early modern text can teach us something about political and social issues of the period, emphasising 'subjectivity' and 'agency' as well as the 'theatrical experience.' This thesis will discuss 'affect' in a similar way in order to demonstrate that 'the political and economic engagements of Renaissance drama might be made visible through less tangible contexts and experiences, such as emotion or embodied affect, mood, inclination, and manner.'[15] In this thesis I will demonstrate how affect is used by playwrights to engage with early modern political and social debates, to make statements and express anxieties about the monarchy, gender roles, race, and a variety of other issues affecting the early modern subject.

---

[14] *Affect Theory and Early Modern Texts: Politics, Ecology and Form* ed. by Amanda Bailey and Mario DiGangi (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), p.5.

[15] Arab, Dowd, Zucker, *Historical Affects and the Early Modern Theatre*, p.3.

There is much debate among scholars about the definition of 'affect', how it compares to that of 'emotion', and how important it is to separate the two. For instance, Brian Massumi writes

> By "affect" I don't mean "emotion" in the everyday sense. The way I use it comes primarily from Spinoza. He talks of the body in terms of its capacity for affecting or being affected. These are not two different capacities – they always go together. When you affect something, you are at the same time opening yourself up to being affected in turn, and in a slightly different way than you might have been the moment before. You have made a transition, however slight. You have stepped over a threshold. Affect is this passing of a threshold, seen from the point of view of the change in capacity.[16]

Massumi separates affect from emotion, drawing on the theories of Spinoza to suggest that 'affect' has an effect, it provokes a change or an alteration of some kind in the body and denotes a transactional relationship between the affect and the affected. This is a familiar theme in many definitions of the word 'affect' by affect theorists.

Patricia Clough for example, writes that affects 'illuminate … both our power to affect the world around us and our power to be affected by it, along with the relationship between these two powers'[17] and Lauren Berlant argues that 'since affect is about *affectus*, about being affected and affecting, and therefore about relationality and reciprocity as such, affect theory is inevitably concerned with the analysis of collective atmospheres.'[18] It is therefore surprising that affect theorists are only recently turning to early modern texts, as the ideas about reciprocity, social and collective emotion, and the transformative effects of affect, are familiar ones to any scholar of the early modern passions; as Paster notes, emotion in the early modern period was understood 'in terms of that body's reciprocal relations to the world.'[19] For early moderns, emotions were not only inseparable from the

[16] Massumi, *Politics of Affect,* p.3.
[17] Clough, *The Affective Turn,* p.ix.
[18] Lauren Berlant and Jordan Greenwald, 'Affect in the End Times: A Conversation with Lauren Berlant', *Qui Parle*, 20 (2010), 71-89.
[19] Paster, *Humoring the Body,* p.18.

physical body, but that body affected and was affected by the environment, the air, pollution, the weather, nature, and the elements. Passions were transferable from person to person, individuals were affected and affected others around them and this was part of what Paster terms the 'ecology' of early modern passions. As this thesis will demonstrate, the theatre itself was often considered a breeding ground for passions and an arena for the transmittance of inordinate emotion which circulated between audience members and actors.

For the purposes of this thesis, I will use the terms 'emotions', 'passions', and 'feelings' interchangeably, but only use 'affect' when discussing moments in the text or performance in which a transaction of feeling, or reciprocal exchange of emotion takes place. This may include, for instance, when discussing the affect or effect that the performance of emotional or violent aspects of the drama has on audience members or when discussing the transference of emotion from person to person via the environment or atmosphere within the world of the play and in the theatre itself. My own understanding of 'affect' will be informed by the definitions above as well as Arab, Dowd and Zucker's definition of the term:

> we understand the origination of affect never to be singular or contained; rather, we see affect as created within economies or circulations of human bodies, non-human bodies, and material things, mediated by social, cultural, and economic systems and practices. The ideals and practices of religion, family, politics, work, aesthetics, and communities, in interaction with each other, create systems of desire or structures of feeling – unfixed, changeable systems and structures – wherein affects felt by or attached to bodies and things may be understood to reside.[20]

The Early Modern Passions

[20] Arab, Dowd, Zucker, *Historical Affects and the Early Modern Theatre*, p.4.

During the early modern period there was great debate and several, often conflicting, theories that circulated concerning the passions. The early modern understanding of the passions was greatly influenced by a wide range of classical doctrines which spanned a wide expanse of time. These influences included but were not limited to, Aristotle's theory that the human body is made up of four elements, Cicero's belief that passions are in opposition to reason, Augustine's argument that some passions could be classified as good, and Thomas Aquinas's theory that the animal passions and appetites needed to be governed by the rational part of the soul.[21] As this thesis will demonstrate these ideas about good versus inordinate passion, emotion versus reason, the link between the physical and the emotional, and the relationship between the human body and its environment were all key components in the way that early moderns understood emotions.

Different early modern theorists also adopted different labels for what we now refer to as emotion, including but not limited to affections, affects, feelings, sentiments, motions, passions, appetites, and perturbations. Though these terms were not necessarily used interchangeably and many writers made use of more than one of these terms in their doctrines. Many scholars of emotion studies today argue that it is important to separate these terms. For instance, Aleksondra Hultquist writes that 'to speak of "affects" or "sentiments" often connoted calm, useful feelings, while terms like "passions" and "appetites" typically referred to raw, unregulated feeling.'[22] While I use these terms

[21] See Aristotle *Physics* ed. by David Bostock (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) and *De Anima* in *The Basic Works of Aristotle*, ed. by Richard McKeon (New York: Random House, 1988), pp.535-606, Cicero, 'Cato the Elder on Old Age' in *Cicero: Selected Works*, ed. by Michael Grant (London: Penguin, 1971), pp.211-250, Thomas Aquinas, *Selected Philosophical Writings*, ed. by Timothy McDermott (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) for discussion of the passions and soul, for discussion of Augustine's "good" passions, see Meredith J. Gill, *Augustine in the Italian Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p.27-28.

[22] Aleksondra Hultquist, 'The Passions' in *Early Modern Emotions: An Introduction,* ed. by Susan Broomhall (London: Routledge, 2017), pp.71-73 (p.71).

somewhat interchangeably in my own discourse, the nuances of meaning of some of these terms will be acknowledged and discussed at various points in the thesis.

Humouralism

The predominant model of the passions during the medieval and renaissance periods was humoural theory. Humouralism was based upon Aristotle's theory that the human body is made up of four elements: earth, air, fire, and water and that these elements are linked with four qualities: hot and cold, wet and dry.[23] This doctrine, developed by Galen stated that the passions were the consequences of an imbalance of the four humours: sanguine, choler, melancholy and phlegm. An imbalance in these humours, conceived as four distinct bodily fluids, could affect an individual's temperament and emotional state. For example, melancholy was associated with an abundance of black bile and the element of earth, those of a melancholic disposition were said to be despondent and introverted as well as being prone to passions such as jealousy and sorrow amongst others[24]. It was said to be a cold and moist humour that was frequently linked to women, who were supposedly colder than men in temperament.[25]

Contrastingly, the humour named choler, was thought to be generated by an abundance of yellow bile and perceived as a cause of anger. In opposition to melancholy, choler was linked to excessive heat. This is evident in the following passage from Nicholas Coeffeteau's treatise *A Table of Humane Passions*:

> It appears first, that *Choler* is accompanied with a heate, which is framed and ingendered in us, for that this passion enflames the blood and spirits, which are about the heart, by means of the gall, which in its heat exhales it self, and ascends to the brain where it troubles our imagination.[26]

[23] Samuel Sambursky, *The Physical World of the Greeks* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987) p.81.
[24] See the list of melancholy symptoms in Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, p.46.
[25] See Allestree, *The Ladies Calling*, p.4.
[26] Coeffeteau, *A Table of Humane Passions with their Causes and Effects*, p.550.

From Coeffeteau's treatise then, we can see that an abundance of choler could prove harmful to the health of an individual, and even had the potential to affect one's mental state.

It was believed that the humours were transported around the human body via the blood. In her explanation of humoral theory, Paster states that 'the fluids emanating from the heart, liver, spleen, and gall bladder, to produce affects were delivered by the bloodstream and saturated animate flesh, flooding and altering its character.'[27] The idea here, is that the blood carrying the humours, travel through the blood and in doing so have the power to transform human flesh as well as generate emotions. In fact, Paster tells us that humours gave all living things, 'their physical and behavorial distinctiveness.'[28] Therefore, the humours were absolutely fundamental in the generation of passions, as well as affecting one's temperament, personality, health, mentality, and physical form.

This causal relationship between passions and humours worked in the opposite direction too. For instance, doctrines influenced by Galenic medicine such as Wright's seminal, *Passions of the Minde in Generall*, discuss how the passions 'alter the humours of our bodies,'[29] Wright's description of the passions here also aptly conveys how, in humoral medicine, the emotional was often considered inseparable from the corporeal, as he describes how the passions provoke specific responses within the human body.

Pre-Cartesian theories about the passions did not draw a line between the psychology and the physiology of the human body. Instead, as Brian Cummings tells us,

---

[27] Paster, *Humoring the Body: Emotions and the Shakespearean Stage,* p.150.
[28] Gail Kern Paster, 'Bartholomew Fair and the Humoral Body' in G. Sullivan, P. Cheney, and A. Hadfield (eds.), *Early Modern English Drama: A Critical Companion* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006) pp.260-61.
[29] Wright, *The Passions of the Minde in Generall*, p.8.

'[e]arly modern discourses of the passions […] occupied an uneasy borderland between the mental and the bodily, the rational and the physiological, the intellectual and the appetitive.'[30] This relationship between the bodily and the emotional is key to this thesis which will explore some of the ways in which specific body parts and their senses were perceived as potential gateways for inordinate passions as well as the ways these passions were transferred from body to body.

An imbalance of humours and the resulting excess of passions, or vice versa, was often considered the cause of physical and mental maladies. Wright wrote that 'all Physitians commonly agree, that among divers other extrinsecall causes of diseases, one and not the least, is the excesse of some inordinate passion.'[31] Love-melancholy in particular was widely discussed in tracts on the early modern passions. Michal Altbauer Rudnik discusses the condition stating that according to early modern theorists

> Melancholy, it was understood, took over […] when, for some reason, the person was separated from his or her beloved and could not consummate his or her love. The unfulfilled love would then dry and cool the body, creating a dominance of black bile, which would precipitate melancholy.[32]

Conversely, Lesel Dawson tells us that in the early modern period female lovesickness was believed to be caused by an excessive lust and was described by early modern writers as 'a burning in the blood and liver'.[33] Nicholas Culpeper connects desire

---

[30] Brian Cummings, 'Animal Passions and Human Sciences: Shame, Blushing and Nakedness in Early Modern Europe and the New World' in *At the Borders of the Human: Beasts, Bodies, and Natural Philosophy in the Early Modern Period,* ed. by Erica Fudge, Ruth Gilbert, and Susan Wiseman (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1999), pp. 26-50 (p.26).

[31] Wright, *The Passions of the Minde in Generall*, p.4.

[32] Michal Altbauer Rudnik, 'Love for All: The Medical Discussion of Lovesickness in Jacob Zahalon's *The Treasure of Life'* in *Knowledge and Religion in Early Modern Europe,* ed. by Asaph Ben-Tov, Yaacov Deutsch and Tamar Herzig (Leiden: Brill, 2013), pp. 87-118 (p.90).

[33] Lesel Dawson, *Lovesickness and Gender in Early Modern English Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p.7.

and heated blood in his contention that 'lust' or 'immoderate desire' stems from 'hot humours […] and hot blood.'[34] Evidently, the physical and the mental were linked, passions and humours could result in different bodily temperatures, and excessively hot or cold bodily temperatures could stimulate an excess of humours and inordinate passions.

However, it is not always useful to divide passion and humours into categories of temperature, as these ideas were rarely straightforward or consistent amongst early modern writers on the passions. Sometimes in early modern doctrines, like choler, melancholy was also associated with heat in the body, and consequently violence and anger. Melancholy was frequently categorised into different kinds, and many theorists writing on the topic believed that melancholy could also be the cause of violent anger and rage and not exclusively sorrow or despondency. In Thomas Elyot's treatise *The Castel of Health*, for example, he divides melancholy into cold and dry "natural" melancholy, and a more vehement 'adust or burned' melancholy which 'annoyeth the wit and judgement of man, for when that humour is hot it maketh men mad'.[35] Similarly, Robert Burton blames adust melancholy for a 'sudden madness' in men, writing that:

> If the humour be cold, it is, saith Faventinus, "a cause of dotage, and produceth milder symptoms: if hot, they are rash, raving mad, or inclining to it." if the brain be hot, the animal spirits are hot; much madness follows with violent actions.[36]

For Burton then, violent behaviour and madness is dependent on the temperature of the melancholy humour, which can be either hot or cold. As we can see, in the early modern period, theories about the passions were often conflicting, sometimes contradictory, and always complex.

---

[34] Nicholas Culpeper, *Directory for Midwives: or a Guide for Women* (London: Peter Cole, 1662), p. 115-116.
[35] Elyot, *The Castel of Health*, p.111.
[36] Robert Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, p.50.

The Seat of Passion

As well as the nature and naming of the passions, there was much debate about where in the body they originated from. Some believed that the passions moved around the body. J.T Miller informs us that one definition of the word "emotion" in the early modern period was 'a transference from one place to another.'[37] in his discussion of the contagious nature of the passions. The idea of movement or 'motion' can also be attributed to early modern ideas about the ways the passions moved around the body affecting and being affected by different organs. This idea is reflected in treatises from the period such as Nicolas Coeffeteau's *A Table of Humane Passions* in which he describes the passions as: 'but a motion of sensitive appetite, caused by the apprehension or imagination of good and euill, the which is followed with a change or alteration in the body, contrary to the Lawes of Nature.'[38] Here Coeffeteau describes the passions as moving from one place to the other, mapping out the route of the passions from "appetite" to "imagination" to "the body", and using the word "motion" to define their state. He is unclear about where exactly the passions begin, citing both the 'sensitive' appetite' and the 'imagination' as the home of the passions.

The mind, the heart, and the liver were all cited as the seat of the passions but arguably, the dominant consensus was that the soul was where the passions originated. In Jean-François Senault's *The Use of Passions*, he states that: '[t]hough our passions be irregular, and that they trouble our quiet, these cease not to make up a part of our soul.'[39]

[37] J.T. Miller, 'The Passions Signified: Imitation and the Construction of Emotions in Sidney and Wroth', *Criticism*, 43.4 (2001), 407-421 (p. 418).
[38] Nicolas Coeffeteau, *A Table of Humane Passions with their Causes and Effects* (London: Nicholas Oakes, 1621), p.26.
[39] Jean-François Senault, *The Use of Passions*, trans. Henry Earl of Monmouth (London: J. L. and Humphrey Moseley, 1649), p.89.

Wright too describes the passions as 'internal acts or operations of the soul.'[40] Senault's definition implies that the passions constantly occupy a space in our souls, whereas Wright describes the passions as something that the soul itself generates. As Julie R. Solomon notes, most pre-Cartesian 'moralists, prudential writers, and theologians' including Timothy Bright, Philip Melanchton, and Marin Cureau de La Chambre 'all acknowledged that the passions first arise in the soul.'[41]

Governing the Passions

Unsurprisingly, there were also a variety of different views on the governance of the passions. The stoics who described the passions as 'over-vehement affections' argued that the passions could and should be eliminated completely from the human body.[42] However, Wright disagreed, stating that 'Passions are not onely, not wholy to be extinguished (as the Stoicks seemed to affirme) but sometimes to be moved, and stirred vp for the service of vertue.'[43] Wright didn't believe it necessary to completely rid oneself of the passions, instead he contended that the men could 'moderate and mortifie them' and use them as 'instruments of vertue' rather than vice.[44]

Michel de Montaigne went one step further, utterly opposing the stoic view that passions, particularly vehement ones, should be repressed. Montaigne did not believe that the passions could be altogether obliterated, nor that they should be. Instead, he felt that rather than repressing emotion, expressing the passions, specifically anger in this case, was a more beneficial method of governing the passions. He wrote that

[40] Wright, *Passions of the Minde in Generall*, p.8.
[41] Julie R. Solomon, 'You've got to Have Soul: Understanding the Passions in Early Modern Culture', in *Rhetoric and Medicine in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Stephen Pender and Nancy S. Struever (London: Routledge, 2012), pp.195-228 (p.201).
[42] Ethan H. Shagan, *The Rule of Moderation: Violence, Religion and the Politics of Restraint in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), p. 38.
[43] Wright, *The Passions of the Minde in Generall*, p.17.
[44] Ibid., p.15.

> By hiding our choler we drive it into our bodies.[…] I would advise you to give your valet a rather unseasonable slap on the cheek rather than to torture your mind so as to put on an appearance of wisdom; I would rather make an exhibition of my passions than brood over them to my cost: express them, vent them, and they grow weaker; it is better to let them jab outside us than be turned against us.[45]

According to Montaigne then, although we cannot destroy the passions we can weaken them merely by expressing them and thereby forcing them outside of our bodies. He argues, with particular reference here to anger, that trying to conceal our passions is more detrimental to our health and wellbeing than allowing them to be released, using evocative verbs such as 'torture' to describe the damage that hiding our emotions could do to the mind and body.

The governability of the passions was often determined by the way in which philosophers classified said passions. This distinction between good and bad passions was common in doctrines of the period and probably stems from the influence of the Stoics who separated 'passion' from 'affection', claiming that the former is a more intense version of the latter which should and could be expelled from the body, and that an 'affection' was much easier to moderate. The separation of passions into different categories based on the level of their destructive nature is discussed by Stephen Pender who states that in the early modern period 'both physicians and sufferers feel as if inordinate passions either occasion or intensify illness.'[46] The use of the word 'inordinate', an adjective used by Robert Burton, and Wright, here points to the common belief that *excessive* passions were most dangerous

[45]Michel de Montaigne, *The Complete Essays*, trans. M. A. Screech (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1993), p. 81.
[46] Stephen Pender, 'Subventing Disease: Anger, Passions, and the Non-naturals', in *Rhetorics of Bodily Disease and Health in Medieval and Early Modern England*, ed. by Jennifer C. Vaught (Surrey: Ashgate, 2010), pp. 193-218, (p. 194).

and consequently harder to govern, and separates them from a less harmful and more manageable category of emotion.[47]

Many theorists, such as Church of England clergyman William Fenner, used the terms 'passion' and 'affection' interchangeably, yet still separated these 'affections' or 'passions' into categories of good and bad, manageable and unmanageable. Fenner states that

> The affections are the perturbations of the soul; if once they go wrong, and the reins be laid on their necks, they are like wild horses to the soul, to carry her whether she would not; they are disturbers of judgement, and violent tyrants over the soul.[48]

Here Fenner presents the 'wrong' affections in animalistic terms, depicting them as aggressive 'tyrants' able to destroy one's judgement. These types of passion appear to be distinctly less governable.

According to Fenner's description, what makes a passion or affection 'wrong' is its ability to overthrow reason and judgement, and this opposition between reason and passion was a frequent trope of early modern doctrines on the passions. The lack of reason generated by excessive passion was often linked to a bestial state in early modern doctrines on the passions and the soul. Gail Kern Paster discusses classical and early modern theories on the three parts of the soul, stating that 'the highest, the intellective soul unique to human beings, governed intellect, will, and memory.'[49] During the early modern period animals were not believed to be in possession of the intellective soul (the part of the soul that

---

[47] Burton describes love as 'inordinate' and therefore a 'wandering, extravagant, a domineering, a boundless, an irrefragable, a destructive passion' in *The Anatomy of Melancholy,* p. 451 and Thomas Wright states that 'among divers other extrinsecall causes of diseases, one and not the least, is the excesse of some inordinate passion.' in *Passions of the Minde in Generall,* p .4.

[48] William Fenner, *A Treatise of the Affections* (London: A.M., 1650), p. 11.

[49] Gail Kern Paster, 'Melancholy Cats, Lugged Bears and Cosmology' in *Reading the Early Modern Passions: Essays in the Cultural History of Emotion* ed. by Gail Kern Paster, Katherine Rowe and Mary Floyd Wilson (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), pp. 113-129 (p. 116).

contained reason), otherwise known as the rational soul; Paster tells us that 'In beings lacking the constraint of reason – it was thought – the passions were at their purest, most intense, and most visible.'[50]

The Passions and Eating

One way to govern one's passions was to monitor one's diet. Due to the inextricable connection between physical and emotional, during the early modern period food and passion were frequently linked. Scholars of Renaissance humoral theory observe that diet could help to moderate 'fluid economies for the desired physiological, psychological, and ethical outcome.'[51] Therefore, in early modern medicine there was a direct link between what a person ate and their emotional state, a relationship that still exists in modern psychology.

Food and diet were most often cited as a means for the government and suppression of over vehement and seemingly harmful passions as well as, paradoxically, the cause of said health issues. For instance, in Thomas Cogan's dietary *The Haven of Health,* he noted that '[v]enison, whether it be of red deer or fallow, maketh ill juice, engendereth melancholy, and is hard of digestion.'[52] Here Cogan expresses the belief that particular foods could generate and exacerbate particular humoural conditions.

The Passions and Senses

Due to this link between the corporeal and emotional, the passions were also linked to the five human senses, which were often believed to assist in the generation and contraction of the passions. It is well documented that ancient philosophers such as Aristotle considered

[50] Paster, 'Melancholy Cats, Lugged Bears and Cosmology', p. 124.
[51] Schoenfeldt, *Bodies and Selves in Early Modern England*, p.10.
[52] Thomas Cogan, *The Haven of Health* (London: Anne Griffin, 1636), p.137.

sight to be the most noble of the five senses, ranking them as follows in the hierarchy of the senses: '*visus* (sight), *auditus* (hearing), *odoratus* (smell), *gustus* (taste), *tactus* (touch).'[53] Plato too described sight as 'the sharpest of physical senses.'[54]

This privileging of sight continued into the early modern period and Constance Classen notes that this was due to religious, scientific, and educational developments including 'the growing use of eyeglasses' which 'enabled more people to clearly perceive such visualizations of the self, as well as giving an added value to the sense of sight in general,'[55] and the fact that 'literate Europeans would come to rely less on such nonverbal means of accessing the Divine as touching relics and smelling odors of sanctity, and more on reading the Word of God.'[56] We can see then, that perceptions of the senses were changing all the time, and that they affected and were affected by a variety of developments in early modern culture.[57]

Hearing was just below seeing in the hierarchy of the senses, though some Renaissance philosophers, such as mathematician, Gerolamo Cardano, argued that hearing was equally as important, writing that 'the sense of hearing […] is more subtle than the sense of sight' and that 'it recognises even smaller differences than the visual sense or any

[53] Annette Kern-Stahler and Kathrin Scheuchzer, 'Introduction', in *The Five Senses in Early Modern England*, ed. by Annette Kern-Stahler, Beatrix Busse and Wietse de Boer (London: Routledge,2016), pp.1-21 (p.3).
[54] James Seaton, *Literary Criticism from Plato to Postmodernism: The Humanistic Alternative* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), p.23.
[55] Constance Classen, *The Deepest Sense: A Cultural History of Touch* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2012) p. 153.
[56] Classen, *The Deepest Sense*, p.153.
[57] See section below for more detail about the relationship between the senses and religious developments.

other sense.'[58] Similarly, when discussing the senses and the arts, Marsilio Ficino contradicted the privileging of sight by writing that

> [T]he soul expresses itself and figures itself forth… just as a man's face, when he gazes into his mirror, figures itself forth there. But the artificer's soul is most fully manifest in speeches, songs, and sounds. For in these the disposition of the will and of the whole mind is represented.[59]

Here, Ficino argues that the mind, the will, and the soul are most accurately represented through sounds and speeches; that singing or talking are the most effective methods of expressing one's passions.

Like sight, the privileging of this sense in the early modern period was probably related to the role hearing played in one's ability to receive the Word of God. Gina Bloom explains that the 'openness' of the ears 'ensures that God can enter.'[60] Sight and hearing then, were linked to Godliness and the reception of the Christian teachings. As discussed later in the introduction, taste and smell also came to be linked with Christianity during the Counter-Reformation. William Thorpe made this connection between God's Word and the sense of smell positing that the heavenly smell of 'Gods woord, wyll not as smoke passe away wyth the wynde: but it will descende and rest in some cleane soule.'[61] The significance of the senses in the early modern period is clear.[62]

Not only were the senses linked to ecclesiastical changes and developments but were also important in the relationship between the body, environment, and emotional response. Richard Sibbes, for example, believed that sight 'stirs affection more than any

---

[58] Gerolamo Cardano, *De Musica* quoted in Viviana Comensoli, 'Music, The Book of the Courtier, and Othello's Soldiership', in *The Italian World of English Renaissance Drama: Cultural Exchange and Intertextuality*, ed. by Michele Marrapodi (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1998), pp. 89-105 (p.100).
[59] Marsilio Ficino, *Theologia Platonica* quoted in Gary Tomlinson, *Music in Renaissance Magic: Toward a Historiography of Others* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1993), p.134.
[60] Gina Bloom, *Voice in Motion: Staging Gender, Shaping Sound in Early Modern England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), p.141.
[61] William Thorpe, *The Examinacion of Master William Thorpe* (Antwerp: J. van Hoochstraten, 1530), p.4.
[62] Further discussion of the senses and religion can be found in the 'Timeline' section of the introduction.

sense.'[63] However, A. Chastel argues that during the renaissance hearing was regarded as the emotive sense in comparison to sight, which was linked instead to reason and intellect.[64]

Francis Bacon also noted a close connection between hearing and the passions. While he acknowledged sight as the most 'spiritual' of the senses, he also wrote that

> the sense of hearing striketh the spirits more immediately, than the other senses; and more incorporeally than the smelling: for the sight, taste and feeling, have their organs, not of so present and immediate accesse to the spirits, as the hearing hath.[65]

Bacon stresses the immediacy of the connection between hearing and the spirits, suggesting a sensitivity and closeness between the ear and the passions.

The idea that the ears were the most effective receivers and generators of passion was an idea also found in earlier treatises by the classical philosophers. For instance, Plutarch wrote that

> of all five natural senses, it is this one that engenders more and greater passions in the soul, for there is nothing that is seen, tasted, or touched that provokes such great movements of ecstasy, such great turmoils, or such great alarms as enter the soul by means of certain noises, sounds, and voices that happen to strike our hearing.[66]

For Plutarch, the greatest passions are generated by hearing. The reference to 'alarms' striking the soul 'by means of certain noises', suggests the aural generation of fear, a warning or alert to danger. This idea is one prevalent throughout *Othello*, in which, passion, specifically fear, is inflamed and transmitted by sound. I will go on to discuss this relationship between alarms and fear in Chapter Two, specifically addressing the religious and spiritual concerns associated with the ringing of the bell in Act 2, Scene 3.

---

[63] Richard Sibbes, *A Breathing After God* (London: 1639), p.193.

[64]

[65] Francis Bacon, *Sylva Sylvarum: Or a Naturall Historie* (London: John Haviland and Augustine Mathewes, 1627), p.38.

[66] Gary Ferguson, *Queer (Re) Readings in the French Renaissance: Homsexuality, Gender, Culture* (Hampshire: Ashgate, 2008), p.202.

Smell and taste were the third and fifth senses in the hierarchy and as Evelyn Welch notes, 'in Aristotelian terms, the two senses were closely interlinked, using the same terminology of sweet and sour.'[67] This link between taste and smell will feature in Chapter 5 on Davenant's *Albovine.* Like sight and hearing, these senses were also vital in both corporeal and emotional experience. Dugan tells us that 'perfume could alter humoural imbalances, refreshing and correcting "distempers" of the brain. Smells were both immaterial forms that shaped the brain's perception and physical entities that penetrated (and) influenced the body.'[68] Similarly, Farah Karim-Cooper discusses the ways in which the tasting of theatre had a direct effect on a spectator's body.[69]

This thesis is concerned with the relationship between the emotions and the senses, and is specifically interested in the ways in which sight, hearing, taste, and smell play a role in the generation and transmission of passion within the early modern playhouse and within the fictitious worlds of the plays featured.[70] Additionally, as erotic and violent passions are central to this thesis, it is also important to consider the lowest sense in Aristotle's hierarchy, touch.

Discussions of touch often emphasised its ubiquity. Helkiah Crooke for example, wrote that 'al other Senses are restrained within some small Organ about the brayne, but the Touching is diffused through the whole body'[71] and similarly in his *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, Robert Burton describes how man's nerves are 'dispersed all over the body.'[72]

---

[67] Evelyn Welch, 'The Senses in the Marketplace: Sensory Knowledge in a Material World', in *A Cultural History of the Senses in the Renaissance*, ed. by Herman Roodenburg (London: Bloomsbury, 2014), pp.61-86 (p.82).
[68] Dugan, *The Ephemeral History of Perfume*, p.12.
[69] See below in the 'Contagious Passions' section for more details of Karim-Cooper's discussion of tasting theatre.
[70] See chapter outline below for more detail on the role of the senses in each play.
[71] Helkiah Crooke, *Mikrokosmographia* (London: William Iaggard, 1615), p.648.
[72] Robert Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy* (Oxford: John Lichfield, 1621), p.35.

As well as affecting every part of the body, classical and early modern scholars of touch also commented on its immediacy; touch resisted 'temporal stasis' and that there was 'no spatial "medium" between the body and the touchable world.'[73] In *De Anima,* Aristotle wrote that 'touch occurs by direct contact with its object' and that '[t]he other sense organs perceive by contact too, but through a medium; touch alone seems to perceive immediately.'[74] As well as the physicality of touch, like seeing, hearing, tasting, and smelling, touch too, had an emotional effect.

The idea that touch is linked to both physiological and emotional feeling is key in a thesis centred around acts of passionate violence. Elizabeth D. Harvey writes that

> it could be hypothesized that as the physical properties of tactility – which evoke in the early modern period eroticism, pain, and the appetitive in general – are subordinated during the process of instilling social restraint, they migrate into an affective realm.[75]

arguing that tactility becomes

> in addition to the more obvious physiological responses, "feeling" – the emotional desires and urges that are presented in explicitly physical terms in the early modern iconography of touch.[76]

Harvey reads touch in the early modern period as a sense that is often restricted, due to its negative or unruly 'physical properties' and that often, the social restraint enforced upon this sense is due to its relationship with violent and sexual passions. This set of ideas is pertinent for the plays included in this thesis, as in many of the plays, the passions associated with touch, such as desire, or violent expressions of anger or jealousy, are often

[73] Carla Mazzio, 'Acting with Tact: Touch and Theater in the Renaissance', in *Sensible Flesh: On Touch in Early Modern Culture*, ed. by Elizabeth D. Harvey (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003), pp.159-186 (p.166).
[74] Aristotle, *De Anima*, p.602.
[75] *Sensible Flesh: On Touch in Early Modern Culture*, ed. by Elizabeth D. Harvey (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003), p.9.
[76] Ibid., p.9.

being repressed or controlled, or instead, are presented as the result of an inability to exhibit self-control. While hearing, sight, taste, and smell play an essential role in generating violent and erotic passion, touch is the ultimate expression of these passions, and it is when characters move from desiring these experiences of touch, to actually physically indulging in them, that the societies evoked within the plays descend into chaos and disorder.

In recent years there has been an increase in studies dedicated to the examination of the senses in early modern culture and literature such as Holly Dugan's *The Ephemeral History of Perfume: Scent and Sense in Early Modern England* (2011), *The Five Senses in Early Modern England* (2016) by Annette Kern-Stahler and Beatrix Busse and *The Senses in Early Modern England, 1558-1660* (2015) edited by Simon Smith, Jacqueline Watson and Amy Kenny.[77] Due to the inseparability of body and mind in Renaissance medicine, studies on the senses often overlap with research being conducted in the field of the history of emotions, for instance, the latter of the aforementioned texts features a chapter on the senses and love melancholy in the work of Mary Wroth,[78] and Wietse de Boer and Christine Gottler's collection, *Religion and the Senses in Early Modern Europe* includes an article entitled 'Tasting God: The Sweetness of Crying in the Counter-Reformation' by Joseph Imorde.[79]

Jonas Liliequist also makes the link between early modern emotion and the senses, writing that

---

[77] See Holly Dugan, *The Ephemeral History of Perfume: Scent and Sense in Early Modern England* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2011), *The Senses in Early Modern England, 1558-1660* ed. by Simon Smith, Jacqueline Watson, Amy Kenny (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015), and *The Five Senses in Medieval and Early Modern England* ed. by Annette Kern-Stahler, Beatrix Busse, Wietse de Boer (Leiden: Brill, 2016).

[78] Aurelie Griffin, 'Love Melancholy and the Senses in Mary Wroth's Work', in *The Senses in Early Modern England 1558-1660*, ed. by Simon Smith, Jackie Watson, and Amy Kenny (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015).

[79] Joseph Imorde, 'Tasting God: The Sweetness of Crying in the Counter-Reformation', in *Religion and Senses in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Wietse de Boer and Christine Gottler (Boston: Brill, 2013), pp. 257-272.

> Emotions were considered physical manifestations of outer stimuli perceived by the five senses, of which sight was the most powerful. The mere glimpse of beauty thus had a strong and immanent power to produce love, which could make men the potential slaves of their affections, since women were considered the most beautiful objects detectable by sight.[80]

Here, Broomhall focuses on sight as a generator of love, an idea which will be explored in the first chapter of this thesis in relation to Marlowe's *Dido, Queen of Carthage*. She outlines how vital the senses were in the creation of passion in early modern periods of emotion; arguing that the mere viewing of an object had the power to produce love.

If senses had the power to transform an individual emotionally, then the early modern playhouse in which the audience would experience a myriad of smells, sounds, and sights would certainly stimulate a variety of emotional responses. In *Shakespearean Sensations*, Katherine Craik and Tanya Pollard write that 'books and plays ignited the imagination of those who wrote, read, and saw them, and exerted a direct impact on the body by virtue of the imagination's ability to stimulate emotion.' and that 'books and plays were among the external agents capable of profoundly altering humoral balance, implicating readers and theatregoers in complex processes of transaction or exchange.' [81] Craik and Pollard therefore imply that the act of seeing a play or reading a book stimulated the imaginations of early moderns, which, in turn, provoked certain emotions in them. The act of seeing is vital in this generation of passion and they employ the terminology of many affect theorists here, such as 'processes of transaction or exchange', to depict the affective qualities of a play or book. The book or play gains access to an individual's body via their senses, specifically sight, and perhaps hearing, and has the power to alter their humours and consequently, their passions.

[80] *A History of Emotions, 1200-1800*, ed. by Jonas Liliequist (London: Routledge, 2017), p.4.
[81] Craik and Pollard, *Shakespearean Sensations: Experiencing Literature in Early Modern England*, p.6, 7.

Contagious Passions

This relationship between stage and emotion, actor and audience is present in many of the antitheatricalist texts of the period. Anthony Munday, William Prynne and Stephen Gosson were amongst the antitheatricalists that expressed their anxiety about the relationship between what one saw on stage and how one felt as a consequence. In *A Second and Third Blast of Retrait from Plaies and Theaters* (1580) Munday wrote that:

> There commeth muche evil in at the eares, but more at the eies, by these two open windows death breaketh into the soule. Nothing entereth more effectualie into the memorie, than that which commeth by seeing: things heard to lightlie passe awaie, but the tokens of that which wee have seen, saith Petrarch, stick fast in us whether we wil or no.[82]

This passage by Munday implies that what one saw in the theatre would have a lasting emotional effect, staying with the viewer forever. By describing the eyes as the windows the soul, Munday suggests that the eyes allow access to passion-inducing sights and experiences. This thesis will draw on Munday's and other antitheatricalist views of the passions and senses to demonstrate the powerful role that the senses play in the generation of passion in both the playhouses and the fictional worlds of the plays.

Matthew Steggle also contributes to scholarship on the transactional and contagious nature of emotion in the early modern playhouse explaining that 'there is an intimate relationship between on the one hand, stage laughter and weeping, and, on the other, audience laughter and weeping.'[83] Therefore, if one witnesses an actor crying they are likely to mimic that emotional response, and similarly on-stage laughter was likely to

[82] Anthony Munday, *A second and third blast of retrait from plaies and Theaters* (London: Henrie Denham, 1580), p.7.
[83] Matthew Steggle, *Laughing and Weeping in Early Modern Theatres* (Hampshire: Ashgate, 2007), p.2.

provoke laughter amongst the audience members; emotional responses are infectious 'both outside and inside the theatre.'[84]

Hobgood also argues that this relationship between spectators and drama worked in the opposite direction, stating that 'theatregoers […] had the capacity to transform drama just as they were transformed by it,'[85] She continues, arguing against the antitheatricalist notion of the audience as passive victims of contagious on-stage emotion, telling us that

> '[t]o be irradiated in emotion in theatre, in other words, was *not necessarily* the result of one-sided emotional passivity or vulnerability on the part of spectators; put most basically, individuals were just as likely to have passions conjured in them as to conjure those passions elsewhere.' [86]

Hobgood therefore suggests that the early modern playhouse was a venue that fostered a reciprocal transformative relationship between the playgoer and what they saw on stage.

Farah Karim-Cooper builds on this exploration of the infectious nature of early modern theatre by adding another sense into the mix, taste. She argues that ''Plays enter in at the mouth as well as the ear and the eyes' [87] and that this is a vital element in early modern experiences of the theatre, explaining that

> the tasting of theatre (as theatregoing is often described) is an essential component in the formation of moral identity. You become what you consume. […] the speeches, and poetry – and the play itself as a constituted whole are often figured in the period's theatrical literature as food, to be digested or consumed.[88]

[84] Ibid., p.6.
[85] Allison P. Hobgood, *Passionate Playgoing in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), p.6.
[86] Hobgood, *Passionate Playgoing in Early Modern England,* p.15.
[87]Farah Karim Cooper, 'Touch and Taste in Shakespeare's Theatres', in *Shakespeare's Theatres and the Effects of Performance*, ed. by Farah Karim-Cooper and Tiffany Stern (London: Bloomsbury, 2015), pp.214-237 (p.231).
[88] Ibid., p.232.

For each of these critics then, there is an undeniable link between senses and emotions in the early modern playhouse, and taste, sight, and hearing played a fundamental role in the transmission of contagious emotion between actor and spectators, and vice versa.

These theories and anxieties about the transmission of emotions in theatres can not only be found in texts from or about the early modern period, but are also present in the works of contemporary cognitive psychologists. For instance, Bruce McConachie and F. Elizabeth Hart write about the relationship between actors and spectators stating that:

> most spectators engage in empathetic observation as soon as the performance begins, watching facial expressions and body language in human exchanges to figure out what is going on. This is not the same as reading the body as a sign. Rather, it is a mode of cognitive engagement involving mirror neurons in the mind/brain that allow spectators to replicate the emotions of a performer's physical state without experiencing that physical state directly.[89]

Whereas renaissance antitheatricalists like Gosson and Prynne theorised that spectators could be infected with the vehement passions they witnessed on stage, presenting it as the transmission of a disease and depicting it in a negative light, the work of cognitive scientists suggests that this emotional mirroring, 'empathetic observation' is 'crucial to a spectator's experience'.[90] In both cases, there is this reciprocal relationship between actor and playgoer, which causes the latter to mimic the physical or emotional traits of the former.

When discussing spectator response, some cognitive psychologists and critics take issue with affect theory's tendency to treat the audience as a homogenous entity which all respond in the same way. For instance, in *Moment by Moment by Shakespeare*, Gary Taylor asks '[h]ow can one speak of "audience response" when in fact every member of an

[89] *Performance and Cognition: Theatre Studies and the Cognitive Turn*, ed. by Bruce McConachie, and F. Elizabeth Hart (Abingdon: Routledge, 2006), p.5.
[90] Ibid., p.5.

audience responds differently?'[91] McConachie also emphasises this difference in responses amongst individual members of the audience, stating that

> different spectators will see very different performances, depending on where they are sitting, standing or lying. In each of these situations, the spatial arrangements and individual orientations within them will lead spectators to emphasize some mental concepts over others…This means that any history of the spaces used for performances that seeks to incorporate the full range of spectatorial orientations must be a very complex history indeed.[92]

Like Taylor, McConachie argues that each playgoer will experience a performance in a separate and distinctive way, and that this individualised response is impacted by practical elements such as where one sits or stands, and how one sits or stands. Throughout this thesis, I will therefore refrain from referring to early modern playgoers as 'the audience', using the terms 'playgoers', 'spectators', 'theatre-goers', or 'audience members' instead.

Political Passions

Just as the passions were inseparable from the physical body, the atmosphere and the climate, so too were they bound up in the political and social climate of the early modern period. For instance, the ability to moderate one's passions was believed to be an essential quality in an effective and competent monarch. As Curtis Perry notes, Elizabeth I, James I, and Charles I all 'made personal morality – the ability to govern passions – a central point of emphasis in their official propaganda.'[93] Therefore, the ability of an individual to exercise self-control corresponded with the amount of power that individuals held in early modern society.

[91] Gary Taylor, *Moment by Moment by Shakespeare* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1985), p.5.
[92] Bruce McConachie, *Engaging Audiences: A Cognitive Approach to Spectating in the Theatre* (New York and Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), pp.136 and 134.
[93] *Eros and Power in English Renaissance Drama*, ed. by Curtis Perry (North Carolina: McFarland and Co, 2008), p.10.

At the opposite end of the scale, individuals from other cultures were often attributed with an inability to control their passions in order to perpetuate the dominant ideology of the superiority of England. Therefore, theories about the passions were also bound up with ideas about race and ethnicity. Mary Floyd Wilson discusses how this relationship between emotions and race was due in part to the belief that the climate of the place an individual lived in had a direct effect upon their physiological and psychological make up.[94] As well as being a marker of the "inferior" cultures, the inability to exercise self-control was also attributed to women, who were regarded as inferior to men.

The difference in men and women's ability to govern their passions was particularly prevalent in a variety of texts from the period. As noted by Alison Findlay among other scholars on early modern patriarchy, in early modern homes the husband 'had absolute authority to govern his wife.'[95] This divide between the genders that depicted men as superior was also prevalent in early modern doctrines on emotion. Expectedly, passions in the early modern period were bound up with ideas about gender. During the early modern period, men and women were said to experience emotion in very different ways due to physiological differences. For instance, according to Richard Allestree, author of *The Ladies Calling* in 1673, 'nature hath befriended women with a more cool and temperat constitution, put less of fire, and consequently of choler, in their compositions.'[96] Amanda Flather explains that

> the male was, unsurprisingly, hotter and dryer and so his body was believed to be closer to perfection. His heat made him more rational and creative, active, energetic, brave and strong. The woman, by contrast was more cold and moist. According to

[94] See Mary Floyd-Wilson, *English Ethnicity and Race in Early Modern Drama* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).
[95] Alison Findlay, *A Feminist Perspective on Renaissance Drama* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999), p.128.
[96] Richard Allestree, *The Ladies Calling* (Oxford: The Theatre, 1673), p.43.

> early modern medical thinking this meant that she was weak and passive and more suited to sedentary life.[97]

As evident through the adjectives in this passage, such as, 'rational', 'energetic' and 'active', this so-called hot temperament indicated that compared to women, men were more inclined to action and abler to govern their passions. In contrast, 'weeping, wailing, and patient suffering' were all characteristics 'commonly associated with women.'[98] Thus, early modern discourses of emotion sought to reaffirm the patriarchal gender hierarchy which posited men as superior to women, consequently encouraging men to attempt to govern women's passions as well as their own.

Hence, the early modern home had the potential to become a restrictive and oppressive environment for women. In her discussion of domestic tragedy, Findlay describes the home as

> a peculiarly female sphere yet it is dominated by a male governor. For the people who inhabited it, the Renaissance household had a protean quality with the potential to nurture and to destroy. Its enclosing walls were designed to protect those within from harm, but their embrace could also be suffocating. The hothouse atmosphere of the domestic arena could intensify destructive emotions as much as protective ones.[99]

In Findlay's description of the restrictive environment of the family home and the boundaries placed on women, she specifically notes the effect or affect that these boundaries, enforced by the "master of the house" have on women's emotions. Findlay contends that the oppressive sphere that women were confined to had the potential to

[97] Amanda Flather, *Gender and Space in Early Modern England* (Suffolk: Boydell Press, 2007), p.19.
[98] Jennifer C. Vaught, *Masculinity and Emotion in Early Modern Literature* (Surrey: Ashgate, 2008), p.123.
[99] Findlay, *A Feminist Perspective on Renaissance Drama*, p.127.

exacerbate passions to the point of destruction, an idea that will be explored further in the sixth chapter of the thesis.

As mentioned previously, this thesis will demonstrate that emotion had the power to challenge, upturn, and destabilise political, religious, and social powers in early modern England. During this period, there was an inextricable link between the heads of state, church, and household. The parallels between fathers and kings were especially prevalent in early modern culture and patriarchalism emphasised the King's paternal power over his subjects in order to justify the concept of absolutism. Laura Gowing comments on this relationship, writing that

> [e]very government imagined itself as ruling a nation made up of households whose order mirrored that of the state, with a father implicitly bound to protect a wife, children, and servants. Obedient subjects, or families, made for peace and order.[100]

Karen Newman also discusses this connection between the political and domestic spheres, stating that, 'political allegiances were perceived in terms of familial duty and familial relations in terms of the body politic.'[101] So the family was comparable to the state, and the head of state to the head of the household, the father.

Moreover, the successful running of the household was linked to Christianity and faith, McMahon notes that, 'it was imagined that the family, when properly managed, was the primary school for the production of good citizens and churchgoers.'[102] Karen Newman

[100] Laura Gowing, *Gender Relations in Early Modern England* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2014), p.29.
[101] Karen Newman, *Fashioning Femininity and English Renaissance Drama* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), p.16.
[102] Chris McMahon, *Family and State in Early Modern Revenge Drama: Economies of Vengeance* (New York: Routledge, 2012), p.3.

describes this relationship by quoting the book of Ephesians which she calls a 'key biblical text' as follows:

> Wives, be subject to your husbands, as to the Lord. For the husband is the head of the wife as Christ is the head of the church, his body, and is himself its Savior. As the church is subject to Christ, so let wives also be subject in everything to their husbands.[103]

Therefore, as well as being presented as a monarch of the household, the husband/father in the domestic sphere was comparable to God, in a similar relationship between monarchs and God, which figured them as representatives of God on earth.[104]

Therefore, the successful running of the state, the household, and the church were all interlinked, and the maintenance of peace and order relied on the establishment and preservation of hierarchies that put the father, the monarch, and ecclesiastical authorities at the top. The expression of violent passions, either by those in charge, or their subjects, would certainly have been considered threatening, and had the potential to undermine authority, disrupt these hierarchies, and disturb social, ecclesiastical and political order. This potential is evident in the plays in this thesis in the form of women reclaiming authority over their passions from men, rulers being motivated by passion instead of reason, and the expression of passions that went against nature or God such as incest and adultery. In the plays discussed in this thesis, when authority figures are ruled by their own passions, or attempt to restrict the passions of their subjects, chaos and violence ensues, and the weaknesses and flaws in the early modern social, domestic, ecclesiastical, and political hierarchies are revealed.

Passions and Religion

[103] Ephesians (6:22-25) quoted in Karen Newman, *Fashioning Femininity and English Renaissance Drama*, p.16.

[104] See chapter five for further discussion of the divine right of kings.

Alongside medical and proto-psychological doctrines on the passions that circulated in the early modern period, were theological texts. Given the centrality of the soul in theories of the passions, this relationship between the medical and religious is unsurprising. In fact, many theorists of the passions were from both medical and religious backgrounds; Thomas Wright was a Jesuit missionary priest, Timothy Bright, the author of *A Treatise of Melancholy* was a physician turned clergyman, and Robert Burton was an Anglican minister. In *Representing Emotions* (2015) Penelope Gouk and Helen Hills write that '[a]s long as religious belief was central to society, with the church assuming immense social and institutional power, arguments about emotions or *affetti* […] ultimately revolved around the relationship between God and the individual.'[105] While today we usually think of religion and science as two separate, even opposing schools of thought, in the early modern period medical texts on the passions were also filled with spiritual guidance about the morality of the passions. Mary Ann Lund notes that in the early modern period 'the passions and sin are closely connected.'[106] For instance, Wright wrote that

> the inordinate motions of Passions, their preventing of reason, their rebellion to virtue, are thorny briars sprung from the infected root of original sin; […] The passions likewise augment or diminish the deformity of actual sins; they blind reason, they seduce the will, and therefore are special causes of sin.[107]

In this passage, Wright intertwines both medical and religious lexis, juxtaposing imagery of 'deformity' and infection with 'sin' and 'virtue.' For Wright, inordinate passions were in opposition to morality.

[105] *Representing Emotions: New Connections in the Histories of Art, Music, and Medicine*, ed. by Penelope Gouk and Helen Hills (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), p.19.
[106] Mary Ann Lund, *Melancholy, Medicine, and Religion in Early Modern England: Reading the Anatomy of Melancholy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), p.170.
[107] Wright, *The Passions of the Minde in Generall*, p.2.

However, not all writers on the passions condemned them as sinful; many believed that the passions could be virtuous if directed correctly. Many of these theories of emotion were conceived in opposition to the Stoics, who, according to Seneca, believed in driving out passions altogether. For example, Cicero wrote that 'in dealing with an actual desire, since it matters only that it be eradicated, one must not inquire whether that which incites the desire is good or not, but one must eradicate the desire itself', expressing the view that all passions should be destroyed completely.[108] In contrast to this, Edward Reynolds, a Bishop of the Church of England, wrote that 'there is more honour, in the having Affections subdued, than having none at all'[109] and John Milton asked 'wherefore did [God] create passions within us, pleasures round about us, but that these rightly tempered are the very ingredients for virtue?'[110] For some theorists then, the passions could be moderated and used for good and did not necessarily signify the unholy or sinful.

Some religious discourses declared that particular passions were beneficial and even holy. Hannah Newton discusses specific emotions such as 'love for the Lord, praise and thankfulness, and the joyous anticipation of salvation', which developed from the writings of medieval theologian, St Thomas Aquinas and patristic theologian St Augustine of Hippo. These particular emotions were referred to as 'holy affections', regarded as 'morally superior to all other emotions' and believed to emanate from the rational soul.[111] The theories of the passions were therefore contradictory, multi-faceted, and complex; there was

[108] Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations*, IV, xxix, 62; quoted in Katharine Eisaman Maus, *Ben Jonson and the Roman Frame of Mind* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), p.98.
[109] Edward Reynolds, 2nd edn, *A Treatise of the Passions and Faculties of the Soule of Man* (London: R. Hearne and John Norton, 1640), p.48.
[110] John Milton, 'Aeropagitica', in *John Milton: The Major Works*, ed .by Stephen Orgel and Jonathan Goldberg (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 236-272 (p.252).
[111] Hannah Newton, 'Holy Affections', in *Early Modern Emotions: An Introduction*, ed. by Susan Broomhall (London: Routledge, 2017), pp.67-70 (p.67).

no homogenous ideology when it came to the early modern passions and thinkers from multiple vocations weighed in on the discussion with their own theories.

Violence in the Early Modern Period

Now that I have discussed the early modern passions, it is necessary to briefly consider violence in the early modern period. Julius R. Ruff argues that the early modern period was 'more violent than our own' and that 'violence was never far from the consciousness of early modern Europeans.'[112] Similarly, Jonathan Davies contends that the 'ubiquity of violence in Europe between the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries is clear.'[113] In a period when executions were a public spectacle, and the theatres doubled as bear-baiting arenas, it is unsurprising that this violence made its way on to the early modern stage. The sensationalism of violence was widespread, perpetuated by broadsheets which reported a variety of violent incidents and crimes as well as hawkers and street vendors who sold 'the stories and alleged confessions of condemned individuals in pamphlets near the gallows.'[114] Capital punishment in the form of executions was frequent and popular, often a consequence of the political and religious upheavals of the period. For instance, Carol Levine and Joseph P. Ward describe how 'after the break with Rome, Catholics were executed for their treason while Protestants died for their heresy.'[115]

Acts of violence were linked to all kinds of political and social unrest, not just that of a religious nature. Levine and Ward describe how 'early modern claims of political authority were often expressed through violence. States and factions tested one another through warfare, but violence was also displayed in more routine encounters between those

[112] Julius R. Ruff, *Violence in Early Modern Europe 1500-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), p.9.
[113] Jonathan Davies, *Aspects of Violence in Renaissance Europe* (London: Routledge, 2013), p.13.
[114] Ruff, *Violence in Early Modern Europe*, p.26.
[115] Carol Levine and Joseph P. Ward, 'Introduction' in *Violence, Poltiics, and Gender in Early Modern England*, ed. by Joseph P. Ward (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), p.3.

with and those without power'[116] and Alexandra Shepherd explains that '[v]iolence was one of the main props of patriarchy in early modern England, and as such was central to the regulation of social relations between men as well as between men and women.'[117] Like early modern emotions, violence in this period was also inextricably linked to early modern social and political issues, in both public and private spheres, used as a weapon in war and in the family home.

Elizabethan to Caroline Passion

The dates of the plays featured in this thesis ranges from 1586-1633 and views and theories about the passions were constantly challenged, altered, and debated throughout this time. The shifting perceptions and ideas about the passions were affected by both religious and philosophical contexts. The plays featured in this thesis become increasingly explicit in their preoccupation with emotion and the acts of violence on the early modern stage become more elaborate and extreme.

In the earliest plays that feature in this thesis, particularly Marlowe's *Dido, Queen of Carthage* passion is undeniably present and significant, but the influences of medical and proto-psychological discourses of the period, such as Robert Burton's *The Anatomy of Melancholy* becomes progressively overt in the later plays, particularly in the Caroline plays by Massinger, Davenant and Ford. In the Jacobean plays (*Othello* and *A Woman Killed)* the humours and passions become a central driving force for the tragedy, but in the case of Heywood's domestic tragedy in particular, are not always explicitly discussed using the terms from the period. The later plays however, become especially concerned with anatomy, medicine, the passions, and mental health, featuring doctors on stage (*The Duke*

[116] Levine and Ward, 'Introduction', p.1.
[117] Alexandra Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), p.128.

of Milan, The Lover's Melancholy), discussing or presenting cures for excessive passion such as bloodletting (*The Broken Heart, The Lover's Melancholy*) and theatrical performance (*The Lover's Melancholy, The Roman Actor)* and openly exploring the emphasis on the governance of the passions.

This emphasis on the rational governance of passion in the Caroline plays, especially prevalent in Massinger's neo-stoic tragedies, is indicative of a shift in perceptions of the passions and the emergence of Cartesian theories of the self. Although I argue that Davenant's *Albovine* was evidently influenced by Galen's theory of the four humours, there is still an underlying message related to the moderation of passion in the play, due to the subject matter of the dangers of the monarch's desire for his favourite, and we can already see the beginnings of Cartesian thinking about the passions and the self, starting to materialise. Descartes and other Cartesian philosophers began to challenge and complicate the view that passions were generated by external factors such as diet and environment, and the depiction of the human body as a passive receptacle for unbalanced humours and excessive passion. Instead, theorists began to identify a struggle between what Christopher Tilmouth refers to as 'endogenous' and 'exogenous' forces.[118]

In his *The Passions of the Soule* (1649) René Descartes argues that the mind and body 'are in fact substances which are really distinct from one another', and that therefore, we as humans have the ability to exercise reason over passion and to prevent physical responses to emotion through our wills. He writes that the will

> may easily overcome the smaller Passions, but not the violentest, and strongest, untill after the emotion of the blood and spirits is allayed. The most the Will can doe, while this emotion is in its full strength, is not to consent to its effects; and to restrain divers motions whereunto it disposes the body. For example; if wrath makes

[118]Christopher Tilmouth, 'Passion and Intersubjectivity in Early Modern Literature', in *Passions and Subjectivity in Early Modern Culture*, ed. by Brian Cummings and Freya Sierhuis (Abingdon: Routledge, 2013), pp.13-32 (p.22).

> me lift up my hand to strike, the Will can usually restrain it: if fear incites my legs to fly, the Will can stop them: and so of the rest.[119]

According to Descartes then, the human mind has the power to ignore and subdue the physical impulses caused by 'vigorous' passion. When thinking about the plays in this thesis, Descartes' theory would suggest that violence is utterly preventable and should not be considered as a symptom of uncontrollable passion or mental illness generated by external forces. While Descartes' thesis was published a little later than the latest plays in this thesis, we can already see this new emphasis on active rather than passive passion beginning to develop.

The Counter-Reformation

This was a period of religious unrest, and the development of emotions on stage was undoubtedly linked to significant religious upheaval and conflict. For example, the year of 1545 saw the beginning of the Counter-Reformation which started with the Council of Trent. The connection between philosophies of emotion and the recovery of Catholicism can be seen in the link between Descartes' doctrines and the reformers' desire for a new philosophy. As Michael Edwards notes,

> [m]otivated in part by a desire to see Cartesianism taught in Jesuit colleges, in the 1640's Descartes made significant attempts to engage the Order with his new philosophical system, and in particular to persuade them of the compatibility of his natural philosophy with Catholic Eucharistic theology, although he met with limited success.[120]

However, this resurgence of Catholicism was characterised by an emphasis on emotion over reason which, as we have seen, Descartes' philosophy directly contradicts,

[119] René Descartes, *The Passions of the Soule* (London: A.C, 1650), p.38.
[120] Michael Edwards, 'Intellectual Culture', in *The Ashgate Research Companion to the Counter-Reformation*, ed. by Alexandra Bamji, Geert H. Janssen, and Mary Laven (London: Routledge, 2016), pp. 301-318 (p.307).

perhaps this is the reason that he was unsuccessful in selling his doctrine to the Catholic reformers. Marcia B. Hall notes that

> Catholics recognized that emotion was a tool that Protestants had renounced and that it could therefore be used effectively to woo the lapsed back to the Catholic fold. Images were an important part of the whole arsenal that included relics, liturgy, processions, music, and theater. Protestants held that reason, not emotion should be the basis of religious experience.[121]

Therefore, alongside this re-emphasis on emotion in the Catholic church, was a reinvigoration of the visual, idolatry, the aesthetic, dramatic spectacle, and a materialist approach to the provocation of emotion.

Moreover, in 1633, the same year that Ford's *The Broken Heart* and *'Tis Pity She's a Whore* (arguably two of the most violent and sensational plays in this thesis), were staged, William Laud was elevated by Charles I from Bishop of London to Archbishop of Canterbury. According to Todd Wayne Butler, Both the king and Laud sought to 'restore the Catholic church's emphasis on ritual, hierarchy and sacrament' and 'embarked upon a program to revitalize the ritual and aesthetic elements of the Church of England – ceremony would be reemphasized and churches reconstructed.'[122] This renewed interest in dramatic spectacle, aesthetics, and elaborate ritual is reflected in the Caroline drama featured in this thesis, particularly in their representation of violence and passion.

Take for instance, Ithocles' death at the hands of Orgilus in Ford's *The Broken Heart* or Penthea's posthumous final entrance, which is discussed in more detail in Chapter Six. In both of these scenes, death and emotion are presented as dramatic spectacles. In the former, motivated by grief and anger, Orgilus gets his revenge on Ithcoles by trapping him

[121] Marcia B. Hall, 'Introduction', in *The Sensuous in the Counter-Reformation Church*, ed. by Marcia B. Hall and Tracy E. Cooper (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), pp.1-20 (p.2).
[122] Todd Wayne Butler, *Imagination and Politics in Seventeenth-century England* (Hampshire: Ashgate, 2008), p.74.

in a mechanical chair and bleeding him to death. In the latter, the dead body of Penthea, whose very name means sorrow, is carried onto the stage in a chair, accompanied by her weeping maids and music in an extravagant and theatrical scene. Similarly, in the final scenes of *'Tis Pity* Giovanni enters a banquet with his sister's heart impaled on his dagger. In each of these cases, violence and the excessive emotions that cause it, are linked to ceremonies such as coronations and dining, and are elaborately and spectacularly staged. This renewed interest in ritual, aesthetics, and spectacle is reflected in the drama of the period which was full of elaborate, sensational, and theatrical displays.

As well as emotions, there was also a connection between and the Counter-Reformation and the senses, and this association also comes through in the drama of the period. Hall outlines the key difference in how the Protestant and Catholic church's regarded the senses, stating that Calvin and Luther removed relics and images so as not to distract worshippers from the Word of God, 'eliminated all pomp and ceremony from the liturgy', and avoided 'Appeal to the senses […] because it created an emotional dependency on the Church, which Protestants regarded as an illegitimate hold over the faithful.'[123]

In contrast to this, Catholics believed that 'the senses are necessary […] to ascend to sublime things and they derive from the Holy Spirit'. This emphasis on the importance of the senses in the Catholic church resulted in the endorsement of 'sacred images' and the reaffirmation of the 'Transubstantiation of the Eucharist'.[124] Evidently, the two branches of Christianity differed greatly in their attitude towards both emotion and the senses, and these shifting perceptions are evident in the drama of the period.

[123] Hall, 'Introduction', p.1.
[124] Ibid., p.2.

This relationship between the senses and Christianity is traceable throughout the three chapters in this section of the thesis. In *Dido*, Marlowe's representation of deadly seeing is reflective of a rejection of Catholic icons, in *Othello*, the anxieties about hearing reflect the Protestant emphasis on hearing rather than seeing as well as the fear of hearing unholy voices, and in *Albovine*, the presentation of wine as pollutive blood, and the consumption of the human body subverts the Catholic rites of the Eucharist which encouraged the consumption of bread and wine that was believed to have been transformed into the actual flesh and blood of Jesus.

Joseph Imorde discusses the link between spiritual emotion and the senses in the Counter-Reformation, detailing how Ippolito Aldobrandini who became Pope Clement VIII in 1592, 'followed the example of the early Christian faithful whose abundant crying was detailed in that copious literary corpus of the early Church Fathers that was systematically read and re-read during the Counter Reformation,'[125] once again reinforcing the turn to emotion that accompanied the revival of Catholicism. Imorde goes on to state that Ignatius, one of the early Church fathers that Pope Clement followed, believed that

> a truly religious person must assimilate the infinite mildness and sweetness of the deity in both smell and taste. He believed that a deliberate 'embodiment' of the five senses and, in particular, of inner taste and sight, offered the most accurate meter of powerful emotional states.

Not only is there a link between spiritual emotion and sensory experience here, but both are linked to the Catholic church, and as we can see the revival of Catholicism brought with it, a renewed emphasis on taste and smell, both of which are the key senses in Davenant's *Albovine*, and which as mentioned above, are directly linked with the Catholic Eucharist.[126]

[125] Imorde, 'Tasting God: The Sweetness of Crying in the Counter-Reformation', p.257.
[126] See Chapter Three for a more detailed discussion of the Eucharist in *Albovine.*

Chapter Outline

Now that I have addressed some of the key contexts for my thesis topic, I will move on to outline the themes and arguments of each of the seven chapters that will make up this thesis.

The thesis will begin with three chapters on tragedies ranging from the Elizabethan to the Caroline period: Christopher Marlowe's *Dido, Queen of Carthage* (1586), William Shakespeare's *Othello* (1603), and William Davenant's *The Tragedy of Albovine* (1629). Each of these chapters will consider the relationship between the passions and the body, focusing on particular body parts and their accompanying senses and the role they play in the generation of violent passion.

The first section will begin with a chapter on *Dido, Queen of Carthage* which will examine the dangerous nature of the link between eyesight and desire, reading the play alongside classical and renaissance representations of Cupid as well as early modern doctrines on sight and love. This chapter will take classical and renaissance doctrines on sight into consideration, and suggest that there was a tension between the views that sight was the noblest of the senses and the increasingly common idea that sight had the potential to transfer disease and excessive emotion. The opening chapter will provide an introduction to the relationship that had begun to develop between drama and medicine in the early modern period, asking to what extent Marlowe's tragedy was influenced by proto-psychological theories of the period. As a play that is often read as a commentary on Elizabeth I, this study will not negate these theories, but consider how Marlowe's presentation of the passions enhances or alters our reading of the political implications of the play.

The second chapter will move from seeing to hearing. Historically, hearing and sight have been in competition for the position of the most important of the human senses. Following on from Marlowe's exploration of fatal sight, the second chapter will look at Shakespeare's *Othello,* and argue that hearing plays a pivotal role in the generation of deadly fear in the tragedy. Specifically, this paper will examine the relationship between hearing and the generation of fear and anxiety in *Othello,* considering to what extent specific noises and voices provoke and exacerbate the generation of Othello's excessive passions. In this chapter, I will show how the acts of fearful hearing relate to and reflect wider communal fears about foreign others in the early modern period. This chapter will re-examine the passions in *Othello*, a play renowned for its exploration of sexual jealousy. I will not disregard the importance of jealousy in *Othello*, but will shift emphasis, and refocus on the role that fear and anxiety play in the mental degradation of the play's eponymous protagonist and his resulting act of uxoricide.

From one bodily orifice to another, the third and final chapter of section one will address how passions are linked to taste and smell in William Davenant's *The Tragedy of Albovine,* a play influenced by the works of Shakespeare, particularly *Othello*. Chapter three will explore how the passions are generated via the mouth and nose in acts of drinking, eating, and breathing, all of which contribute to the violent ending of the tragedy.

This chapter will contemplate the relationship between monarchical power and passion, asking to what extent the circulation of infectious passion in Albovine's court makes a statement about the court of James I. Davenant's representation of passion will be considered alongside his depiction of court favourites to see how his earliest tragedy compares with the royalist sentiments found in his later works.

All three of these chapters will consider the representation of the passions as poisons or pollutions and how they are produced in the body and mind through senses, showing how in each of the plays this relationship between body, passion, and environment results in violent behaviour and proves fatal becoming most extreme in the latest of the plays. This section will demonstrate the intersection between passion and power, exploring the ways in which emotions are used and manipulated as an expression of power, as well as how playwrights portray the power of emotions themselves, the latter of which will be central to discussions in the second half of the thesis.

The second section of the thesis will include four chapters on six plays from the Jacobean and Caroline periods. Each of the chapters in this section will look at the ways in which the passions are governed or moderated once they have infected the body. This discussion of the governance of passion, will be directly related to the hierarchies of governance that form the early modern household, the early modern Church, and the early modern state. Each of the chapters in this section will explore the ways in which characters or playwrights attempt to contain and control passions, linking emotional suppression to the religious, political, and social issues of early modern society.

The fourth chapter of the thesis, and the first in this section, will look at vehement passions in Ford's *'Tis Pity She's a Whore*, asking whether Ford presents passion as something one should attempt to, or is able to govern, and consider whether the numerous deaths in the play should be viewed as evidence of successfully governed passions or the opposite. This chapter will explore Ford's portrayal of violence and passion in relation to the authority of the Catholic church and religion more generally, examining the effectiveness of religion and faith in the governance of the passions, and demonstrating how these violent passions work to undermine and challenge the power and authority of the

Church. As the opening chapter of the second half of the thesis, this chapter provides an introduction to some of the ideas and theories that circulated about the governance of the passions in the early modern period.

After discussing the violent passions of a jealous brother/lover in Ford's revenge tragedy, chapter five will compare the emotional responses of two of Philip Massinger's jealous husbands in *The Duke of Milan* and *The Roman Actor*, one who kills his wife, and one who refrains from doing so. Massinger's works are usually discussed for their treatment of metatheatre and politics but this chapter will focus on how Massinger presents emotion in the play, using proto-psychological and philosophical treatises on emotion from the period as a framework for the study of Massinger's tragedies. I will not separate the emotional from the political but consider to what extent the former can enhance our understanding of the latter.

This chapter will consider the dramatic texts alongside proto-psychological doctrines, as well as exploring Massinger's views on absolutism and the influence of neo-stoicism on the plays in order to discern what it is that makes one jealous husband act on his passions, and the other to delay his reaction. Not only will it consider Sforza and Caesar as jealous husbands, but as ineffective rulers who are undone by their inability to exercise self-control, and the ways in which violent passion has the power to destabilise the authority of the monarchy.

As in *The Roman Actor*, Thomas Heywood's domestic tragedy, *A Woman Killed with Kindness* features a jealous husband who refrains from killing his adulterous wife, choosing instead to isolate her from himself and her children and consequently torturing her emotionally until she dies from food refusal. Similarly, in Ford's *The Broken Heart* Penthea starves herself to death when she is separated from her fiancé and forced to marry another.

Chapter six will look at female self-starvation in Thomas Heywood's *A Woman Killed with Kindness* and John Ford's *The Broken Heart* and ask whether these acts of food refusal should be viewed as a submission to patriarchal authority or a reaction against it. This chapter will show that Ford's and Heywood's plays return bodily and emotional autonomy to women and reveal the problematic power structures which place men in charge of women's bodies and passions in the early modern household. This chapter will demonstrate the link between emotions and authority in relation to gender hierarchies. It will argue that by exploring the relationship between the political and the emotional, Ford and Heywood do not merely reflect the values of early modern patriarchy but criticise and destabilise the gender hierarchy by revealing and emphasising the deadly consequences of male control over female passion. To this end, this chapter will explore the ways in which the emotional act of female self-starvation on the early modern stage affected those who witnessed it in both the world of the play and the playhouses themselves.

The final chapter in this thesis will discuss a play which does not end with violence or death, asking how and why Ford's tragicomedy *The Lover's Melancholy* avoids a passionate and fatal ending. From jealous men to weeping men, chapter seven will focus on genre and gender in *The Lover's Melancholy,* asking how the mixture of comic and tragic elements, particularly gender roles, prevents passions from becoming deadly despite the palpable threat of violence which pervades the play, arguing that by going against early modern gender roles, Ford challenges early modern order to show that the removal of rigid gender categories results in peace and resolution. In this chapter I consider classical and early modern definitions of tragedy, comedy, and tragicomedy as well as the ways in which Ford's play is influenced by both Shakespearean comedy and tragedy, in order to discern how the mixture of comic tragic elements play a role in the prevention of violence.

Section One: Generating the Passions

Chapter One:

Asses and Arrows: The Dangers of Love at First Sight in Christopher Marlowe's *Dido, Queen of Carthage*

In this chapter I will argue that *Dido, Queen of Carthage* is a play concerned with the intersection between passions, physiology and the outside world. I will suggest that as the earliest play to feature in this thesis, Marlowe's tragedy sets a precedent for the later plays discussed in the succeeding chapters in his presentation of the human body as vulnerable, manipulable, and penetrable. I will examine the idea of love at first sight in relation to early modern proto-psychology, demonstrating the vulnerability of the eyes through which excessive love is both contracted and disseminated. To begin with, I will discuss some critical views of *Dido, Queen of Carthage*, a play that is performed and commented on far less frequently than Marlowe's later plays such as *The Jew of Malta* (1589) and *Doctor Faustus* (1589).

Many critics of *Dido, Queen of Carthage* focus on the political aspects of the play, specifically the denunciation of the monarchy. For instance, Lisa Hopkins argues that in *Dido,* Marlowe makes a 'sharply political point because the other name by which Dido was often known, Elissa, was so close to that of Elizabeth I, who was sometimes actually known as Eliza' and that Marlowe's play is most likely a criticism of the Virgin Queen rather than a compliment.[127] Similarly, Theodora A. Jankowski argues that Dido's poor judgement should be read as an allusion to early modern anxieties about female rulers. Jankowski suggests that

[127] Lisa Hopkins, *Christopher Marlowe, Renaissance Dramatist* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2008), p.40.

> *Dido Queen of Carthage* is a play that has Elizabeth I encoded […] in its protagonist. The play is not an instrument of flattery, but a work which expresses concern for the nature of female rule, especially in terms of how the monarch's courtship and potential marriage affect her realm and her subjects.[128]

Jankowski continues, stating that when Dido refuses

> to consider the previous acceptable suitors- and the presently acceptable Iarbas- she is shown to opt, purely for emotional reasons, for the somewhat less appropriate Aeneas. And when he seems unwilling, she not only showers him with gifts, but pushes her crown and kingdom upon him, turning him from a king consort to a sovereign power.[129]

Jankowski and Hopkins read Marlowe's play and Dido's behaviour in particular as a criticism of Elizabeth I. Jankowski's argument above encompasses a discussion of the dangers of excessive passion which she specifically relates to the early modern discourses which stressed emotional governance as a marker of a competent monarch. She describes Dido's desire for Aeneas as a weakness which causes her to give up her power to him. This danger about monarchs and the objects of their desires will be discussed in further detail in the third chapter on William Davenant's *The Tragedy of Albovine* and in the second half of the thesis in a chapter on the tragedies of Philip Massinger. While this is undoubtedly a valid reading of Marlowe's play, it focuses solely on Dido as an individual and ignores the role that Cupid and the other gods play in the creation of Dido's excessive desire. Instead, this chapter will suggest that a consideration of the reciprocal nature between bodies, passions, and environment is vital to the understanding of extreme love in *Dido*. I will stress the importance of the relationship between Dido's desire and eyesight and the presentation of Cupid as a purveyor of disease. I will argue that Marlowe's Carthaginian Queen embodies the humoral discourse of the period which posited humans as passive

[128] Theodora A. Jankowski, *Women in Power in the Early Modern Drama* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1992), p.133.
[129] Jankowski, *Women in Power in the Early Modern Drama,* p.138.

participants, subject to the environment in which they live, the spreading of illness and disease, and a variety of external factors that effect, create, and provoke the passions in an individual. In this chapter I will demonstrate that in the play it is not merely Dido that is led astray by love's blindness and excessive passions, but that all characters are vulnerable to extreme emotion and the unreliable nature of sight.

Therefore, my reading of the play will take into account other critical views such as those of Annaliese Connolly, who like Hopkins, also notes the similarities between 'Eliza' and 'Elissa' and remarks on the image of Dido burning and its similarity to the image of a phoenix, 'one of Elizabeth's favourite symbols.' I am particularly interested in Connolly's contention that in Marlowe's play 'unlike the phoenix, Dido serves to emphasise the mortal nature of queens, as she cannot rise from the ashes.'[130] In this chapter I will also argue that Marlowe emphasises Dido's mortality, as like the rest of the characters in the play, she is subject to her body and passions as well as the external influences on them.

Chloe Preedy also offers a convincing argument that Marlowe criticises the monarchy, demonstrating how in *Dido* and other Marlovian tragedies, the crown itself is devalued, commodified and traded. In her article, she discusses Dido's offering of the crown to Aeneas in exchange for his continued presence in Carthage, writing that

> Through her efforts to secure Aeneas's presence in Carthage, Dido challenges the assumptions that other characters make about the role of the gods in appointing rulers. By doing so, she, like Tamburlaine, implicitly critiques the contemporary Elizabethan discourse of divinely endorsed rule, a discourse that presupposes that the monarch herself should regard her crown as a gift and a duty bestowed by God.[131]

[130] Annaliese Connolly, 'Evaluating Virginity: *A Midsummer Night's Dream* and the Iconography of Marriage', in *Goddesses and Queens: The Iconography of Elizabeth I*, ed. by Annaliese Connolly and Lisa Hopkins (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007), pp.136 –153 (p.140).
[131] Chloe Preedy, '(De)valuing the Crown in *Tamburlaine, Dido, Queen of Carthage, and Edward II*', *SEL Studies in English Literature 1500-1900,* 54.2 (2014), 259-277 (p.267).

Here, like Connolly, Preedy argues that Marlowe's representation of the Carthaginian queen undermines the 'discourse of divinely endorsed rule.' In other words, Dido is presented as an earthly woman rather than a divine being.

My own analysis of the play will take a similar line of argument, considering Marlowe's Dido as a human who is vulnerable to the same physical, environmental, and emotional factors that affected the mental and corporeal health of all early moderns. Marlowe may present Dido as a Queen who succumbs easily to excessive passion, but so does nearly every other character in the play, and by depicting Dido as an individual who is controlled by desire, affected by her environment, and subject to excessive passion, Marlowe emphasises her mortality and therefore undermines the prevailing Elizabethan discourse that presented the monarch as superior and divinely appointed. Dido becomes a plaything to the pagan gods, as does everyone in the play. Characters of every age, status, gender, and sexuality fall for the delusions and manipulations of the gods and are motivated by desire and blindness. Aeneas is lead to Dido by a disguised Venus, Dido and the Nurse both fall victim to Cupid's arrows, even Jupiter is completely undone by his desire and gives in to the demands of the youthful Ganymede, and just as Dido's love for Aeneas leads her to suicide so does Iarbas's love for Dido and Anna's love for Iarbas. This chapter will show that in *Dido,* all bodies are vulnerable, whether they are led by senses, passions, or a deadly combination of both. I will argue that the mixture of unreliable sight and excessive passion is the most dangerous to characters in the play, and that the liminal Cupid who embodies good and evil, lust and love, and transgresses sexual boundaries, assists in this reading of the play as one that demonstrates the universality of the vulnerable human body as a passive receptacle of dangerous passion. I will now look at some examples of Marlowe criticism that discuss the role of eyesight in *Dido.*

The vulnerability of the eyes is by no means absent from Marlowe scholarship. Jonathan Sell discusses the danger of seeing in Marlowe's play, arguing that *Dido* engages with and responds to early modern religious debates about idolatry and antitheatricalist tracts about the dangerous delusions of theatre, consequently commenting on the play's own illusionary status as a piece of staged fiction. However, Sell's essay does not specifically discuss the relationship between seeing and emotions. Contrastingly, Sara Munson Deats does not discuss the eyes in her critique of Marlowe's tragedy but does comment on the perilous nature of excessive love. When considering the romantic relationships in the play Munson Deats argues that when we view the play from 'a moralistic, pro-duty context, these destructive (or comic) loves can be interpreted as prudential warnings against the perils (or puerility) of uncontrolled desire.'[132] In *Dido,* Marlowe marries these ideas together, and the 'perils of uncontrolled desire' are in fact inseparable from what Sell terms 'the ambivalence of the visual and the dangers of fantasy' in *Dido, Queen of Carthage* and that it is this relationship between senses and emotion that proves fatal.[133]

The theme of love at first sight permeates early modern art and culture, and can be found in many literary works of the period, including examples of poetry, and both comic and tragic drama. For instance, one of the most famous examples of love at first sight comes from Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet*, in which upon seeing Juliet for the first time Romeo asks 'Did my heart love till now? Forswear it, sight! / For I ne'er saw true beauty till

[132] Sara Munson Deats, '*Dido, Queen of Carthage* and *The Massacre at Paris*', in *The Cambridge Companion to Christopher Marlowe*, ed. by Patrick Cheney (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp.193-205 (p.197).

[133] Marlowe's portrayal of dangerous seeing also alludes to the Protestant rejection of religious icons.

this night.'[134] Unfortunately, this love, often considered rash and naïve, leads to the tragic deaths of the young lovers. Love at first sight is not an uncommon theme in the works of Marlowe, and his epyllion poem, *Hero and Leander* contains the famous lines, 'Who ever loved that loved not at first sight?',[135] also parodied in Shakespeare's comedy *As You Like It.*[136]

Critics have often noted the influence of Marlowe's *Dido* on several plays in the Shakespearean canon including *Othello* and *Hamlet.* Connolly also demonstrates the similarities between *Dido* and *A Midsummer Night's Dream* arguing that Shakespeare's comedy is 'rich in allusions to Marlowe's *Dido*.'[137] In her comparison of the two plays Connolly stresses the similarities between the transformation of Marlowe's *Dido* and Shakespeare's Titania, stating that Shakespeare uses the 'images of Dido as a queen transformed by Love's arrow'[138] in his representation of the Fairy Queen. Evidently, Shakespeare's play repeats Marlowe's ideas about the transformative effects of love at first sight which in both plays is presented as a corruptive, infectious substance which is forcefully inflicted upon individuals via arrows in *Dido's* case or the love-in-idleness flower in *Dream*, which pierce or enter the body in some way. In both plays, this infectious love has the potential to cause illness, violence, and even death.

While in *Dream* love at first sight is cause for comedy the juice of love in idleness also poses a fatal threat and provides the potential for violence. This is evident when Demetrius and Lysander, who have been dosed with the juices of love-in-idleness, become

---

[134] William Shakespeare, 'Romeo and Juliet', in *The Complete Works*, ed. by Jonathan Bate and Eric Rasmussen (London: Macmillan, 2007), pp. 1675-1743 (i.4.169-170).
[135] Christopher Marlowe, 'Hero and Leander', in *Christopher Marlowe: Complete Poems* (New York: Dover Thrift Editions, 2013), pp.69-88 (p.74).
[136] William Shakespeare, 'As You Like It', in *The Complete Works*, ed. by Jonathan Bate and Eric Rasmussen (London: Macmillan, 2007), pp.472-525, iii.5.89.
[137] Connolly, 'Evaluating Virginity: *A Midsummer Night's Dream* and the Iconography of Marriage', p.136.
[138] Connolly, 'Evaluating Virginity*: A Midsummer Night's Dream* and the Iconography of Marriage', p.138.

irrational to the point of violence, as they draw their swords and prepare to fight. Furthermore, as Connolly argues, the darker undertones of bestiality in *Dream* mirror the unconventional, inappropriate, and at times disturbing relationships conjured by Cupid in *Dido*, such as the desire the Nurse feels towards Cupid when he's disguised as a young boy. Alongside, *Dream* then, Marlowe's tragedy was one of the earliest early modern plays to present love at first sight as a deadly phenomenon with both emotional and bodily consequences and his presentation of the relationship between bodies, passions and environment in *Dido* may have influenced plays that came after it. This thesis will go on to show how ideas about the transmission and circulation of passion and the deadly nature of desire found in *Dido* continue to evolve in later Jacobean and Caroline tragedies.

In *Dido, Queen of Carthage* love is infectious and is transmitted through the act of seeing and by Cupid the classical god who disseminates excessive and irrational love through the use of his arrows. Parallels can be traced between this kind of love and its relationship with the body in both fictional and non-fictional texts of the period, and examining this play alongside medical and philosophical doctrines from the period demonstrates that extreme emotion in Marlowe's play should be viewed as an infection or malady which often leads to violence and death.

In this section I will analyse these various references to eyes and seeing and the ways in which Marlowe uses this imagery to present love at first sight as dangerous. Throughout *Dido, Queen of Carthage* there are at least 70 references to eyes and sight including mentions of 'eyesight', 'looks' and the gruesome 'blood-shotten balls.'[139] For a relatively short play this is a substantial amount and means that on average there is at least one mention of eyes or seeing per page. When examining these references to sight and eyes

[139] Christopher Marlowe, 'Dido, Queen of Carthage', in *Christopher Marlowe: The Complete Plays*, ed. by Frank Romany and Robert Lindsey (London: Penguin, 2003), pp.1-68 (ii.1.32, i.1.122 , and iii.2.34).

in more detail, I found that over 50% of them were related to love, desire, or physical attraction, 9% to violence, and a further 6% to deception.[140] These percentages demonstrate not only a link between love and sight, but that of the dangerous nature of sight and its potential for violence. The second half of this chapter will focus on the classical god Cupid, the personification of love at first sight, through an exploration of Renaissance literary and artistic representations of Cupid in conjunction with Marlowe's own depiction of him to demonstrate that Cupid as purveyor of love at first sight was often considered corruptive, disruptive and sometimes even a perpetrator of violence and figure of death.

While during the period preceding the Renaissance the classical Hierarchy of the Senses could be considered inflexible, Lisa Rafanelli and Erin Benay note that 'early modern attitudes towards the senses […] were far less rigid than was once understood.'[141] Evidently, there was a tension between the classical assertion that sight was the most noble of senses and the increasingly frequent representation of sight as unreliable and dangerous found in Renaissance art, literature and culture, particularly when related to love and desire.

For many in the Renaissance, sight was considered perilous. The association of seeing with danger is evident in the many references to the emblem of the Evil Eye which can be found in several different examples of renaissance culture. This motif appears in renaissance art, for instance John H. Elliott lists Caravaggio's *Medusa* (1597) as an example as it depicts the head of the classical goddess whose deadly glances transform men to stone.[142] Additionally, Piero della Francesca's famous painting *Brera Madonna* (1472-1474) depicts a Madonna holding the infant Christ child who wears a necklace of red coral.

[140] See Appendix for chart displaying percentages.
[141] *Faith, Gender and the Senses in Italian Renaissance and Baroque Art*, ed. by Lisa M. Rafanelli and Erin E. Benay (Surrey: Ashgate, 2015), p.12.
[142] John H. Elliott, *Beware the Evil Eye Volume 1: The Evil Eye in the Bible and the Ancient World* (Oregon: Cascade, 2015), p.7.

Elliott tells us that 'both coral and the colour red are traditional media for warding off the Evil Eye, which targets infants in particular', therefore Christ's garland of coral becomes a symbol of motherly protection against the effects of the Evil Eye.[143] These artistic representations which represent early modern anxieties about the perils of particular kinds of looking, also imply that the Evil Eye had the potential to physically transform an individual, as love at first sight does in Marlowe's play.

l will now discuss the relationship between eyes and deception or delusion in *Dido,* arguing that in Marlowe's play seeing is nearly always unreliable. These continuous references to deceptive seeing and the use of disguise in the play present the human body as vulnerable, and the human eyes as a gateway for false and infectious passion.

Classically, eyes are connected to knowledge. For instance, Aristotle wrote that 'sight best helps us to know things'[144] and Renaissance painter Leonardo da Vinci wrote that '[t]he eye, which is called the window of the soul, is the principal means by which the central sense can most completely and abundantly appreciate the infinite works of nature.'[145] However, contrastingly in early modern doctrines on seeing, and in Marlowe's play, eyes and seeing are also associated with deception and delusion. Early modern scholar and medical theorist Jacques Ferrand contends that sight is unreliable, and more specifically, that sight is the cause of deceptive love. He states that

> Love, having first entred at the Eyes, which are the Faithfull spies and intelligencers of the soule, steales gently through those sluces, and so passing insensibly through the veines to the Liver, it there presently imprinteth an ardent desire of the Object, which is either really lovely, or at least appeares to be so. Now this desire, once enflamed, is the beginning and mover of all the sedition.[146]

[143] Elliott, *Beware the Evil Eye Volume 1: The Evil Eye in the Bible and the Ancient World*, p.7.
[144] Allen Grossman, *True Love: Essays on Poetry and Valuing* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), p.88.
[145] *The Da Vinci Notebooks*, ed. by Emma Dickens (London: Profile, 2005), p.93.
[146] Jacques Ferrand, *Erotomania* (Oxford: L. Lichfield, 1640), p.67.

For Ferrand the eyes are vulnerable and sight is not always trustworthy, particularly when it comes to love. They provide an entrance for love to infect the liver, considered by many to be the seat of passion.[147] Sight-engendered love in particular can cause individuals to believe their object of desire is 'lovely' even when they are not.

The most obvious example of deception in Marlowe's play is the disguises that the gods Venus and Cupid adopt in order to cause Dido to fall in love with Aeneas. In the very first scene of the play when Aeneas encounters his mother Venus disguised as a mortal woman he says '[t]hou art a goddess that delud'st our eyes / And shrouds thy beauty in this borrowed shape.' (i.1.191-192) Although Aeneas does recognise his mother, she insistently denies her identity in order to enact her plot and lead him to Dido, so that she may fall in love with him. The most devious and precarious of all disguises is that of Cupid as Aeneas's young son Ascanius, to provoke desire in both Dido and the Nurse while appearing as a young boy. Cupid's deceptive and dangerous nature will be explored in further detail in the second half of the chapter.

This deceptive seeing becomes more and more dangerous as the play endures and the language Marlowe employs suggests that sight-engendered love can cause full blown aberrations and mental illness, an idea also found in early modern tracts on love. André Du Laurens connects love at first sight with mental illness in his treatise *A Discourse of the Preservation of sight:*

> Yea tell me, how many soules haue lost their libertie through the sight of the eyes? Doe not men say that that little wanton, that blind archer doth enter into our hearts by this doore, and that loue is shaped by the glittering glimces which issue out of the eyes, or rather by certaine subtile and thin spirits, which passe from the

[147] See Marguerite A. Tassi, *Women and Revenge in Shakespeare: Gender, Genre and Ethics* (Selinsgrove: Susquehanna Press, 2011), p.146, in which she discusses the antique writers that believed the liver to be the seat of the passions.

> heart to the eye through a straite and narrow way very secretly, and hauing deceiued this porter, doe place loue within, which by little and little doth make it selfe Lord of the house, and casteth reason out of the doores?[148]

In this short passage, Du Laurens outlines the anxieties surrounding sight-induced love that were prevalent in early modern culture. He discusses how love is generated by the eyes, citing 'wanton' Cupid as the perpetrator of love at first sight, arguing that love caused by these 'glittering glimces' results in the casting out of reason, suggesting that love at first sight was considered detrimental to the mind.

There are several examples of this connection between sight, delusion, and mental illness in Marlowe's play. In Act 2, Scene 1 of *Dido*, Aeneas believes that he sees the now dead King Priam and Achates tells him '[t]hy mind, Aeneas, that would have it so, / Deludes thy eyesight. Priamus is dead.' (ii.1.31-32) Although deception is not used as a tool to produce affection here, it is still connected to desire and emotion as Achates suggests that Aeneas's grief and his consequent wish that Priam is still living is the cause of this false vision. His filial love and respect for his deceased King and father-in-law leads him to imagine he is still alive. The reference to the 'mind' and the idea of delusion in this example links vision with a lack of reason and the deterioration of the mind, a link which becomes more and more deadly in the case of Dido and her Cupidean, erotic desire for Aeneas.

By the end of the play Dido's unexplainable and irrational love caused by Cupid's arrow, has rendered her erratic and unstable, evidenced in her raving speeches following Aeneas's departure. In Act 5, Scene 1, Dido imagines that Aeneas is returning to her, and

[148] André du Laurens, *A Discourse of the Preservation of Sight*, trans. Richard Surphlet (London: Felix Kingston, 1599), p.12.

even speaks to this mirage of her lover, telling her sister '[s]ee where he comes. Welcome, welcome my love!' Following this speech Anna counsels her sister to 'leave these idle fantasies' (v.1.262) and Dido herself bemoans her 'lunacy' and recognises that she 'raves' (v.1.265 and 273). Sight is unreliable as Dido believes she can see something that is not there and her fantastical vision is presented as a symptom of madness generated by the excessive desire that Cupid has infected her with.

Upon acknowledgement of her madness Dido announces her suicidal plan, declaring 'I must be the murderer of myself.' (v.1.270) For Dido, this is the only course of action she can now take, and her fatal actions are the inevitable outcome of her irrational, manufactured desire for Aeneas. Moreover, Dido describes her intended suicide as a 'cure', declaring 'I intend a private sacrifice / To cure my mind, that melts for unkind love.' (v.1.286-7) The use of the verb 'cure' here suggests that Dido's infatuation for Aeneas has become a disease which literally 'melts' her mind. The image of her mind melting suggests heat and therefore makes a link between Dido's firey passion and disordered state of mind. Marlowe links love at first sight to madness and Dido's Cupid engendered 'lunacy' proves to be deadly not only for herself, but for Iarbas and Anna, who follow suit in her love-induced suicide in the final scene. Through her suicide, Dido's grief and disordered mind caused by her extreme desire for Aeneas becomes infectious when grieving for the woman he loves, Iarbas chooses to kill himself too, and seeing her beloved Iarbas die, Anna also takes her own life. As well as melting her mind, Dido's love for Aeneas renders her entire body a victim to heat and fire as she throws herself into the flames.

So far this chapter has demonstrated that in *Dido* love and emotion is connected to the unreliability and deceptive nature of eyesight. The emotions of characters such as Dido, the Nurse, and Aeneas are provoked by false images and excessive desire is generated

through the eyes. This chapter has also begun to show how in the play love has the potential to infect individuals and cause diseases of the mind. This infection begins with Dido's irrational infatuation caused by Cupid's arrows but also affects the other characters in the play who are likewise driven to love inordinately and sometimes unconventionally, to the point where they would rather die than live without seeing their loved ones again. The next section will continue this discussion about love as a disease demonstrating how in early modern love polemics and the play itself, infectious love is transmitted through the eyes, before considering how Cupid himself was connected to illness and plague.

Bearing the context of the plays in mind, it is unsurprising that they are filled with imagery of disease and anxieties about the transference of disease, and make links between the passions and illness when early modern playhouses themselves were associated with the transmission of disease and illness. Antitheatricalists such as William Prynne used the plague as a reason for their proposed closing down of the playhouses, suggesting that due to the large crowds the plague could be more easily transmitted between spectators, and in actuality, 'the playhouses were closed by the authorities during epidemic plague outbreaks for fear of crowds increasing the spread of infection.'[149] Prynne referred to the playhouses as 'leprous'[150] and Stephen Gosson and Anthony Munday labelled the playhouse 'the chair of pestilence.'[151] More specifically, much like love at first sight within the plays, the act of literally seeing a play was presented as dangerous, and linked with visually transmitted disease. Amongst the anti-theatricalists who expressed disdain towards the playhouses and wrote tracts against them with the view of closing them down, the visual aspect of theatre

[149] Jennifer Cooke, *Legacies of Plague in Literature, Theory and Film* (London: Macmillan, 2009), p.57.
[150] William Prynne, *Histrio-mastix* (London: Edward Allde, 1633), p.561.
[151] Nichole De Wall, 'Sweet Recreation Barred: The Case for Playgoing in Plauge-Time', in *Representing the Plague in Early Modern England*, ed. by Rebecca Totaro and Ernest B. Gilman (London: Routledge, 2011), pp.133-149.

was listed as one of the many "dangers" of playgoing, and in his tract William Rankin discusses 'the infectious sight of plays'; the emphasis here is on the detrimental effects of actually seeing a play. Moreover, Stephen Gosson argued that the eyes were consumers of corruption and disease when it came to viewing a play on the early modern stage. In *Playes Confuted in Five Actions*, he wrote that

> Yf we be carefull that no pollution of idoles enter by the mouth into our bodies, how diligent, how circumspect … ought we be, that no corruption of idoles, enter by the passage of eyes and eares into the soule? We know that whatsoeuer goeth into the mouth defileth not but passeth away by course of nature; but that which entreth into vs by the eyes and eares, muste be digested by the spirite.[152]

In this passage Gosson argues that the things we consume with our ears and eyes are perhaps more dangerous to us than the things that enter our bodies through our mouths as they are digested by the 'spirite' and unlike food and drink, the plays an individual sees or hears do not 'pass away by course of nature.' His suggestion that the viewing of a play is digested by the 'spirite' implies that this transmission of 'pollution' is more deadly as it would have a detrimental effect on the emotional and psychological state of an individual rather than merely a physical one. While this passage is less explicitly linked to the plague, Gosson uses 'corruption' and 'pollution' to emphasise the infectious nature of the theatre and the ways in which it can enter the body through the eyes and ears, comparing it to the way in which the plague was transferred by the mouth, specifically by breathing. As well as texts about plays, the following section will show that plays and other early modern texts also reaffirm this anxiety about spreading disease through the eyes.

The following section of this chapter will begin by examining examples of early modern texts that link love and eyesight to the transmission of disease, returning to the idea

[152] Stephen Gosson, 2nd edn, *Playes Confuted in Five Actions* (London: T. Dawson, 1582), p.22.

of the Evil Eye discussed in the introduction to this chapter. As well as the art of the period, ideas about the Evil Eye and its transformative powers were found in writings on witchcraft and was a term often used in the medieval and renaissance eras to describe a witch's ability to cause harm to an individual by merely gazing at them, also known as fascination. In his treatise *De Fascino* (1583), Leonardus Varius describes the act of fascination which is translated and explained by Reginald Scot in his own doctrine on witchcraft entitled *The Discovery of Witchcraft* (1584) in which he writes:

> For by hate (saith Varius) entereth a fiery inflammation into the eye of man, which being violently sent out by beams and streams, &c. infect and bewitch those bodies against whom they are opposed. And therefore he saith (in the favour of women) that is the cause that women are oftener found to be Witches than men. For (saith he) they have an unbridled force of fury and concupiscence naturally, that by no means it is possible for them to temper or moderate the same. So as upon every trifling occasion, they (like brute beast) fix their furious eyes upon the party whom they bewitch.[153]

Varius and Scot cite the passions as the cause of the evil eye, stating that 'anger, fear, love, hate' cause the 'fiery inflammation' in the eye that in turn, 'infects' others. They specifically name 'love' amongst said passions, tying love and sight together and connecting them with the power to cause physical harm to human 'bodies.' The lexis of disease here is particularly important as Scot uses the adjective 'inflammation' and the verb 'infect' to describe the effects of the evil eye. Here then, far from the idealistic view of noble vision, eyes are representative of evil and the transmission of disease in Scot's doctrine. Furthermore, this disease is generated by emotion.

Francis Bacon too, makes a connection between the passions (specifically love and envy) and the Evil Eye in his essay *Of Envy* which begins with the following passage:

[153] Reginald Scot, 3rd edn, *The Discovery of Witchcraft* (London:1665), pp.157-158.

> There be none of the affections which have been noted to fascinate or bewitch, but love and envy. They both have vehement wishes; they frame themselves readily into imaginations and suggestions; and they come easily into the eye, especially upon the presence of the objects; which are the points that conduce to fascination, if any such thing there be. We see likewise the Scripture calleth envy an *evil eye;* and the astrologers call the evil influences of the stars *evil aspects;* so that still there seemeth to be acknowledged, in the act of envy, an ejaculation or irradiation of the eye.[154]

In this passage, Bacon uses similar language found in Scot's witchcraft tract, claiming that love and envy are passions with the power to 'fascinate' and 'bewitch' and that they 'come easily into the eye.' He also mentions an 'ejaculation or irradiation of the eye' suggesting a vapour or beam which proceeds from the eye with the ability to harm or infect individuals. This beam can also be likened to Cupid's arrow, which strikes and infects Dido and others with love as he too works a kind of witchcraft upon his love victims. The eyes are imbued with the power to alter the human body by transmitting and receiving excessive passions such as hate or love. The relationship between illness and witchcraft will also be discussed in relation to Shakespeare's *Othello* and the ear as transmitter of corruption in the second chapter of this thesis.

Ideas about love at first sight as an infection of sorts were not only found in witchcraft texts or discussions of the Evil Eye. One of the most explicit descriptions of love at first sight as a kind of disease that is spread through eyesight occurs in Marsilio Ficino's *De Amore* (1484). Ficino was amongst the early modern medical philosophers who wrote about the potential perils of love at first sight, describing it as 'a poisoned dart' which 'pierces through the eyes', and 'wounds the heart.' He continues, saying that 'in the heart's hard back wall it is blunted and turns back into blood. This foreign blood, being somewhat foreign to the nature of the wounded man, infects his blood. The infected blood becomes

[154] Francis Bacon, 'Of Envy' in *The Essays* (London: Penguin, 1985), p.83.

sick.'[155] As well as the Cupidean reference to the dart, and the link between love at first sight and violence shown through the verbs 'pierce' and 'wound' in this extract, Ficino figures love at first sight as an infectious disease that can prove fatal, describing the darts as 'poisoned.' Ficino's description of love at first sight demonstrates a connection between the eyes and the heart, the senses and the passions; a connection that I will argue is also made in Marlowe's tragedy.

As evident from the doctrines outlined above, during the Renaissance love at first sight was often figured as infectious, capable of inducing disease, and potentially damaging to the corporeal, humoral, and passionate state of an individual. This anxiety about the seeing and the transmission of illness would have been particularly tangible during a period in which plague was a past reality and looming possibility. Cupid himself was sometimes viewed as a disseminator of the plague. Malcolm Miles Kelsall describes Marlowe's Cupid's ability to engender love, as a 'honied poison' which 'infects' those around him.[156] He was also linked to 'plague angels', who shot down plague-inducing arrows, displayed in paintings by artists such as Benedetto Bonfigli.[157] Thus desire, more specifically, love at first sight, was connected to death and Cupid is presented as a disseminator of fatal disease.

Additionally, there are several dramatic examples of love at first sight as the plague to be found in early modern plays. During the medieval period, 'people were afraid even to look at someone who was sick for fear of being infected.'[158] This idea of infectious seeing was carried on into the Renaissance, and anxieties about the visual transmission of diseases

[155] Marsilio Ficino, *De Amore* quoted in Berthold Hub, 'Gazes and Flying Images in Ficino and Michelangelo', in *Spirits Unseen: The Representation of Subtle Bodies in Early Modern European Culture*, ed. by Christine Gottler and Wolfgang Neuber (Boston: Brill, 2008), pp.93-120 (p.104).
[156] Malcolm Miles Kelsall, *Christopher Marlowe* (Leiden: Brill, 1982), p.41.
[157] Jane Kingsley-Smith, *Cupid in Early Modern Literature and Culture,* p.71.
[158] Pamela Berger, 'Mice, Arrows and Tumours: Medieval Plague Iconography North of the Alps', in *Piety and Plague: From Byzantium to Baroque*, ed. by Franco Mormando and Thomas Worcester (Missouri: Truman State University Press, 2007), pp. 23-63 (p.51).

infiltrate both dramatic literature of the period and literature about the drama of the period. I will now go on to discuss a few examples of the relationship between love at first sight and disease in plays from the period before moving on to discuss Marlowe's play in more detail. In plays such as *Romeo and Juliet*, perhaps the most iconic example of the tragedy of love at first sight, Mercutio curses the houses of Montague and Capulet as he dies, repeating the phrase 'a plague o'both your houses.' (iii.1.92) Mercutio's curse becomes real when Romeo and Juliet die, as a result of their forbidden love. Their love at first sight proves deadly for both Montague and Capulet.

This representation of love at first sight as a sort of plague-like infection can also be found in Shakespearean comedy, *Love's Labour's Lost*, (1597) which features the following lines uttered by Berowne –

> Write "Lord have mercy on us" on those three;
> They are infected; in their hearts it lies;
> They have the plague, and caught it of your eyes;
> The lords are visited; you are not free,
> For the lord's tokens on you do I see.[159]

Here, Berowne is not talking about the plague in the literal sense, but is instead referring to love, a love that the King, Navarre and Longaville have caught from the eyes of their loved ones. He explicitly figures love as the plague, and blames the eyes of the desired object for the transmission of said plague. Love is not something they are actively participating in, but something inflicted upon them which they should be pitied for. For Shakespeare, love at first sight is a 'plague', an affliction or illness which is transmitted through the eyes. Once again, it seems likely that these ideas about infectious looking in the works of Shakespeare were influenced not only by the love treatises at the time but also the drama that came

[159] William Shakespeare, 'Love's Labour's Lost', in *The Complete Works*, ed. by Jonathan Bate and Eric Rasmussen (London: Macmillan, 2007), pp. 305-364 v.ii.441-446.

before it, including *Dido.* I will now look at the perils of love at first sight in *Dido, Queen of Carthage,* arguing that it is likely that Marlowe was influenced by and influenced a variety of early modern portrayals of seeing and theories about the transference of dangerous and excessive love via the eyes. In Marlowe's play, the eyes are presented as transmitters and receivers of infectious desire.

In *Dido,* these ideas about love as a sickness appear at various points. Marlowe employs the language of disease when Dido confesses her sudden infatuation to Aeneas, evident in the following exchange:

> **DIDO:**
> Prometheus hath put on Cupid's shape,
> And I must perish in his burning arms
> Aeneas, O Aeneas, quench these flames!
>
> **AENEAS:**
> What ails my queen? Is she fall'n sick of late?
>
> **DIDO:**
> Not sick, my love, but sick I must conceal
> The torment that it boots me not reveal. (iii.4.20-25)

This passage is significant in many ways. Firstly, Dido's exclamation that she must burn foretells her fiery death, and her suggestion that Cupid is responsible for her new desire is ironic as she is completely unaware of the role Cupid actually played in generating her love for Aeneas. Secondly, Aeneas takes Dido's confession of passion as an indicator of sickness, conflating her desire with disease. Therefore, the mention of 'flames' can be read merely as an indicator of passion, but also point to a humoral imbalance, as the passion of lust was associated with a hot bodily temperature.[160] More poignantly, Dido presents Aeneas as the cure for her passion, asking him to 'quench' the flames. However, as the play

[160] See Du Laurens, *A Discourse of the Preservation of Sight*, p.87 when he discusses how lust "fires" the body.

endures it becomes clear that Aeneas does not return Dido's affection and does not even attempt to 'quench' the flames or prevent her fiery end.

Later on, when it becomes obvious that Dido's love is unrequited, her love has an even more intense and damaging effect on her body and mind and Marlowe uses a similar vocabulary of poison as that used above in Ficino's description of love at first sight, referencing venom and the toxic nature of Dido's affection. In Act 5, Scene 1 Aeneas bids Dido 'farewell' to which she replies '[t]hese words are poison to poor Dido's soul.' Similarly, a few lines later she asks Aeneas, 'O serpent that came creeping from the shore, / And I for pity harboured in thy bosom. / Wilt thou now slay me with thy venomed sting / And hiss at Dido for preserving thee?' (v.1.165-168). Dido's phrasing here recalls the idiom 'to nourish a viper in one's bosom' which comes from Aesop's Fable *The Farmer and the Viper* in which a farmer finds a freezing viper and places him inside his coat to keep him warm; the viper then bites the farmer and he dies.[161] The image of the viper's sting piercing Dido's skin also mirrors the puncturing wound of Cupid's arrows. For Dido, her love for Aeneas has proven poisonous and deadly; her Cupidean desire for him is not returned. Dido's love for Aeneas has become a poisonous 'sting' with the ability to corrupt her physical body as well as harm her emotionally. She describes Aeneas's rejection as death itself, stating that it will 'slay' her, which it eventually does when she immolates herself in the final scene.

So far this chapter has shown some of the ways that love at first sight is fatal in Marlowe's play; encompassed within these discussion is the figure of Cupid who is continuously intertwined with theories about illness, poison, delusion and death. The following section will examine how looking is linked with Cupidean desire, and how this

[161] Aesop, *The Complete Fables*, trans. Olivia and Robert Temple (London: Penguin, 1998), p. 125.

desirous gazing has the potential to cause physical harm. While Dido does not technically fall in love with Aeneas the first time she ever sees him, her desire for him is provoked when she sees him the for the first time after being struck with Cupid's arrow. The perils of looking are emphasised by the continuous references to Aeneas's appearance once Cupid's infectious love arrows begin to take effect. In Act 3, scene 1, once Dido has been touched with Cupid's arrow, her love for previous suitor Iarbas evaporates, and Marlowe uses imagery of sight to express this change in desire when Dido orders him to 'Come not in my sight!' and declares that 'his loathsome sight offends mine eye.' (iii.1.45 & 56) Dido's refusal of Iarbas then is connected with a lack of physical attraction. Because he is no longer visually pleasing to Dido, she casts him off in favour of another.

Furthermore, her Cupid-engendered infatuation with Aeneas which replaces her affection for Iarbas, is also linked to his visual appearance with more references to sight and seeing. When plotting to infect Dido with desire for Aeneas, physical attraction and outward appearances are emphasised when Cupid describes the ensuing affliction as follows: 'Now, Cupid, cause the Carthaginian queen to be enamoured of thy brother's looks.' (iii.1.1-2) While her love for Aeneas is not actually sparked by the sight of him, but by Cupid's arrow which has altered her heart and mind, this sudden change in love is solely linked to how Dido views Aeneas, in a literal sense. For instance, in the same scene, Dido berates herself for her delayed attraction to Aeneas. She says

> O dull-conceited Dido, that till now
> Didst never think Aeneas beautiful!
> But now, for quittance of this oversight,
> I'll make me bracelets of his golden hair;
> His glistering eyes shall be my looking-glass,
> His lips an altar, where I'll offer up
> As many kisses as the sea hath sands.
> Instead of music I will hear him speak,
> His looks shall be my library;

> And thou, Aeneas, Dido's treasury,
> In whose fair bosom I will lock more wealth
> Than twenty thousand Indias can afford. (iii.1.81-92)

This passage demonstrates the overwhelming power of Dido's newly generated love for Aeneas through her hyperbolic descriptions of his appearance, comparisons of his hair to gold, the portrayal of his lips as divine, and her oath to shower him with wealth. Dido's focus on how 'beautiful' Aeneas is, and her continuous praise of his facial features shows that the emphasis is on looks and physical attraction is at the heart of Dido's all consuming "love" for Aeneas.

In *Dido Queen of Carthage,* Marlowe suggests that amorous gazing has the power to physically harm the human body with violence as well as illness. In Act 3, Scene 1, when Dido's sister Anna speaks of Aeneas's popularity, Dido declares 'But tell them none shall gaze on him but I, / Lest their gross eye-beams taint my lover's cheek.' (iii.1.72-73) Here, Dido links amorous gazing to the blemishing and marring of the physical form, which is ironic, due to her own tendency to gaze at him. While Dido fears that the lusty looks of others may injure Aeneas, her own persistent viewing of Aeneas eventually becomes physically harmful to her own body as she is burnt to death.

Marlowe repeatedly makes connections between sight-induced love and violence. This link between sight, desire, and physical harm is expressed more explicitly by Iarbas. In response to his rejection from Dido who tells him, 'I charge thee never look on me', Iarbas says 'Then pull out both mine eyes, or let me die.' (iii.1.54-55) Here, Iarbas' love for Dido is also linked with looking. In this short statement he suggests that the only way to prevent him from gazing at Dido is to remove his eyes, or let him die. Moreover, later in the play when it has become clear to Iarbas that he has been utterly replaced in Dido's affection, he suggests that both his eyes may 'drop out' due to his excessive sorrow which stems from

his unrequited love. Once again, similar images are found in Shakespeare and these references to the removal of eyeballs may have influenced the eye-gouging scene in *King Lear.* The connections Marlowe makes between sight-induced love and fatal violence foreshadow the ending of the play, as when Dido throws herself to the flames, Iarbas follows her and kills himself, as he would rather die than live without her. By killing himself, Iarbas hopes to be able to see Dido again, as upon his death he exclaims 'Dido, I come to thee.' (v.i.318)

More examples of deadly gazing occur in Act 3, Scene 4 when Dido protests that Aeneas 'rather had seem fair to Siren's eyes / Than to the Carthaginian queen that dies for him.' (iii.4.38) Sirens were believed to lure men to their deaths, and drawing on representations from Greek myth, Jane Ellen Harrison states that the siren's song ended with death.[162] Here, Dido contrasts herself who would die for Aeneas with sirens that would kill Aeneas, suggesting that as he would rather be on the sea than remain with her, that Aeneas would prefer to be admired by deadly Sirens than herself. Both Dido's and the Siren's gazes of admiration towards Aeneas are presented as the generators of violence, Dido's result in her death whereas the Siren's would cause Aeneas's death. Additionally, in the final scene Dido implores her sister as follows: 'Call him (Aeneas) not wicked, sister, speak him fair, / And look upon him with a mermaid's eye.' (v.1.201) Here Marlowe once again links love and death through eye imagery, as Dido means for Anna to look on Aeneas affectionately and not like a mermaid, who were believed to 'allure sailors with their looks as sirens did with their voices.'[163] Through the image of the mermaid's eyes, Marlowe once again makes looking a fatal act. In each of these examples it is the combination of

[162]Jane Ellen Harrison, *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), p.199.
[163] See notes in Marlowe, *Dido, Queen of Carthage*, p.576.

passion and sight that is imbued with deadly power; Iarbas's desire for Dido is so strong that he would rather die than be unable to look at her. Amorous gazing is figured as harmful, and Dido fears that the wrong kind of looking from the wrong kind of people will lead to Aeneas's death. So far then, we have seen that in *Dido*, looking itself is presented as deadly, the act of desirous looking can cause physical and emotional harm, and the eyes are generators of excessive and fatal passion which is figured as a kind of transferable disease or infection transmitted from eye to eye.

Moving on from deadly sight, the closing section of this chapter will look at representations of Cupid in Renaissance art and culture, and consider the ways in which this classical god is linked to disease, violence, and death in *Dido, Queen of Carthage* and the period more generally. While there are innumerable versions of Cupid represented in mythology, art, and literature throughout the ages, for the purposes of this chapter I will focus on the association of Cupid with death and lust which developed in the early modern period.

Jane Kingsley Smith argues that the demonization of Cupid in the Renaissance was due to the fact that 'Cupid represents love's blindness, in the sense of its disregard for social hierarchy, and its transience, given that he can remove affection as easily as he imposes it.'[164] This opposed the erotic politics of English Protestantism, which emphasised chastity and stated that '[n]ot only was the wife to remain pure for her husband, she was also 'the only delectable object he must desire and behold.'[165] Furthermore, Kingsley-Smith contends that 'the multiplicity that defines Cupidean desire – which may be heteroerotic,

[164] See Jane Kingsley Smith, *Cupid in Early Modern Literature and Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), p.2 as well as Paul Barolsky, 'Boticelli's *Primavera* and the Poetic Imagination of Italian Renaissance Art'*, A Journal of the Humanities and the Classics,* 8.2 (2000), 5-35 (p.6).
[165] Ibid., p.2.

but is also homoerotic, pederastic, maternal and incestuous – defies the process (identified as just beginning in this period) by which true love was … to domesticate desire and outlaw seduction … to line up sexual preferences as either acceptable or perverse.'[166] Therefore, Cupid becomes a symbol of unruly and unclassifiable lust, which posed a threat to the values of Protestantism.

Throughout Cupid's history, there has been much debate about whether he signifies love or lust, and this is complicated further due to the fact that these terms remained mostly interchangeable until well in to the seventeenth century. The sexual and moral ambivalence that Cupid came to embody is evident in artistic representations of the god from the Renaissance. In Botticelli's *Primavera* Cupid wears a blindfold, and this, one of Cupid's most iconic features, can be construed in two, opposing ways.[167] Blindness usually suggested sin and shame but it might also signify an infant-like innocence, conveyed by Cupid being left quite literally, in the dark, unexposed to immorality, sexuality, or sin. Some also believe that Botticelli's painting shows 'Cupid transforming carnal love (represented by Flora), into heavenly contemplation (represented by Mercury).'[168] In Parmigianino's *Cupid*, his overt sexuality is presented through his nakedness and the seductive glance over his shoulder, and his curled hair and pretty, youthful looks depict him as the homoerotic, early modern archetype of the 'beautiful boy.'[169] Finally, in Bronzino's *Venus and Cupid* he symbolises a maternal yet incestuous relationship through his intimate pose with his mother.[170] By examining just three out of numerous Renaissance depictions of Cupid it is evident that there were several conflicting and competing theories about what

[166] Ibid., p.2.
[167] Sandro Botticelli, 'Primavera', Tempera on panel, (Uffizi Gallery: Florence, c.1470-1480).
[168] Kingsley Smith, *Cupid in Early Modern Literature and Culture,* p.13.
[169] Parmigianino, 'Cupid Making his Bow', Oil on panel (Vienna: Kunsthistorisches Museum, c.1533-35.
[170] Agnolo Bronzino, 'Venus and Cupid, Folly and Times', Oil on wood (London: National Gallery, c.1545).

he represented, good or evil, love or lust, innocence or deviance. I will argue that Cupid's changeability, liminality, and ambivalence adds to my argument that individuals from any background, status, and gender, can be infected with dangerous and deadly love.

For instance, throughout the play, Marlowe uses similar terms to describe both Cupid and Ganymede, the youthful male lover of Jupiter, who appears in the first scene of the play. Both are depicted as children being bribed and spoiled with pretty objects, Ganymede with the 'silver down' of 'Venus' swans' and 'linked gems' (i.1.36 & 42) and Cupid with 'Brown almonds, services, ripe figs and dates […] Musk roses and a thousand sort of flowers.' (iv.5.5-8) Firstly, this presentation of Jupiter as what Munson Deats terms a 'a victim of passionate love, displaying the foolishness and excess conventionally associated with amorous seizures'[171] once again suggests that all individuals are vulnerable to excessive passion. It is not only Dido that gives up her power to the one she loves, but Jupiter too.

Secondly, by conflating Ganymede and Cupid, Marlowe links Cupid with homosexuality and pederasty, and this association became visual due to the fact that Dido was written for a boys' acting company, children of the chapel in the 1580's and early 1590's therefore, Cupid would have been played by a young boy.[172] More recent productions at Shakespeare's Globe also emphasised the child-like nature of Cupid in their 2015 production performed by the Globe Young Players, as well as their 2003 production in which James Garnon portrayed Cupid, Ascanius, Jupiter and Ganymede. The characters in this production, to quote Connolly, 'were presented as children playing at being adults', and this effect was added to by the setting of a children's playground. According to

[171] Munson Deats, '*Dido, Queen of Carthage* and *The Massacre at Paris*', p.196.
[172] It is important to note that in this production Jupiter would have also been played by a boy, therefore the pederastic relationship may not have been quite as pronounced as it isthe in some more recent productions.

Connolly, Garnon played Cupid 'as a rather gormless schoolboy playing pranks on his unsuspecting victims as he strikes them with a toy bow and suckered arrows' and both Ascanius and Ganymede were played by a Tiny Tears doll with Garnon providing a squeaky voice over.[173] The contrast between a child-like Cupid being played by an adult male along with a dummy-like Ascanius who is controlled by Cupid, points to the problematic and pederastic elements of Marlowe's Cupid. In the text itself as well as these productions, Marlowe's Cupid becomes an amalgamated symbol for the different, often threatening, sexual statuses that Cupid had come to represent in the visual art of the period.

This problematic ambivalence is evident in Marlowe's sexualised yet child-like Cupid. In Act 2, Scene 1, Cupid's mother Venus charges him to disguise himself as Aeneas' young son Ascanius in order to touch Dido with his arrow, and cause her to fall in love with Aeneas.

> Now, Cupid, turn thee to Ascanius' shape,
> And go to Dido, who, instead of him,
> Will set thee on her lap and play with thee;
> Then touch her white breast with his arrow head,
> That she may dote upon Aeneas' love. (ii.1.322-327)

In this passage, Marlowe evokes both maternal and sexual meaning. The verb 'play' and the image of Dido's 'white breast' both simultaneously connote maternity and sexuality, and generate undertones of incest. Moreover, the 'brown almonds' and 'musk roses' are offered to Cupid when he is disguised as Ascanius and sitting on the lap of the nurse.

In this scene, the Nurse is beguiled by Cupid and attempts to bribe him with the items mentioned above. At first the Nurse imagines a maternal bond between them as she promises to carry him if he dwells with her and calls her 'mother.' (iv.5.16) However, this

[173] Annaliese Connolly, 'Review- *Dido, Queen of Carthage*', *Renaissance Journal*, 2.1 (2004), pp.26-31 (p.29).

maternal love quickly crosses the line and treads the border between maternal and sexual longing when the Nurse says 'I might live to see this boy a man' which Marlowe juxtaposes with her line 'I'll have a husband, or else a lover.' (iv.5.18) Sara Munson Deats and Clifford Leech both note the parallels between Dido's cupid induced love, and the Nurse's. Munson Deats states that 'the ancient Nurse, holding Cupid, pierced by his darts, succumbing to inappropriate lust, and resorting to enticement to achieve her desires, travesties the irrational passion similarly evoked in Dido'[174] and Leech writes that 'Dido's infection is mirrored and exaggerated in the Nurse's.'[175] Here, once again, Marlowe demonstrates that all are vulnerable to love, specifically Cupid's desire-inducing arrows, and Leech's use of the word 'infection' emphasises the pathological nature of this desire which can infiltrate the bodies and minds of any individual.

By linking Cupid with so-called sexual "deviance", Marlowe reinforces the view of Cupid as a figure of ambivalence. Cupid evokes pederastic, homosexual, and heterosexual desire and could simultaneously be read as a symbol of subversive or unconventional desires, or as an equaliser, as he can infect any individual with any kind of love. In Marlowe's play, men and women, young and old, heterosexual and homosexual loves are all portrayed as excessive and dangerous. Therefore, instead of an indictment of a particular kind of love, or a particular person's desire, Marlowe's *Dido* suggests that all people are vulnerable to excessive desire, and that this desire can prove fatal for anyone. As well as being linked to sexual deviance, Cupid was a figure of violence, and oftentimes, his violent streak and his sexuality were entangled.

[174] Munson Deats, '*Dido, Queen of Carthage* and *The Massacre at Paris*', p.196.
[175] Clifford Leech, 'Marlowe's Humour', in *Marlowe: A Collection of Critical Essays,* ed. by Clifford Leech (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall Inc., 1964), pp.167-178.

Through visual representations of Cupid during the early modern period, the image of Cupid, whose very name means ‘desire’, also came to be linked with death. Perhaps the literature of the period was influenced by artistic renderings of a deadly Cupid such as the frequently recreated image of the putto and the skull, which- juxtaposed the voluptuous youth and innocence of the putto with the unfleshed, deathly skull. This link between Cupid and death is also present in Alciato’s ‘De morte and Amore’, first published in the unauthorized *Emblematum Liber* (1531), a set of Latin poems accompanied by corresponding images, which relates how Cupid and Death accidentally exchanged arrows. Thus, when Cupid attempted to inspire young people with love, he killed them while Death’s elderly victims became amorous. In this example, death and love are confused demonstrating the possible fatal outcome of desire. Thus we see, that desire, more specifically, love at first sight, and death were connected through the image of Cupid, just as they are in Marlowe’s play.

Dido, Queen of Carthage explores this connection between Cupid and violence further, reinforcing the early modern views of the classical mythological deity. For example, in Act 3, Scene 3, when Cupid is disguised as Aeneas’s young son, he speaks about being a warrior or soldier when he grows up, saying

> Ay mother, I shall one day be a man
> And better able unto other arms;
> Meantime these wanton weapons serve my war,
> Which I will break betwixt a lion’s jaws. (iii.3.35-38)

Here, the ‘wanton weapons’ symbolise Cupid’s arrows, and the ‘war’ he refers to signifies his purpose as a generator of unsolicited love. The image of Cupid disguised as a young boy, juxtaposed with these images of him as a fully grown man, committing the violent acts of war, points to the ambivalent and troublesome sexual status of Cupid mentioned

previously, and this combination of innocent youth, and 'manly' aggression appears sinister. This is particularly palpable in the line 'wanton weapons', which here concurrently functions as a possible sexual innuendo and phallic symbol, as well as signifying more literally, the 'hunt-spear' (iii.3.32) which is deemed childish by Dido, who playfully mocks his aspirations of manliness, by asking 'Yea, little son, are you so forward now?' (iii.3.34). This spirited teasing and Dido's use of the term of endearment, 'little son', generates irony as the audience are aware that this seemingly innocent child is really a powerful and somewhat menacing god, capable of controlling Dido's desires, and ultimately leading her to her death.

Throughout the play, Cupid uses the language of war and violence to communicate his plans to strike Dido with his love-infused arrows. In Act 2, Scene 1 he promises Venus that he will carry out her plans declaring, 'I will, fair mother, and so play out my part/ As every touch shall wound Queen Dido's heart.' (ii.1.332-333) Firstly, by presenting himself as an actor playing a part Cupid reminds us of his deception. Furthermore, he uses the word 'wound' to describe his act of love-generation, suggesting a kind of laceration and piercing of the skin caused by his arrows. The verb 'wound' sounds like an act of force, and presents the god of Love as violent. Additionally, in the next scene Cupid states that he will 'conquer' Dido. (iii.1.6) Here 'conquer' suggests the acts of war and thus connotes violence and bloodshed, and also has undertones of sexual violence. To conquer Dido as Cupid intends to, suggests that he will claim something by force, and could be construed as a reference to the act of rape. In both of these examples there is a sense of Cupid's forceful and violent nature, which is linked with sexual desire, demonstrating that Marlowe's version of the god of love symbolises both sexual danger and violence.

To conclude, this chapter has shown that in early modern culture love at first sight, and its conveyor, Cupid, were perceived as harmful, toxic, and ultimately fatal. It has also demonstrated that these perceptions are expressed not only in the art of the period, but in the literature, specifically, in Christopher Marlowe's tragedy *Dido, Queen of Carthage*, through the portrayal of visually based love, and Cupid himself, as deceptive, infectious, and violent. While sight was certainly considered to be at the top of the hierarchy of the senses, there were substantial challenges to this theory in philosophical tracts, doctrines on witchcraft, renaissance paintings, and of course the literature of the period. These negative perceptions of sight are heightened when combined with the passion of love, renowned for its status as a powerful and often deadly affection. The early modern anxieties surrounding the potential dangers of love, sex, sight and the transmission of disease and passion in the early modern playhouses manifest themselves in Marlowe's play. In *Dido, Queen of Carthage* love at first sight generates the tragedy of the play, and the manufactured desire inflicted upon her by Cupid eventually destroys Dido and those around her. Through the representation of Cupid and the exploration of the human body as a manipulable, penetrable and vulnerable entity Marlowe demonstrates that excessive love can affect anyone and result in mental illness, physical harm, and ultimately death for those that experience it. Therefore, if reading Dido as a symbol for Elizabeth I, by presenting her as an individual overcome by passion Marlowe presents her as distinctly mortal, blurring the boundaries between queen and subjects, and challenging ideas about the divinity of monarchs.

This chapter has begun to bring to light some of the themes and questions that will inform the rest of this thesis. The social and political repercussions of the passions and the importance of the governance of the passions will be explored further in many of the ensuing chapters. For instance, this chapter has touched on the theme of the relationship

between monarchical self-control and effective governance, an issue that will be central to a chapter which compares the behaviour of two male leaders in Philip Massinger's *The Roman Actor* and *The Duke of Milan*. Finally, anxieties about the transference of contagious passion is another idea that continues to crop up in the following discussions of early modern drama, particularly in the two chapters which accompany this one in the opening section on generating the passions. Moving on from vulnerable eyes, the next chapter will consider the ear in *Othello* as a gateway for inordinate passion.

Chapter Two:

'Silence That Dreadful Bell': Hearing Fear in *Othello*

As the previous chapter demonstrated, in early modern medicine the senses and passions were interlinked. Although *Dido, Queen of Carthage* is preoccupied with eyes and the role of Cupid in the generation of excessive desire, the source material for Marlowe's tragedy- Virgil's original *Aeneid*- featured another manipulative god, Fama. Virgil describes her as

> quick of foot and swift on the wing, a huge and horrible monster, and under every feather of her body, strange to tell, lies an eye that never sleeps, a mouth and a tongue that are never silent and an ear always pricked.[176]

In the *Aeneid*, Fama works in a similar way to Cupid, controlling and manipulating mortals, this time through their ears rather than their eyes. Virgil writes

> By day she keeps watch perched on tops of the gables or on high towers and causes fear in great cities, holding fast to her lies and distortions as often as she tells the truth. At that time she was taking delight in plying the tribes with all manner of stories, fact and fiction mixed in equal parts: how Aeneas the Trojan had come to Carthage and the lovely Dido had thought fit to take him as her husband; how they were even now indulging themselves and keeping each other warm the whole winter through, forgetting about their kingdoms and becoming the slaves of lust. When the foul goddess had spread this gossip all around the lips of men, she then steered her course to King Iarbas to set his mind alight and fuel his anger.[177]

In this description of Fama, Virgil outlines how she manipulates others through her speech, spreading falsehoods and rumours in order to provoke passion and cause trouble. We learn that she induces Iarbas's anger and jealousy by telling him exaggerated tales of Dido and Aeneas's lust. Virgil's Fama can be compared to Shakespeare's Iago, who uses his speech in the same way, spreading untruths about Othello's wife's adultery in order to generate and exacerbate his emotions.

[176] Virgil, *The Aeneid*, trans. David West (London: Penguin Classics, 2003), p.74
[177] Ibid., p.74.

This chapter will continue this discussion of senses and emotions, turning from the relationship between seeing and passion to hearing and passion. While sight proves deadly for Marlowe's Carthaginian Queen, in Shakespeare's tragedy *Othello* (1603), the eponymous protagonist is led astray by the openness and vulnerability of his ears, through which he contracts excessive passion. Critics such as Bruce R. Smith and Tanya Pollard have noted the importance of the ear and hearing in the works of Shakespeare.[178] Both demonstrate the relationship between hearing and emotion in early modern text and performance; Smith's essay outlines the emotional effect of different sounds in performance and Pollard's chapter presents the ear in *Hamlet* as a gateway to the body and mind.

Like Pollard, most critics writing on hearing and ears in the works of Shakespeare tend to focus on *Hamlet*, which has 'more references to ears than in any of Shakespeare's other plays.'[179] Reina Green, for instance, discusses intergenerational acts of listening' and how they 'echo or distort' the advice found in early modern conduct literature about parent-child relationships.[180] In Mark Robson's 'Looking with Ears, Hearing with Eyes: Shakespeare and the Ear of the Early Modern', he notes that Shakespeare's *Othello*, 'which is more frequently read through Othello's desire for "ocular proof", is full of references to the ear.'[181] Yet he too, focuses on *Hamlet* alongside Shakespeare's poem *Venus and Adonis*

[178] See Bruce R. Smith, 'Within, Without, Withinwards: The Circulation of Sound in Shakespeare's Theatre', in *Shakespeare's Theatres and the Effects of Performance*, ed. by Farah Karim-Cooper and Tiffany Stern (London: Bloomsbury, 2015), pp.171-194 and Tanya Pollard, *Drugs and Theatre in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. 123-144.

[179] Reina Green, 'Poisoned Ears and Parental Advice in *Hamlet', Early Modern Literary Studies,* 11.3 (2006), 1-31 (p.1).

[180] Ibid., p.1.

[181] Mark Robson, 'Looking with Ears, Hearing with Eyes: Shakespeare and the Ear of the Early Modern', *Early Modern Literary Studies*, 7.1 (2001), 1-23 (p.1).

in order to complicate the 'very familiar opposition of speech and writing' that characterises 'much of the work on the orality of early modern English Literature'.[182]

As in Smith and Pollard's work, the ensuing discussion will also focus on the ear and the passions, examining the relationship between hearing and fear in Shakespeare's tragedy *Othello* (1603). While, arguably, the play is known for its exploration of 'the green-eyed monster', jealousy, fear is an equally important passion, and that the overwhelming atmosphere of dread and anxiety that pervades the play is generated or provoked by sounds and voices; that fear is provoked via the ears. It will argue that fear-inducing speech and noises in the play exacerbate Othello's passions, and consequently trigger his act of uxoricide. The chapter will demonstrate the emotional significance of sounds in the play, the ways in which they provoke passion, and reveal both public and private fears relevant to the fictional world of the play as well as early modern English society itself. Specifically, I will argue that Othello contracts infectious fears and anxietes about himself, which are most often related to his status as an outsider, and are expressed and consequently transferred from others to him via the ear, and that these motivate the suffocation of Desdemona.

The chapter will begin by evaluating the importance of hearing as a sense in early modern thinking, specifically examining the relationship between hearing and passion. Next the chapter will offer a general overview of fear as a passion which will encompass a discussion of common anxieties and fears which affected the early modern subject; worries related to disease, witchcraft, the unchristian, the supernatural, foreign cultures, and excessive passion.The main body of the chapter will address three main examples of fear-provoking sounds in *Othello,* explaining the ways in which particular sounds and voices provoke Othello's internalisation of societal fears about different races and cultures,

[182] Ibid., p.2.

outsiders, and foreign Others. The chapter will end by suggesting that Othello's murder of Desdemona is an attempt to destroy said fears, by smothering the woman he loves, who comes to represent excessive and unholy sexuality, symbolising the animal passion, barbarity, and ungodliness so often linked with Moors in the early modern period, which Othello longs to smother in himself. It will suggest that ironically, Othello's fears that he will 'turn Turk' result in him exhibiting the savage and intemperate behaviours evoked by this phrase, when he kills his innocent wife. Additionally, I will take into consideration the Protestant church's 'shift of emphasis from a visual to an auditory register',[183] suggesting that the play in general reflects the religious contexts, specifically early modern anxieties about dangerous hearing and the words of the devil.

Othello is arguably most often classified as a play about jealousy rather than fear. For example, in *Shakespeare's Tragic Heroes: Slaves of Passion*, Lily B. Campbell entitled her chapter on Shakespeare's tragedy, '*Othello:* A Tragedy of Jealousy' and wrote that the play is 'clearly a study in jealousy.'[184] Although jealousy was categorised as a passion in its own right, it was also a term that encompassed other passions, including fear. Campbell herself acknowledges this relationship, writing that jealousy

> has something of the grief or fear that comes from seeing another in possession of that which we would solely possess for ourselves, or from fearing that another may possess it. It is this curious mingling of love and hatred with grief and fear that we see in jealousy.[185]

[183] Ramie Targoff, *Common Prayer: The Language of Public Devotion in Early Modern England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001), p. 22.
[184] Lily B. Campbell, *Shakespeare's Tragic Heroes: Slaves of Passion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1930), p.148. See also: Marcus Nordlund, 'Theorising Early Modern Jealousy: A Biocultural Perspective on Shakespeare's Othello', *Studia Neophilologica,* 74.2 (2002), 146-160, Rebecca Olson, '"Too Gentle": Jealousy and Class in Othello' *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies*, 15.1 (2015), 3-25, Floyd-Wilson, *English Ethnicity and Race in Early Modern Drama*, Derek Cohen, 'Patriarchy and Jealousy in Othello and The Winter's Tale', *Modern Language Quarterly,* 48.3 (1987), 207-223.
[185] Campbell, *Shakespeare's Tragic Heroes: Slaves of Passion,* p.148.

Fear was also classified as a symptom or consequence of jealousy, in both modern and early modern accounts of the emotions. Jennifer Panek argues that 'a husband's jealousy in the early modern period is best understood as a man's fear of the emasculating stigma of cuckoldry'[186], and in *Staging the Blazon*, Ariane M. Balizet states that 'the emotions of cuckoldry' are 'fear, jealousy, and grief.'[187] Moreover, in *The Anatomy of Melancholy* (1621), Robert Burton describes jealousy as being 'full of fear, anxiety, doubt, care, peevishness, suspicion'[188] and Pierre de La Primaudaye wrote 'I understand by Jealousie, a feare which a man hath, lest an other whome hee would not, should enjoy something.'[189] It is evident then, that fear and jealousy are inextricably linked, and that jealousy was often thought to stem from, and generate fear.

This chapter will offer a new reading of the passions in *Othello*, arguing that fear is the driving force behind Shakespeare's tragic narrative. Instead of focusing on emotions such as jealousy and reading them as a solely individual or personal experience, I read the play among early modern theories of communal, contagious, and public passion. Othello's fear is directly linked to political and social fears that plagued early modern England, and that these fears, once transferred to Othello, motivate the murder of his wife. While scholars have certainly identified the importance of the ear as a gateway to the body in the Shakespearean canon, the relationship between hearing and fear in *Othello* is one that has previously been ignored or underplayed, due in part, perhaps, to the preoccupation with sexual jealousy that dominates scholarship on *Othello.* This chapter makes a contribution to

[186] Jennifer Panek, *Widows and Suitors in Early Modern English Comedy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p.127.
[187] Ariane M. Balizet, 'The Cuckold's Blazon: Dismemberment and Domesticity in *Arden of Faversham and A Woman Killed with Kindness'*, in *Staging the Blazon in Early Modern English Theatre*, ed. by Sara Morrison and Deborah Uman (Surrey: Ashgate, 2013), pp. 97-108 (p.104).
[188] Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, p.602.
[189] Pierre de La Primaudaye, *The French Academie* (London: John Legat, 1618), p.503.

the new and ever-growing focus on senses and emotions in early modern drama by re-examining a play renowned for its exploration of excessive passion and offering new insights into the representation of bodies and passions in Shakespeare's tragedy.

Fear plays an important role in the tragedy of the *Othello*, particularly in its relationship with the sense of hearing. In the play fear ss a physiological, psychological, religious, and social experience and Othello's excessive fear is connected to and reflective of larger communal anxieties which link the bodily, the emotional, the spiritual, and the political together. The fears and anxieties which surround Othello the man, and *Othello* the play, are stimulated and provoked within the individual himself by specific voices and sounds which access his body through the ear and alter his passions, causing his violent behaviour at the climax of the play.

Catharine Gray notes that in the early modern period, emotions such as fear were not merely conceived as individual experiences, and stresses the importance of shared emotion, writing that

> [F]ear is neither a spontaneous individual emotion, nor social performance, but a foundational ingredient of the collective affective dispositions that define constitutionally specific communities.[190]

And Susan Broomhall discusses the repercussions of excessive communal emotion:

> [I]t was understood that states such as fear, terror, anger, or simply uncontrolled passions had the potential to destroy order, creating undesirable disorder and instability that had both individual and communal consequences.[191]

Broomhall identifies a relationship between individual and communal fear, a relationship that pervades *Othello.* The individual emotions of Othello interact with, and reveal the fears

[190] Catharine Gray, 'Republics', in *Early Modern Emotions: An Introduction*, ed. by Susan Broomhall (London: Routledge, 2017), pp.182-185 (p.185).
[191] Susan Broomhall, *Gender and Emotions in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Destroying Order, Structuring Disorder* (London: Routledge, 2017), p.1.

of those around him, as well as those of early modern society at the time the play was written. Moreover, early modern fears about disorder and chaos related to race, religion, and illness, which are often conveyed through the body of Othello, both physiologically and psychologically, contribute to the violent resolution of the play, and ironically perpetuate the disorder that was so feared.

Throughout the play there are several instances in which sounds and voices provoke fear. The very first occurrence of this is in Act 1, Scene 1 when Iago tells Roderigo to shout and wake up Brabantio to inform him of Othello and Desdemona's elopement. In this meta-theatrical moment, Iago plays director to Roderigo's actor, telling him how he should speak; ordering him to '[D]o, with like timorous yell / As when, by night and negligence the fire / is spied in populous cities!'[192] Iago urges Roderigo to exaggerate his voice, to put on the disposition of terror in order to portray the event as terrible, sinister, and frightening, provoking Brabantio's own fear, thus depicting fear as a contagious emotion. Through Iago, Shakespeare gives speech the power to alter the emotions of the listener, and posits the ear as an orifice through which sound can enter the body to alter the passions. Additionally, personal fear is intertwined with public fear, as Iago compares Brabantio's fears about his daughter eloping with Othello, with the fears of an entire city experiencing a fire and the prospect of the total destruction of their homes. Fear of communal disorder, symbolised by the fire, is linked with Brabantio's personal fears about familial disorder, which also reveals wider social fears about different races, specifically that of miscegenation, as it quickly becomes clear that Brabantio's fears are related to the culture and colour of his daughter's new husband. This is just one example of the connection

[192] William Shakespeare, 'Othello', in *William Shakespeare: Complete Works*, ed. by Jonathan Bate and Eric Rasmussen (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2007), pp. 2081-2157 (i.1.78-80).

between the physiological fears of an individual and the widespread communal fears of society.

Like all passions in the Renaissance, fear was connected with bodily illness as well as emotional imbalance. Allison P. Hobgood notes that '[a]ccording to early modern literatures on the passions and medicine, feelings of fear were instigators of disease, or at the very least, ill health.'[193] She discusses the relationship between fear and contagion in early modern thinking, stating that '[i]nsofar as Galenic medical philosophy generally linked intemperate emotion with ill health and death, it did so perhaps most distinctly through its equation of fear and contagious disease.'[194] Therefore, fear was inescapably physical as well as emotional or psychological.

In *Othello,* fear is contagious, as Iago plots to infect the Moor with fear-inducing words. Iago transfers his own fears about Venetian women into the body and mind of Othello via his ear. At the beginning of the play we learn that Iago fears that his wife Emilia has been unfaithful, participating in an affair with Othello. At the end of the first act when left alone on stage, Iago tells the audience

> I hate the Moor:
> And it is thought abroad that 'twixt my sheets
> He has done my office: I know not if't be true,
> But I, for mere suspicion in that kind,
> Will do as if for surety. (i.3.375-379)

In Act 2 he tells us

> I do suspect the lusty Moor
> Hath leaped into my seat, the thought whereof
> Doth – like a poisonous mineral – gnaw my inwards:
> And nothing can or shall content my soul
> Till I am evened with him, wife for wife,
> Or failing so, yet that I put the Moor
> At least into a jealousy so strong

[193] Hobgood, *Passionate Playgoing in Early Modern England,* p.38.
[194] Hobgood, *Passionate Playgoing*, p.39.

That judgement cannot cure. (ii.2.279-286)

Seeing as Iago seemingly has no proof of this infidelity, his accusation remains a 'mere suspicion', a fear or anxiety. He clearly identifies this fear as a motive for his manipulation and destruction of Othello in the first speech, when he says that he will execute his plan of revenge, responding to Othello's betrayal as if it is a 'surety.' In the second passage above Iago describes his fearful suspicion as a poison or disease destroying his body physically as well as discontenting his soul, ending his speech by vowing to transfer this passionate disease of incurable fear and 'jealousy' to Othello.

Iago intends to transfer said disease via Othello's ears, using words as his weapons to infiltrate Othello's body and emotions. Pollard describes the way in which the ears were considered as an entrance to the body, stating that '(t)hrough both its openness and its direct link to the throat, the ear comes to parallel the mouth as a direct gateway into the bodily interior.'[195] Like the real poison, the 'leprous distilment' which is poured into the 'porches' of Old Hamlet's ears in *Hamlet*, Iago's words infect and corrupt Othello.[196]

In Act 2, Scene 3, Iago describes his plan to make Othello believe that Desdemona is unfaithful in poisonous terms, stating 'I'll pour this pestilence into his ear: / That she repeals him for her body's lust.' (ii.3.121-122) The word pestilence could merely refer to an instance of evil or wickedness, however it also meant 'a fatal epidemic or disease' and was often used specifically to refer to the bubonic plague.[197] By describing his own words as 'pestilence', Iago suggests that they will have a physiological effect on Othello while also alluding to another fear that pervaded the early modern consciousness; fear of the

[195] Tanya Pollard, *Drugs and Theater in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), p.139.
[196] William Shakespeare, 'Hamlet', in *The Complete Works*, ed. by Jonathan Bates and Eric Rasmussen (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2007), pp. 1918-2003 (i.5.68-9).
[197] "pestilence, n. and adv." *OED Online*. Oxford University Press, September 2016. Web. 4 November 2016.

plague and the spreading of disease. Iago's 'pestilence' is fear and suspicion which are produced in Othello's body as a response to the sounds he hears. Therefore, sounds, specifically words, have the power to affect humours and generate passions, and Iago is confident in his ability to provoke and exacerbate Othello's passion through speech.

Some may argue that melancholic symptoms, especially fear and sorrow, were known as emotions which prevented an individual from taking action. In her essay on fear in *Macbeth*, Katherine Rowe discusses this phenomenon, stating that 'cognitive uncertainty springs from the precipitous flight of the spirits into the heart away from the extremities, leaving a body incapable of action.' [198] This is backed up by contemporary early modern texts which Rowe cites in her work. For instance, Edward Reynolds wrote that

> [I]n a sudden daunt and onset of an unexpected evil, the spirits which were before orderly carried by their severall due motions unto their naturall works, are upon this strange appearance and instant Oppression of danger so disordered, mixed, and stifled, that there is no power left even in the Soule for Counsell, or in the body for execution.[199]

If Othello is motivated by fear, he would withdraw and be unable to act on his emotions. However, I would argue that in *Othello* fear is a driving force and motivation for murder rather than a disabling emotion that generates withdrawal and inaction. Hobgood's contention that '[f]ear in Macbeth functions not as a disciplinary affect inspiring passivity or inaction but one that lends the play its narrative momentum', equally applies to *Othello*.[200]

---

[198] Katherine Rowe, 'Humoral Knowledge and Liberal Cognition in Davenant', in *Reading the Early Modern Passions: Essays in the Cultural History of Emotion*, ed. by Gail Kern Paster, Katherine Rowe, and Mary Floyd-Wilson (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), pp. 169-191 (p.181).
[199] Reynolds, *A Treatise of the Passions and Faculties of the Soule of Man,* p.279.
[200] Hobgood, *Passionate Playgoing,* p.41.

Furthermore, while the focus of this chapter is on fear, it would be reductive to assume that early moderns believed that an individual could only be affected and driven by one passion at a time. While anger and fear are often depicted as opposing emotions, they could still be experienced simultaneously. According to Galenic medicine, for instance, if fear was mixed with anger the results weren't simply one of withdrawal or one of action but an 'irregular' mixture of the two. Galen wrote that

> There are fear and anger; the one leads and draws together the *pneuma* and blood inward towards the *arche* with a cooling of what is superficial, whereas the other passes out, pours forth and heats. That which is compounded from both is called being anxious, and is irregular in its movements.[201]

Many scholars of *Othello* discuss anxiety, for instance, Mark Breitenberg includes *Othello* in *Anxious Masculinity in Early Modern England* and labels Othello's behaviour a consequence of 'cuckoldry anxiety.'[202] Scholars in the 1980s such as Stephen Greenblatt and Edward A. Snow also use the term 'sexual anxiety' to describe Othello's emotional state.[203] However, as we can see, while the term 'anxiety' may seem an inherently modern one due to its frequent appearance in studies of psychoanalysis, it was one that was understood even before the early modern period. The word 'irregular' in Galen's description of anxiety suggests an unpredictability, a changeability, and a kind of toing and froing from inaction to action. This is certainly an apt description of Othello's behaviour, which rapidly changes from an inability to speak accompanied by an epileptic fit which

[201] Galen, *On Diseases and Symptoms* ed. by Ian Johnston (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p.259.
[202] Mark Breitenberg, *Anxious Masculinity in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p.187.
[203] See Edward Snow, 'Sexual Anxiety and the Male Order of Things in Othello', *English Literary Renaissance*, 10.3 (1980), 384-412 and Stephen Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1980, 2005), p.250.

renders him a passive victim of his passion, to the active planning and execution of Cassio and Desdemona's murder.

This changeable anxiety which is a consequence of a combination of 'cooling' and 'heating', is a result of Iago's words to Othello. In Act 3, Scene 3, Iago once again refers to his words as 'poison', declaring that

> The Moor already changes with my poison:
> Dangerous conceits are in their natures poisons,
> Which at the first are scarce found to distaste,
> But with a little act upon the blood,
> Burn like mines of sulphur. I did say so:
> Look where he comes! Not poppy, nor mandragora,
> Nor all the drowsy syrups of the world
> Shall ever medicine thee to that sweet sleep
> Which thou owed'st yesterday. (iii.3.361-369)

In this passage Iago uses physiological and proto-psychological terms to describe the effect that his lies will have on Othello's body. Labelling his words as 'dangerous conceits' and 'poisons' which will 'burn' and 'act upon the blood', he uses the language of Renaissance humoralism which emphasises heat as a causal factor for vehement passions.

As well as heating Othello's emotions, Iago plays on existing fears, specifically, Othello's fear of becoming excessively passionate. Michael Schoenfeldt states that 'the early modern regime seems to entail a fear of emotion that resembles our own fear of repression,' and privilege 'the capacity to control rather than vent emotion.'[204] Othello certainly expresses this fear and Mary Floyd-Wilson notes that 'before his passions have been stirred, Othello finds the loss of fixedness more disconcerting than the loss of

[204] Michael C. Schoenfeldt, *Bodies and Selves in Early Modern England: Physiology and Inwardness in Spenser, Shakespeare, Herbert, and Milton* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p.16.

Desdemona.'[205] In her argument, Floyd-Wilson cites the speech in Act 3, Scene 3, when Iago warns Othello to beware of jealousy. Othello responds as follows:

> Why? Why is this?
> Think'st thou I'd make a life of jealousy,
> To follow still the changes of the moon
> With fresh suspicions? No: to be once in doubt
> Is to be resolved. (iii.3.199-203)

Othello takes offence at Iago's warning, protesting against the implication that he is emotionally changeable or that his passions can be so easily roused. However, in the words of Gertrude, Othello 'doth protest too much.' His strong reaction and the repeated interrogatives at the opening of this speech indicate his anxiety, suggesting that he fears becoming overly passionate, and render his speech somewhat unconvincing. Iago detects and works on this fear and anxiety by insisting that Othello is emotionally moved.

> **IAGO**
> I see this hath a little dashed your spirits.
>
> **OTHELLO**
> Not a jot, not a jot.
>
> […]
>
> **IAGO**
> I am to pray you not to strain my speech
> To grosser issues nor to larger reach
> Than to suspicion.
>
> **OTHELLO**
> I will not
>
> […]
>
> **IAGO**
> My lord I see you are moved
>
> **OTHELLO**

[205]Floyd-Wilson, *English Ethnicity and Race in Early Modern Drama*, p.149.

No, not much moved:
I do not think but Desdemona's honest.

[…]

IAGO

Let me be thought too busy in my fears –
As worthy cause I have to fear I am –
And hold her free, I do beseech your honour.

OTHELLO
Fear not my government. (iii.3.240-286)

In these passages, Iago persistently insists that Othello is becoming emotional; the more Iago questions his emotional state, the more emotional Othello becomes. He uses these questions and queries, this pretence of consideration for Othello's mental health, to encourage the exacerbation of Othello's passion. The rhetorical devices, the words and sounds that Iago employs in his speech result in the worsening of Othello's fears and jealousy about his wife's supposed relationship with Cassio. The more Iago suggests that Othello doubts Desdemona, the more his suspicions grow. The evidence of Iago's infectious words, which stimulate and provoke Othello's fears, is evident in Othello's responses. Othello's replies of 'Not a jot, not a jot' and 'I will not', are simple and evasive as Othello attempts to conceal his increasingly passionate disposition. Moreover, in the last two examples his replies mimic Iago's "concerns" back to him. When Iago suggests that Othello is 'moved' he replies, 'not much moved' and when Iago describes his manufactured suspicions of Cassio and Desdemona as 'fears', Othello repeats 'Fear not my government.' Iago's repetition of the word 'fear' subliminally infects Othello. Othello's parroting of

Iago's words, a phenomenon that occurs elsewhere in the play, as noted by John Kerrigan, signifies the infiltration of fear, the word and the passion.[206]

The passages above not only reveal Othello's ever-increasing fear of being cuckolded, but also his fear of becoming fearful. Ironically, it is Othello's fear of becoming overtly passionate that, with the help of Iago's verbal provocation, produces his emotional instability. In 'The Disease of Fear', David Gentilcore describes the transformative power of fear in relation to illness, referring to it as 'an emotional response to illness' and 'an illness itself.' Quoting the treatise of Robert Burton,[207] Gentilcore states, '[s]uch was the power of the emotions, and the link between mind and body, that fear of a disease could result in one's becoming sick with it.'[208] Othello's fear of becoming excessively passionate and responding emotionally to his wife's alleged betrayal causes him to become exactly that.

The conflation of Iago's words with the generation of disease continues in Act 4, Scene 1, when Iago reminds Othello about the handkerchief that Desdemona has supposedly bestowed upon Cassio and Othello responds as follows:

> O, it comes o'er my memory,
> As doth the raven o'er the infectious house,
> Boding to all– he had my handkerchief. (iv.1.22-24)

Here Othello describes the memory of Iago's account of Cassio wiping his beard with the handkerchief Othello gave to his wife. The memory of Iago's words is compared to the

---

[206] John Kerrigan, *On Shakespeare and Early Modern Literature: Essays* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), p.15.

[207] See Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy,* p.125- 'Men if they see another man tremble, giddy, or sicke of some fearfull disease, their apprehension and feare is so strong in this kinde, that they will have the same disease. Or if by some Southsayer, wise-man, fortune-teller, or Physition, they be told that they should have such a disease, they will so seriously apprehend it, that they will instantly labour of it.'

[208] David Gentilcore, 'The Fear of Disease and the Disease of Fear', in *Fear in Early Modern Society* ed. by William G. Naphy and Penny Roberts (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997), pp. 184-208 (p.195).

raven, an omen of death, over Othello's mind which is figured as an 'infectious house.' The raven 'whose cry was thought to herald death',[209] is an image used to convey the dangerous power of Iago's words: the voices of both the raven and Iago act as messengers of death. Perhaps, here Othello intends to portray Iago's words as a helpful warning, alerting him to the adulterous behaviour of Desdemona; however, by describing his memory as 'infectious', Othello links Iago's words with the generation of illness and disease, linking together early modern superstition and fears about plague. Furthermore, Michael Neill notes that 'in Welsh folklore the devil could transform himself into a raven.'[210] As well as a symbol of disease, Shakespeare's raven conjures up the image of the devil, tying the corporeal to the supernatural and unchristian, and portraying Iago as a devilish character whose words are dangerous and corruptive to the body.

Additionally, this speech is spoken mere moments before Othello suffers from an epileptic fit or 'trance.' (iv.1.47) Galen believed that the emotions of 'anger and worry'[211] could potentially cause epilepsy, therefore, Iago's constant aggravation of Othello's fear and anxiety enacts itself with a physical response, and Iago's infectious fear results in an illness. Floyd Wilson notes the importance of the change in temperature and climate as a cause of Othello's epilepsy, describing it as 'a symptom of overheated melancholy', and arguing that the 'barbarous and inarticulate phrases' which make up the speech immediately before he 'falls into a trance' are indicators of Othello's fragmented mind.[212] This idea of heated melancholy as a cause of epilepsy links back to Iago's 'dangerous

[209] See Shakespeare, 'Othello', notes to Act 4, Scene 1, 22-24, p.2132.
[210] John Webster, *The Duchess of Malfi*, ed. by Michael Neill (London: Norton, 2015), p.81 (See footnotes to Act 4, Scene 2, 104) The Fourth Madman says: 'I have pared the devil's nails forty times, / Roasted them in ravens' eggs, and cured agues with them.'
[211] Susan P. Mattern, *The Prince of Medicine: Galen in the Roman Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), p.249.
[212] Floyd-Wilson, *English Ethnicity and Race in Early Modern Drama,* p. 154.

conceits' which were discussed previously, which he vowed to use to heat Othello's passions.[213]

The last word Othello utters before his fit is 'devil.' It's unclear here whether he refers to Iago, Cassio, Desdemona, or quite possibly, the seizure itself. Either way, the image of the devil appears once again, and anxiety about the unchristian is linked with the psychological and physiological results of Othello's anxiety about the physical relationship between Cassio and Desdemona. This connection between religious dissent and physical malady is evident in the trance itself. During the early modern period, epilepsy was frequently linked with witchcraft and the devil. In what is considered the most important Renaissance treatise on witchcraft, *Malleus Maleficarum* (1487) by Heinrich Kramer and Jacob Sprenger, the following passage is included:

> For although greater difficulty may be felt in believing that witches are able to cause leprosy or epilepsy, since these diseases generally arise from some long-standing physical disposition or defect, nonetheless it has sometimes been found that even these have been caused by witchcraft.[214]

Furthermore, Harry McConnell notes that '[p]hysicians attempted to develop a sophisticated nosology that included both physical and demonic etiologies'[215] and Sari Katajala- Peltomaa writes that '[r]aving madness, demonic possession, and occasionally even epilepsy were overlapping yet not synonymous categories.'[216] There is even evidence of real life cases of epilepsy and demonic possession being confused. William Coventry

---

[213] Notably, Othello's epileptic fit does not occur in Giovanni Battista Giraldi Cinthio's *Gli Hecatommithi,* the source material for the play.

[214] Quoted in *Psychiatric Comorbidity in Epilepsy: Basic Mechanisms, Diagnosis, and Treatment*, ed.by Harry W. McConnell and Peter J. Snyder (Washington: American Psychiatric Press, 1998), p.6.

[215] Harry McConnell, *Psychiatric Comorbidity in Epilepsy: Basic Mechanisms, Diagnosis, and Treatment* (Washington: London Psychiatric Press, 1998), p.5.

[216] Sari Katajala Peltomaa, 'A Good Wife? Demonic Possession and Discourses of Gender in Late Medieval Culture', in *Gender in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Marianna G. Muravyeva and Raisa Maria Toivo (London: Routledge, 2013), pp. 73-88 (p.74).

discusses the case of William Somers who 'fell ill with symptoms similar to epilepsy' which was 'diagnosed witchcraft and promised a cure through dispossession' by Reverend John Darrell.[217] By giving Othello epilepsy, Shakespeare once again, alludes to pervasive early modern fears of witchcraft and demonic possession, linking bodily anxieties with spiritual ones.

Additionally, epilepsy was associated with Mahomed, who was believed to have suffered from the condition. Stephanie Moss writes that Othello's epilepsy, 'embeds the cultural values of Early Modern polemics against Mahomed in Shakespeare's play. Christian revision of Mohammedanism labeled its founder as an epileptic rather than a prophet'; for Moss it becomes 'a cultural marker of the Moor's degeneration from Christian warrior into infidel.'[218] Therefore, through links with the devil combined with allusions to the founder of Islam, Othello's epilepsy, provoked by the words of Iago, signifies both communal and personal fears and anxieties about his "unchristian" origins.

As the above discussion about the physiological and emotional repercussions of fear have revealed, fears and anxieties about the body and mind were also linked with those about the supernatural and the unchristian, evident in the imagery of devils and witchcraft which pervades the play. Scholars identify the early modern period as one preoccupied with a wide range of fears. For instance, Gentilcore describes the early modern period as a 'period of increasing fear, when Europe was besieged by widespread witch crazes and possession panics.'[219] Linda Woodbridge also discusses the common fears of early moderns in her study on Renaissance bogeymen, stating that

---

[217] William W. Coventry, *Demonic Possession on Trial: Case Studies in Early Modern England and Colonial America 1593-1692,* (New York: Writer's Club Press, 2003), p.91.
[218] Stephanie Moss, 'Transformation and Degeneration: The Paracelsan/ Galenic Body in *Othello*', in *Disease, Diagnosis, and Cure on the Early Modern Stage,* ed. by Stephanie Moss and Kaara L. Peterson(Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), pp.151-170 (p.159).
[219] Gentilcore, 'The Fear of Disease and the Disease of Fear', p.201.

> Renaissance Europe was preoccupied with an assortment of pariahs or demonized enemies: Jews, Muslims, black Africans, Gypsies, aboriginals, Catholics, vagrants, beggars, accused witches, sodomites, cross-dressing women, the physically deformed. I will call them bogeymen – feared and monstrous beings concocted from an ounce of reality and a gallon of imagination.[220]

Among these "bogeymen" was the Moor, who elicited fear due to the 'Barbary Coast pirates who sailed and pillaged as far as England, capturing women and children to be sold on the slave markets of the Ottoman empire.'[221] As we can see, the fear of witchcraft and the devil, of the supernatural and anti-Christian is bound up with early modern fears about foreign Others, such as Othello. Although Othello has seemingly converted to Christianity, there is much debate among critics about his religious background. Julia Reinhard Lupton challenges the view of Othello as Pagan African, by arguing that he should be regarded as a Muslim Turk. Whichever way we classify Othello's origins; he would have been perceived as threatening.[222]

It becomes clear that the fears that Iago exacerbates through words are related to Othello's anxiety about embodying the early modern stigma and stereotypes of the barbaric Moor. His fear of appearing overly passionate, as discussed previously, is one indicator of this worry. Wright wrote that 'The redde is wise / The browne is trustie, / The pale peevish, / The blacke is lustie',[223] and the description of those with black skin as 'lustie' suggests that excessive passion was linked to individuals of Othello's race. As well as the inability

---

[220] Linda Woodbridge, 'Renaissance Bogeymen: The Necessary Monsters of the Age', in *A Companion to the Worlds of the Renaissance*, ed. by Guido Ruggiero (Oxford: Blackwell, 2002), pp. 444-459 (p.444).
[221] Audrey Calefas-Strebelle, 'Muslim 'others'', in *Early Modern Emotions: An Introduction*, ed. by Susan Broomhall (London: Routledge, 2017), pp.300-303 (p.301-302).
[222] For a detailed discussion of Moors in Early Modern England see Matthew Steggle, 'New Directions: Othello, the Moor of London: Shakespeare's Black Britons', in *Othello: A Critical Reader* (London: Bloomsbury, 2015), pp.103-124 in which he reads *Othello* 'in the light of the growing evidence that there was a small but significant black presence in Shakespeare's England.' (p.103).
[223] Wright, *The Passions of the Minde in Generall*, p.43.

to govern one's passions, Robert I. Lublin tells us that '[t]he association of blackness with the devil was well established at the beginning of the early modern period and remained strong throughout',[224] and Scot opined that '[a] damned soul may and doth take the shape of a black moor.'[225]

Othello fears his blackness, which in his mind, and the minds of early moderns, renders him barbaric and heathen. He is what Janet Adelman terms 'the victim of racist ideology […] to which he is relentlessly subjected and which increasingly comes to define him as he internalizes it.'[226] The following section of this paper will examine the ways in which the words and sounds that Othello hears stir up fears about his status as an outsider, and how these fears are expressed with references to early modern fears about witchcraft and the devil, which Othello fears in himself, and sees in others, firstly in Desdemona, then finally in Iago.

At the very beginning of the play Desdemona's father, Brabantio describes Othello as frightening and inhuman. Upon discovering that Othello and Desdemona have eloped, Brabantio tries to convince the Duke that Othello should be punished, using exaggeratedly cruel language to describe the "crime" that he feels Othello has committed. In the three passages of his speech which follow, Othello is present as Brabantio insults him and in some cases Brabantio speaks directly to him.

BRABANTIO
Damned as thou art, thou hast enchanted her,
For I'll refer me to all things of sense –
If she in chains of magic were not bound –
Whether a maid so tender, fair and happy,
So opposite to marriage that she shunned

[224] Robert I. Lublin, *Costuming the Shakespearean Stage: Visual Codes of Representation in Early Modern Theatre and Culture* (Surrey: Ashgate, 2011), p.95.
[225] Scot, *The Discoverie of Witchcraft*, p.25.
[226] Janet Adelman, 'Iago's Alter Ego: Race as Projection in Othello', in *Political Shakespeare,* ed. by Stephen Orgel and Sean Keilen (New York: Garland, 1999), pp. 111-130 (p.111).

The wealthy curled dearling of our nation,
Would ever have – t'incur a general mock –
Run frm her guardage to the sooty bosom
Of such a thing as thou: to fear, not to delight.
Judge me the world if 'tis not gross in sense
That thou hast practiced on her with foul charms,
Abused her delicate youth with drugs or minerals
That weakens motion. (i.2.76-88)

She is abused, stol'n from me and corrupted
By spells and medicines bought of mountebanks;
For nature so prepost'rously to err –
Being not deficient, blind, or lame of sense –
Sans witchcraft could not. (i.3.68-72)

A maiden never bold.
Of spirit so still and quiet that her motion
Blushed at herself: and she, in spite of nature,
Of years, of country, credit, everything,
To fall in love with what she feared to look on?
It is a judgement maimed and most imperfect
That will confess perfection so could err
Against all rules of nature, and must be driven
To find out practices of cunning hell
Why this should be. I therefore vouch again
That with some mixtures pow'rful o'er the blood,
Or with some dram, conjured to this effect,
He wrought upon her. (i.3.105-117)

In each of these passages of speech, Brabantio insults Othello, contrasting his blackness with the good nature of his daughter. In the first of these passages, Brabantio describes Desdemona in the following terms 'tender, fair and happy.' While 'fair' here may mean pretty or attractive, it could also refer to the colour of her skin which is juxtaposed with the description of Othello's 'sooty bosom.' He also dehumanises Othello, suggesting that his race and culture render him animalistic or bestial. He describes him as a 'thing' to be feared, and in the third passage, he describes him as 'what she (Desdemona) feared to look

on!', the use of the pronoun 'what' instead of 'who' and the suggestion that Othello's appearance was frightening to Desdemona depicts him as subhuman. The presentation of Othello a something inhuman and terrifying is mixed with continued references to witchcraft and the supernatural.

Brabantio continues this vocabulary of frightening 'otherness', the supernatural, and the anti-christian by referring to Othello as a practitioner of witchcraft. In the first of these speeches he accuses Othello of 'enchanting' his daughter through the use of 'foul charms', 'drugs' and 'minerals.' In the second speech here, Brabantio suggests that nothing could have possibly persuaded his daughter to elope with Othello but 'witchcraft' and once again refers to 'spells and medicines' as Othello's weapons of persuasion. In the final speech, Brabantio continues once again to suggest that Othello used 'mixtures' or 'some dram' to conjure Desdemona's love for him; as these fictional potions are 'pow'rful o'er the blood', according to Brabantio they are able to transform Desdemona's passions from fear to delight.

In the passages above, Brabantio speaks of his fear about the relationship between Othello and Desdemona and reveals common early modern fears about different cultures, different races, otherness, exoticness, and witchcraft, all of which are represented in Brabantio, and other characters' views of Othello. This fear is transferred to Othello himself, when he responds to Brabantio he argues that he won Desdemona with stories and speeches, describing how 'She'd come again, and with a greedy ear / Devour up my discourse' and insisting that '[t]his only is the witchcraft I have used.' (i.3.183) Here he describes the act of listening as the act of eating, linking the throat and the ear as bodily orifices which provide entry into the body as discussed previously. In the second part of this speech, Othello defends himself by saying that he only used tales and stories to win the

heart of Desdemona. However, while it may be perceived that he argues against Brabantio, protesting his accusations of sorcery, Othello himself repeats and mimics Brabantio's supernatural vocabulary back to him, labelling his own words as 'witchcraft' and presenting himself as a verbal sorcerer; the words that charmed Desdemona may be viewed as a kind of incantation. Brabantio appears to have transferred his own fears about Othello's otherness onto Othello himself through his speech, evident in his repetition of Brabantio's phrases. Othello does not deny the accusations of witchcraft, but merely argues that he used a different kind of witchcraft, replacing the potions and mixtures of Brabantio's imagination with the magic of words. Ironically, in a conversation about the ways in which Othello's words entered the ears of Desdemona and caused her to love him, Othello's ears are invaded by Brabantio's verbal expressions of fear which assist in the transference and generation of similar fears in Othello himself which arguably contribute to his violent response to his wife's supposed adultery.

Returning to the first scene of the play, Iago once again makes a link between public and private fears. Once Brabantio has woken up and responded to Roderigo's frightening call, Iago implores him to take action and awake the rest of the town, exclaiming

> Sir, you're robbed! For shame, put on your gown.
> Your heart is burst, you have lost half your soul.
> Even now, now, very now, an old black ram
> Is tupping your white ewe. Arise, arise,
> Awake the snorting citizens with the bell
> Or else the devil will make a grandsire of you.
> Arise, I say! (i.1.90-96)

In the first line of this speech Iago describes Desdemona's elopement as a robbery, making her marriage to Othello and abandonment of her father into a sort of domestic crime, one which could also affect Brabantio's neighbours. In this passage Othello is figured as a kind of burglar, terrorising the neighbourhood and stealing people's daughters. This idea is

furthered by Iago's uses of panic-inducing advice to wake up the rest of the town and warn them as though this "crime" is something that they need to be aware of. This passage reveals several early modern anxieties and fears, the first and most obvious of which is the fear of miscegenation, demonstrated through Iago's description of Othello as an 'old black ram' copulating with the 'white ewe', Desdemona. This is added to when Iago refers to Othello as the 'devil', presenting him as both religious and racial Other to the citizens of Venice. The word 'devil' signifies both religious deviance and the supernatural, evoking the anxieties that plagued the early modern populace once again.

As well as shouting and yelling to provoke both personal and communal fear, Iago suggests ringing the 'bell' to 'awake the snorting citizens.' The bell is important here, and features in the play more than once. In early modern Protestant England, a bell was not only an auditory warning to alert townspeople of potential threats or dangers such as the 'fire' that Iago alludes to, but also carried religious, and perhaps even supernatural connotations. In her study on seventeenth century bells, Dolly MacKinnon writes that:

> Bells, depending on the context, could be interpreted as remnants of troubling pre-Reformation practices and superstitions, or as sounds of God's warnings. In early modern society, bell ringing therefore remained problematic, as it "shall seem to incline to superstitions" The more extreme Protestants sought to silence bells altogether.[227]

In her study, MacKinnon details how in the writings of early modern Protestant pamphlets, bells became an indicator of something unholy and sinful, considered as signifiers of the supernatural, warnings from God and opposing the Christianity of Reformed England. Undoubtedly then, the sound of bells in the world of the play, and in the theatres

[227] Dolly MacKinnon, '"Ringing of the Bells by Four White Spirits": Two Seventeenth- Century English Earwitness Accounts of the Supernatural in Print Culture', in *Religion, the Supernatural and Visual Culture in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Jennifer Spinks and Dagmar Eichberger (Leiden: Brill, 2015), pp. 83-104 (p.84).

themselves would generate fear among the listeners. Therefore, when Iago suggests the ringing of the bell, he reveals sound as his weapon of choice against Othello, proposing to use noises, including his own voice, as well as the ringing bell to provoke communal fear about Othello and his relationship with Desdemona.

In Act 2, Scene 3, a bell actually rings, as part of Iago's plan to bring Cassio to dishonour and have him removed as Othello's right hand man. After having persuaded Cassio to drink in order to exacerbate his emotions and cause a fight, Iago tells Roderigo to make a sound to alert the town to the disturbance in an aside, 'Away, I say; go out, and cry a mutiny' (ii.3.138), and moments later, a bell rings. Feigning ignorance, Iago responds to the alarm, exclaiming 'Who's that which rings the bell? – Diablo ho! / The town will rise.' (ii.3.142-143) Once again, Iago links the bell with the devil. It is unclear whether he is suggesting that 'Diablo' rang the bell, or that the bell marks the arrival of the devil, either way it conjures up ideas of the unchristian and supernatural, and the noise of the bell is once again imbued with the power to generate fear. The second half of Iago's line, when he says 'The town will rise', suggests not only that the citizens will be woken, but the verb 'rise' suggests that they will react volatilely, implying that the fear created by the sound of the bell will alter the moods and passions of the town, and possibly even lead to violence, chaos, and rebellion.

As well as Iago's response, Othello's reaction to the ringing of the bell, and the fight that caused it is equally important. He asks

> Why, how now, ho! From whence ariseth this?
> Are we turn'd Turks, and to ourselves do that
> Which heaven hath forbid the Ottomites?
> For Christian shame, put by this barbarous brawl:
> He that stirs next to carve for his own rage
> Holds his soul light; he dies upon his motion.
> Silence that dreadful bell: it frights the isle

From her propriety. (ii.3.151-158)

In the first half of this speech, Othello expresses his anxiety about the fight between Montano and Cassio. He refers to their behaviour as unchristian, comparing their violent outburst to the actions of Turks and Ottomites, two groups of people who represent the Muslim religion which Othello signifies himself. Furthermore, he describes their actions as 'barbarous', suggesting that they are unable to control their passions. This choice of words is not only telling of the cultural and social anxieties of early modern society, but also indicates the fears that trouble Othello himself. Already, by this point in the play we have heard other characters express their fears about Othello's religious and racial background, and it seems that through these acts of hateful and fearful speech, the anxieties about his own people have transferred onto Othello himself. This fear is then exaggerated by the sound of the bell which greatly troubles Othello. After all, read more literally, the bell could indicate the threat of invasion by the Turks, and 'Othello would have been reminiscent for contemporary audiences of the Turkish armies that were threatening to invade in the world of the play.'[228] The bell provokes Othello's fears about his colour and culture on more than one level.

In the last two lines of the speech, he worries about the effect of the bell on the townspeople, using the adjective 'dreadful' to describe the sound. The word dreadful here does not merely mean awful or annoying, but fearful or alarming. He worries that the ringing of the bell will 'fright the isle/ From her propriety', suggesting once again the transformative effect that fear can have when transmitted aurally. Not only will the alarm scare the citizens, as in Iago's description above, it may cause them to act improperly,

[228] Andrew Hadfield, *A Routledge Literary Sourcebook on William Shakespeare's Othello* (London: Routledge, 2003), p.11.

recalling Othello's fears about 'turning Turk' and behaving in an uncivilised manner. The bell which warns against the threat of sinfulness, the supernatural, the un-Protestant, brings out the voices both real and imagined in Othello's head that tell him that he is all of these things, un-christian, savage, supernatural. Furthermore, by linking the first figurative bell that Iago proposes to ring in order to warn the citizens about Othello, to the actual ringing of the bell which Iago attributes to the devil, Shakespeare highlights the early modern anxieties and fears about Moors. This fear of the devil is prevalent throughout the play, linked not only with anxieties about Othello's race, but also associated with adultery and cuckoldry.

The fear-provoking bell in *Othello* would not have been contained to the fictional world of the play, but would also stimulate fear and anxiety in the members of the audience. Smith lists 'bells' alongside 'thunder' and 'cannon-fire' as 'the very loudest sounds that a sixteenth- or seventeenth- century listener might encounter.'[229] By grouping the sound of the bell with that of thunder and cannon-fire, both of which are sounds that were likely to provoke some level of fear in the hearer, Smith suggests that bells were equally loud, and equally alarming. Therefore, when the audience hear the bell ring while watching *Othello* in the playhouse, they were also likely to feel the fear that Othello and the townspeople feel when the bell rings in the world of the play. The emotional effects of the sound of the bell reaches beyond the characters in the play to also generate and provoke fear in the audience members watching and listening to the play, who would have perhaps made the connection between the bell and the devil themselves. As for Othello, the ringing

[229] Bruce R. Smith, *The Acoustic World of Early Modern England: Attending to the O-Factor* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), p.49.

of the bell would generate fear, and conjure up anxieties about the unchristian, the sinful, and the supernatural for the audience too.

The following section of this chapter will discuss the various references to the devil, making links between the unchristian and Othello's fears about Desdemona's alleged affair. French historian Jean Delumeau contends that in the early modern period there was 'limitless fear of the devil present everywhere, author of madness and organiser of artificial paradises.'[230] This fear pervades *Othello*, represented not only by the fear-inducing bell, but also exposed in the vocabulary of the play. The word 'devil' appears almost thirty times throughout the play and is used to refer to Othello, Iago, and Desdemona. Othello's fear of 'turning Turk', or becoming unchristian, reveals itself in his continued repetition of the word 'devil' as an insult, firstly aimed towards Desdemona, and finally towards Iago. In Act 3, Scene 4, Othello calls Desdemona 'fair devil' (527) and later when speaking of Desdemona's moist hand he remarks, '[f]or here's a young and sweating devil here, / That commonly rebels.' (iii.4.39) Othello continues to cast Desdemona as the devil, linking her adultery and excessive sexuality with the anti-Christian. He also repeatedly speaks of 'confession', imploring Desdemona to confess right up until her death.

This relationship between Desdemona's apparent adultery and the unchristian is related to Protestant teachings about sex and marriage. In Stephen Greenblatt's reading of the play he points out that while Protestant writings recognised 'the joyful ardour of young married couples', there remained 'a constant fear of excess' and 'the active pursuit of pleasure in sexuality is damnable.'[231] Therefore, Othello's preoccupation with the Christian concepts and rites suggests that rather than merely a fear of being cuckolded, Othello fears

[230] Jean Delumeau, *La Peur* (1982) quoted in William G. Naphy and Penny Williams, *Fear in Early Modern Society* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997), p. 201.
[231] Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare,* p.249.

the excessive and unchristian sexuality which Desdemona supposedly embodies due to her alleged adultery. This fear is undoubtedly cemented by previous evidence of her sexual autonomy in her choice of Othello as a husband and rejection of her father's wishes, which would have also been viewed as threatening. This relates once again to his fears about himself, as he projects fears about his own status as barbaric and sinful Moor onto his wife, who he consequently decides must be destroyed.

Iago plays on this fear, telling Othello how and when to kill Desdemona, 'strangle her in bed, even the bed she hath contaminated' (iv.1.199-200), once again employing language of disease to play on Othello's fears, suggesting that her sin is contagious. The use of 'contaminated' here implies that her excessive passion may be caught by or awoken in Othello himself, and therefore he must kill her in order to prevent this happening. Iago has successfully transferred his own fear that women in Venice 'let heaven see the pranks / They dare not show their husbands' (iii.3.225-6) onto Othello. While inciting Othello's fears that Desdemona's passion is infectious, Iago infects Othello with his own passion, using words to stimulate his fear; Othello's vulnerable ear allows Iago's passion ridden words to creep in.

But what of Iago's passions? Not only is Iago passing on his fearful attitude towards women and their potential for adultery, but he also infects Othello with his own jealousy. Many critics have argued that Iago's manipulation and torment of Othello is motivated by some form of jealousy. For instance, Dan Donohue writes that

> Iago was actually more jealous of Emilia for stepping between him and Othello than he was of Othello for stepping between him and Emilia. To Iago, Othello was more of a partner and an object of love than Emilia was because Iago's self- concept was more entangled in his relationship with Othello than it was with her. [...] He was not

> merely jealous of Emilia and Othello; he was also jealous of Cassio, of Desdemona, and perhaps everyone else he encountered.[232]

The cause of Iago's jealousy is not made clear, and has been hotly debated by critics with many coming to the conclusion that Iago is motivated by his homosexual desire for Othello. Smith describes Iago as 'an older, more sinister recasting of Mercutio'[233] and argues that '[i]nstructed by Freud, directors, actors, and critics have looked at Iago from an essentially twentieth-century point of view and discovered "repressed sexuality."'[234]

There is evidence to suggest that Iago is jealous of Cassio's promotion when he states 'Cassio's a proper man--let me see now: / To get his place and to plume up my will / In double knavery.' (i.3.390-392) Here, Iago expresses a desire to take Cassio's place as Othello's lieutenant, as well as his wish to get revenge on Othello for sleeping with his wife. Whether motivated by his desire for promotion, his desire for Othello, or his anger at Othello's alleged affair with Emilia, it seems that Iago is also jealous, and that he passes that jealousy on to Othello through his ear, by playing on his fears about becoming the 'devil' he is described as.

Of course playgoers are aware that the real "devil" in the play is Iago himself, and the penetration of Othello's ear recalls Protestant anxieties about the dangers of open ears and unchristian words. Alongside this was the fear that God's word would not be heard. Gina Bloom discusses this fear, stating that 'the phrase from scripture "to have ears but hear not"' was 'frequently used by preachers to describe the sinful deafness of those who

---

[232]Dan Donohue, 'Iago: In Following Him I Follow But Myself', in *Shakespeare's Sense of Character: On the Page and From the Stage*, ed. by Yu Jin Ko and Michael W. Shurgot (London: Routledge, 2016), pp. 141-151 (p.146).
[233] Bruce R. Smith, *Homosexual Desire in Shakespeare's England: A Cultural Poetics* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), p.63.
[234] Ibid., p.75.

refuse God's message' as well as 'to describe the practice of defending oneself against the devil.'[235] This fear of wicked words is commented on by Plutarch, whose outline of the complexity and wonders of hearing is quoted in the introduction to this chapter. He writes:

> But if this sense is so exposed and receptive to the passions, it is even more so to reason; for there are several places and parts of the body that offer access to vices to infiltrate the soul, but virtue has only one hold on young people, that is the ears, provided that these are preserved pure and free from all flattery from the beginning not corrupted or fed on wicked talk. [236]

While Plutarch begins by praising hearing, he also expresses a certain ambivalence when it comes to the sense. Although he argues that what we hear is most receptive of, and most effectively 'provokes' the passions, he suggests that the ears are equally apt at generating 'turmoils' as well as 'ecstasy', that the ears are most receptive to passion and reason, and offer access to knowledge of both vice and virtue.

The fear that ears are open to 'wicked' words is one that featured in early modern religious texts. Anxiety about corruptive speech and vulnerable ears pervaded the protestant sermons of early modern England, as the Church of England warned against listening to the word of the devil. For instance, John Donne warned

> Take heed that you heare them whom God hath appointed to speake to you; But, when you come abroad, take heed *what* you hear; for, certainely, the Devill doth not cast in more snares at the eye of man, then at the eare.[237]

For Donne, the Devil was most apt at manipulating and persuading people via their ears, and the similarities between Iago and the Devil are clear. There is also a connection

---

[235] Bloom, *Voice in Motion*, p.145.
[236] Plutarch, 'On Listening to Lectures', trans. Amyot, quoted in Gary Ferguson, *Queer (Re)readings in the French Renaissance: Homosexuality, Gender, Culture* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), p.202.
[237] John Donne, *Volume III: Sermons Preached at The Court of Charles I* ed. by David Colclough (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), p.83.

between the mouth and ear, resembling that of Iago's poisonous words which are consumed via the ear and alter Othello's passions and humours. In the passage above Plutarch uses the word 'fed' to describe the action of hearing dangerous or unholy words, and Ramie Targoff describes this relationship, writing that

> [w]hile Protestant ministers encouraged their congregations (and readers) to hunger for God's word and to incorporate it into their bodies so that they, like the Virgin Mary, might be transformed, preachers were also aware of how voices could interfere with digestion.[238]

The concept that what entered one's ears could directly affect other parts of the body and prove detrimental to an individual's health is exactly the method that Iago employs in his manipulation of Othello, and these anxieties about the ambivalence of hearing were also extended to the playhouses themselves. In *Plays Confuted in Five Actions*, actor turned puritan anti-theatricalist, Stephen Gosson wrote that plays were

> [S]o set out with sweetness of words, fitness of epithets, with metaphors, allegories, hyperboles […] with phrases so picked, so pure, so proper; with action so smooth, so lively, so wanton, that the poison creeping on secretly without grief, chokes us at last and hurleth us down in a dead sleep.[239]

Although Gosson describes the words of players as 'proper' and 'pure', he finishes by stating that they are 'wanton', deadly and poisonous, and suggests that it is precisely their 'sweetness' and liveliness that conceal their dangerous nature, which sneaks up 'secretly' to kill those listening to them. Not only does Gosson describe the words of actors as 'poison' but he emphasises the dissembling nature of the player, describing the ways in which the words in a play are embellished and made purposefully appealing in order to conceal their real, deadly intentions. Similarly, in a response to Thomas Heywood's *Apology for Actors,*

[238] Targoff, *Common Prayer: The Language of Public Devotion in Early Modern England,* p. 22.
[239] Gosson, *Playes Confuted in Five Actions*, p.38.

poet John Taylor describes the words of the 'thiefe', the 'pander', the 'bawd', the 'broker or a slave that lives by fraud' that appear in plays as 'the poyson of their envious tongues'[240]. Both Taylor and Gosson give words corruptive power over the body, portraying them as dangerous substances which when consumed can alter the individual's corporeal make up, and even cause death. The description of the deadly and poisonous words of the player in Gosson's writing recalls the poisonous words of Iago, who is likewise portrayed as an actor of sorts.

Jean Delumeau's account of the Devil as an 'author of madness and organiser of artificial paradises' seems an apt description of Iago. There is a sense that Iago is an author, director, actor, a creator of stories which he uses to manipulate the passions of Othello, in much the same way that Othello won the heart of Desdemona. We see this version of Iago at the very beginning of the play when he tells Roderigo how to act and deliver his lines in order to stimulate Brabantio's fears. Moreover, in Act 2, Scene, 3, Iago refers to himself as a devil and highlights his plan to play a part, to create a story, to dissemble and organise artifice. He says, 'When devils will the blackest sins put on, / They do suggest at first with heavenly shows, /As I do for now.' (2.III.315-317) Here, Iago explicitly reveals his plan to put on 'heavenly shows', to disguise his wicked motives and play a role. Iago is at once Gosson's player and Delumeau's Devil, whose words are fatal to Othello.

Unlike the voice of Iago, his wife Emilia's voice is linked to honesty and truth. Emilia who Iago likens to a noisy bell in the lines 'you are pictures out of doors, bells in your parlours, wild-cats in your kitchens' (ii.1.121-122), is eventually silenced when Iago fails to prevent her from revealing his role in Desdemona's murder. In the final act, Iago tells his wife 'hold your peace' and 'get you home', and eventually stabs her when she

[240] Thomas Heywood, *An Apology for Actors* (London: Nicholas Okes, 1612), p.8.

refuses to do so. (v.2.248, 253, 269). Luckily, Emilia is able to reveal Iago's crimes before her demise, and therefore although her words come too late to prevent the bloody acts in the final scenes, she is able to speak the truth and her honest words are the exact opposite of the corruptive words of Iago. Therefore, in *Othello* women's words are associated with honesty and resolution, however like Desdemona, Emilia's voice is stifled by the potency and virulence of her husband's passions.

Desdemona's voice is also presented as positive and restorative. Specifically, her singing voice is imbued with the potential to heal intemperate passion. Music was often portrayed as a method of curing passions. Timothie Bright, for example, discussed the power of music in the governance of the passions in his *A Treatise of Melancholie*, stating that music will cure 'a disordered rage, and intemperate mirth.'[241] Similarly, Du Laurens wrote that

> Musicke with voyces and instruments, doth calme and make gentle the most outragious, rough and sterne natures. *Clinias* (as I haue ob|serued in the treatise of melancholike diseases) so soone as he saw any passion to assaile him, tooke his harpe, and by this meanes kept away the motions of his humour.[242]

Both Du Laurens and Bright explicitly state that music has a healing effect on the listener's passions. While in *Othello*, Iago's drinking songs assist in the generation of intoxicated rage of Cassio, a curative quality is assigned to Desdemona's singing when Othello remarks that she 'will sing the savageness out of a bear.' (iv.1.185) Othello's description of Desdemona's medicinal singing mirrors the descriptions of music above, as he suggests that she could cure the 'disordered rage' and 'calme and make gentle' the outrageous nature

[241] Timothie Bright, *A Treatise of Melancholie* (London: Thomas Vautrollier, 1586), p.248.
[242] Du Laurens, *A Discourse of the Preservation of Sight*, p.192.

of a bear. Her singing voice could therefore cure the passions, and perhaps if Othello listened to his wife, his jealousy and suspicion would be alleviated.

When we actually hear Desdemona sing in Act 4, Scene 3, only Emilia is there to hear her performance of the Willow song. Therefore, her song is unable to cure the passions of her husband or tame the threatening voice of the "Other", as moments after this scene Othello refuses to listen to Desdemona once again, before silencing her for good.

Bloom notes that 'early modern women and children were discouraged and even barred from certain forms of vocal expression' and 'many conduct-book writers argue that women need the strong guidance of husbands and fathers because they cannot control their own speech.'[243] In fact, Puritan writers such as Philip Stubbes and William Prynne linked music with excessive sexuality. For example, Stubbes wrote that 'if you would have your daughter whoorish bawdie, and uncleane, and a filthie speaker [...] bring her up in musicke.'[244] and Prynne lamented:

> what a miserable Spectacle it is to chaste and wel-mannered eyes [...] to see a woman, not to follow her needle or distaffe, but to sing a lute. Not to be known by her owne husband, but to be often viewed by others as a publicke whore: not to modulate or sing a Psalme or confession, but to sing songs inticing unto lust: not to supplicate to God, but willingly to hasten unto Hell.[245]

Therefore, Desdemona's singing would have been unlikely to convince Othello of her innocence or quell his fear and jealousy, and would have perhaps, instead, reminded him of the very cause of his passion, her alleged affair.

Furthermore, Desdemona tells us that the song was taught to her by her mother's maid Barbary, which recalls Iago's racist insult towards Othello, 'Barbary horse', the maid's name was also a word used to refer to the Barbary coast in North Africa, and would

[243] Bloom, *Voice in Motion,* p.9.
[244] Phillip Stubbes, *The Anatomie of Abuses* (London: John Kingston, 1583), p.111.
[245] Prynne, *Histrio-mastix*, p.275.

have evoked the savagery and barbarianism that Othello sees in himself and was often associated with his race and culture. Besides Emilia, the only other people to hear the Willow song are the playgoers in the theatre. However, far from soothing the passions of the spectators, it is more likely that the Willow song with its associations with Africa, coupled with the description of the lover in the song as 'mad' and the revelation that Barbary sang this song as she died, would instead provoke and reinforce the fears of the audience members. For the spectators listening to Desdemona, the song would remind them of Othello's erratic behaviour, emphasise his race and the negative traits associated with it, and foreshadow Desdemona's death.

Additionally, Desdemona uses musical vocabulary to describe her failure at persuading Othello to listen to her in her suit for Cassio. In Act 3, Scene 4 when Cassio once again implores Desdemona to commend him to her husband, Desdemona tells him that her 'advocation is not now in tune; / My lord is not my lord; nor should I know him, / Were he in favour as in humour altered.' (iii.4.129-31) She uses music to describe how Othello refuses to hear her, and puts this rejection and anger down to a humoral change which is so extreme that it renders him unrecognisable. Shakespeare links music to the alteration of the humours and passions and Desdemona's potentially curative 'tunes' and 'songs' are not heard by Othello. Therefore, the only sounds that affect his passions are the ones that Iago empties into his ears, and his excessive fear and resulting jealousy remains vehement. While the ambivalent nature of hearing is alluded to in *Othello* through suggestions that female voices *can* cure, they are not allowed to and ultimately the ears only act as a gateway for poisonous and infectious male words, and rarely for medicinal female ones, with the exception of Emilia's revelation of Iago's villainy in the final moments of the play.

If Iago is the Devil whose words corrupt, Desdemona is an angel whose singing heals, and unfortunately Othello listens to the wrong voice. After Othello smothers Desdemona, Emilia exclaims, 'O, the more angel / She, and you the blacker devil! / She was heavenly true!' (v.2.152) By the end of the play, Othello realises that Desdemona is more like Emilia's 'angel', than his own 'devil.' By refusing to listen to true words from his wife, and instead infecting himself with the words of Iago, who is labelled a 'demi-devil' upon Othello's realisation of his role in the death of Desdemona, Othello himself becomes the 'blacker devil' that he feared becoming. In his attempt to stifle and smother the words and sexuality that he feared would render him sinful and savage, Othello ironically becomes exactly that as he responds passionately and violently, taking the life of his innocent wife in a brutal act of murder.

Upon learning the truth, Othello stabs himself. His last words before he commits suicide are,

> And say besides, that in Aleppo once
> Where a malignant and turbaned Turk
> Beat a Venetian and traduced the state,
> I took by th' throat the circumcised dog
> And smote him, thus. (v.2.395-399) *Stabs himself*

By fearing his own identity, or rather the false identity manufactured and enforced upon him by the racist fears of society, he has actually become what he feared. Here, he refers to himself as a 'dog' and a 'turbaned Turk' and uses the verb 'smote' which carries Christian significance to describe his suicide. In this speech he repeats the animalistic slurs and racial stereotypes that have penetrated his ears; and his suicide is the culmination of his fears which through his act of murder have been realised.

In conclusion, this chapter has shown how fear is transmitted, stimulated, and provoked by words and sounds in *Othello*. In the play there is a tension between communal

and individual fears as Othello's insecurities, anxieties and fears about himself are transferred and increased by the voices of those around him as well as the ringing of the bell. These individual instances of infectious, fear-engendering sounds also reflect the more widespread fears that troubled the minds of early moderns, both within the confines of the narrative and in the real world in which Shakespeare lived and wrote his tragedy. Specifically, sounds and voices in this play reveal and evoke fears about foreign cultures, the supernatural, disease, excessive emotion and the unchristian, all of which were often intertwined and overlapping in early modern thought and all of which are linked to Othello's race and status as an outsider. The sounds and voices which enter Othello's ears over the course of the play constantly reinforce and remind him of the stigma and stereotypical opinions of the society in which he lives; the fear that his cultural, religious, and racial status generates. His attempt to stifle said views, and resist the behaviour that is expected from him, results in the murder of his wife, who represents to him the animalistic, overly passionate, lusty and sinful aspects of the caricature of the Moor that he desperately tries to avoid. In doing so, Othello becomes that which he feared and resisted and finds the only way to remedy his behaviour and to 'silence that dreadful bell' which torments him, is to take his own life.

Throughout this chapter, there have been continuous references to the similarities between the ear and mouth in early modern thinking, whether it be Pollard's contention that both were seen as gateways to the interior body, or Desdemona's ear with the ability to 'devour' Othello's words. The next chapter will look at this other, very similar orifice, the mouth, in William Davenant's *The Tragedy of Albovine* considering how, like the ear, the mouth and nose in Davenant's play are instruments for the dissemination and contraction of infectious passion.

Chapter Three:

'Thou Didst Eat My Lips': Swallowing Passion in William Davenant's *The Tragedy of Albovine*

Following on from the previous two chapters, the final chapter in this section will continue to analyse the relationship between bodies, passions, and environment in William Davenant's *The Tragedy of Albovine* (1629). Like the opening chapter on Marlowe's *Dido, Queen of Carthage,* this chapter will argue that passion in Davenant's tragedy is pollutive and corruptive to the human body and mind and causes the bloody resolution of the play. While the opening chapter argued that Marlowe's presentation of inordinate passion is not necessarily used to critique a specific individual but instead reflects the circulation and communal nature of early modern emotion, in *Albovine,* the dissemination and transference of passion is at once a communal and environmental phenomenon as well as a tool used to criticise and voice anxieties about the monarchy. As in *Othello,* emotion in *Albovine* is contracted and spread through bodily orifices, in this case the mouth, via the senses of taste and smell, these emotions infect the body, causing violence and death. Like the previous chapter, and indeed the chapters that follow, this analysis of Davenant's *Albovine* will demonstrate how the relationship between emotions and violence is also intertwined with the struggle for power. In Shakespeare's play we saw how Iago manipulates and provokes emotion in Othello by constantly working on his fears about racial inferiority. In Davenant's tragedy, one that is obviously influenced by Shakespeare's tragedy, we will see how contagious and dangerous passions reflect the anxieties surrounding court favourites, and how these are spread by Hermegild, a character who bears much resemblance to Shakespeare's Iago and Marlowe's Cupid who both act as producers and transmitters of fatal passion. I will begin this chapter by briefly considering Davenant's literary works and

their critical reception before moving on to discuss specific elements of the play in more depth.

William Davenant produced a wide array of literary works including operas, poems, panegyrics and plays as well as revising and adapting plays by other writers, including several of Shakespeare's works. When scholars discuss the literary works of William Davenant, they tend to focus on his epic poem *Gondibert* (1651), widely considered his 'most famous' work, his masques, and his adaptations of Shakespeare's plays.[246] These texts are most frequently commented on within two main frameworks. The first is the relationship between Davenant's works and those of his influencer William Shakespeare, believed by many to be his godfather, and by some to be his biological father, and the second focuses on the royalist sensibilities that influence and inform his later works such as *Gondibert* and the various courtly masques he wrote.[247] However, scholarship on his early original dramatic works is comparatively limited.

This chapter will focus on his earliest original tragedy, *The Tragedy of Albovine* which is believed to have been written around 1626 and printed in 1629,[248] but was seemingly never performed. Like Shakespeare's first tragedy *Titus Andronicus* (1594), Davenant's early works are frequently criticised for his use of excessive violence and *Albovine* is undoubtedly the most violent of all his tragedies. For instance, in her study of Davenant's masques, Dawn Lewcock writes that

[246] David Scott Kastan (ed.), *The Oxford Encyclopaedia of British Literature Volume 1* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), p.120.
[247] See Paul Salzman, 'Royalist Epic and Romance', in *The Cambridge Companion to Writing of the English Revolution*, ed. by N. H. Keeble (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp.215-167, Marcus Nevitt, 'The Insults of Defeat: Royalist Responses to Sir William Davenant's *Gondibert*', *The Seventeenth Century,* 24.2 (2009), pp.287-304 and Dawn Lewcock, *Sir William Davenant, The Court Masque and English Seventeenth Century Scenic Stage* (New York: Cambria Press, 2008).
[248] Lucy Munro, 'Middleton and Caroline Theatre', in *The Oxford Handbook of Thomas Middleton*, ed. by Gary Taylor and Trish Thomas Henley (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp.164-180 (p.172).

> his early plays show their author's lack of maturity in both the theatre and in life. They are exuberant and lively but have no real depth of emotion or characterisation. They display a young man's tendency to shock with outrageous language and situation. Certainly, the Jacobean drama he uses as patterns are full of murder and bloodshed, homosexual lust, and incest but they usually have an underlying theme of political, philosophical, or moral significance.[249]

Here, Lewcock suggests that Davenant's early plays are shallow and sensational, specifically pointing to a lack of emotional depth and highlighting the use of shocking violence, arguing that unlike his Jacobean influencers, the violence in Davenant's early tragedies has no political message or purpose. However, this chapter will argue against Lewcock's view of Davenant's first tragedies on two main points. Firstly, instead of a lack of emotional depth, I will show that emotions are at the heart of Davenant's *Albovine*, and that the play is about excessive passion and the ways in which it is generated and transmitted. Secondly, I will suggest that *Albovine* does have an 'underlying theme of political' significance, and that the violent ending is a result of the polluted and rotting landscape of the tragedy, which reflects the state of the court and ultimately starts with the passionate relationship between the monarchy and their favourites.

While many have noted the royalist sensibilities expressed in Davenant's later works, when it comes to his early tragedies the royalist sentiment is seemingly absent, and Curtis Perry's assertion that '[t]here is no reason to assume that the young man who wrote *The Cruel Brother* in 1626-27 was primarily a court poet attempting to flatter the crown'[250] also equally applies to his earliest tragedy, *Albovine.* Furthermore, Perry notes that Davenant's

> patron at this time, Lord Brooke, is best remembered today as the author of a Jacobean memoir of the poet Sir Philip Sidney that praises the Elizabethan state in a

[249] Lewcock, *Sir William Davenant, The Court Masque and English Seventeenth Century Scenic Stage,* p. 11.
[250] Perry, *Eros and Power in English Renaissance Drama,* p.342.

> manner that is pointedly designed to criticise King James and his court favorites. And the dramatic style fostered in the Inns of Court tended to favour stylistic virtuosity and edgy, sophisticated political allusion. *The Cruel Brother* is the second play Davenant wrote (after the crazily violent *Tragedy of Albovine* which was printed in 1629), and his first play to reach the professional stage. And there is little connection between the political sensibilities of this early play and those on display in the plays and masques that Davenant wrote for the Caroline court in the 1630's.[251]

Therefore, for Perry and myself, the extreme violence in Davenant's early works is not merely an indicator of literary immaturity or theatrical sensationalism but a product of the political climate, and social environment in which Davenant lived and wrote. While Davenant's royalist loyalties are undeniable in his later works and life evidenced by his role as poet laureate in 1638, and his participation in the First Army Plot, for which he was imprisoned, in his earlier works Davenant voices his concerns about royal favourites, and these plays might even be construed as critiques of the court and the monarchy. *Albovine* was written in the year after the death of James I, and both *Albovine* and *The Cruel Brother* centre around royal figures with personal favourites, mirroring the reality of the court of James, known and vilified for his relationship with his favourite George Villiers, the Duke of Buckingham. As well as *The Cruel Brother*, *The Tragedy of Albovine* is a critique of the relationships between Kings and their favourites, and the court more generally, and in his first tragedy Davenant uses ideas about infectious, transmittable passion to convey the anxieties and dangers of personal favourites at court. It will argue that through imagery of cannibalism, decay, pollution, disease and the consumption of food, Davenant presents the Verona court, and by proxy the English court, as a smorgasbord of infectious passions which are transferred via smell and taste, whether it be through eating, drinking, or inhaling them.

[251] Perry, *Eros and Power in English Renaissance Drama*, p.342.

As in *Othello*, orifices in *Albovine* provide the potential for passionate pollution, and the mouth and nose act as openings through which passions can be contracted and circulated. Additionally, as in Shakespeare's tragedy, these emotional transactions are linked to early modern anxieties about status, hierarchy, and power. Whereas the contagious passions in *Othello* are indicative of fears about Moors in early modern England, the transmission and consumption of toxic passions in *Albovine* relates to the perceived threat of court favourites and their corruptive potential.

There is little written on the treatment of the passions in the works of Davenant though Perry does discuss them briefly stating that 'Davenant's interest in the politics of personal affection is intensely topical.'[252] The paucity of scholarship on emotions in Davenant is surprising given his obvious interest in the governance of the passions demonstrated by his *A Proposition for Advancement of Moralitie by a New Way of Entertainment for the People* (1653), a proposal for a masque-like drama which 'would provide an arena for the professional instruction and management of the passions roiling Cromwell's uneasy populace.'[253] Davenant seemingly believed that the common people needed to learn about the passions and how to govern them, as according to him 'the people will ever be unquiet whilst they are ignorant of themselves, and unacquainted with those Engines that scrue them up, which are the passions in true characters of the beauties and deformities of vertue and vice.'[254] Therefore, these "masques" were designed to control the unruly passions of the populace and prevent people from growing 'injurious to one another, and impudent towards authority.'[255]

---

[252] Perry, *Eros and Power*, p.346.
[253]Rowe, 'Humoral Knowledge and Liberal Cognition in Davenant's Macbeth', p.171.
[254] William Davenant, 'A Proposition for Advancement of Moralitie' (London, 1653), attributed and reprinted by James R. Jacob and Timothy Raylor, 'Opera and Obedience: Thomas Hobbes and 'A Proposition for Advancement of Moralitie by Sir William Davenant', *Seventeenth Century,* 6.2 (1991) pp.205-250 (p.244).
[255] Davenant, 'A Proposition for Advancement of Moralitie', p.242.

Davenant's *Proposal* of the governance of the passions is an example of what Katherine Rowe terms 'the gradual and uneven transition from early modern humoralism (with its environmentally permeable body and labile animal spirits) to the proprietary body theorized by Descartes and Locke.'[256] In one of a few explorations of the passions in the works of Davenant, Rowe examines this change in doctrines on emotion in relation to Davenant's adaptation of Shakespeare's *Macbeth*, discussing the evolution of theories of the passions between the years of 1606 (the date of Shakespeare's original *Macbeth*) and 1674, the year Davenant's version was printed, stating that '[t]he contagious nature of Shakespearean fears models a kind of affective exchange no longer suited to the internal disciplines Davenant promotes.'[257] She outlines this transitional period in the history of emotions and describes the challenges to humoralism that came in the late 17th century as follows:

> Late seventeenth century natural philosophy re-imagined the body, John Sutton reminds us, as a "solid container, only rarely breached, in principle autonomous from culture and environment, tampered with only by diseases and experts." Proprietary models of consciousness require, Sutton observes, not only a body sealed off from its physical environment but cognitive processes sealed off from their physical environment of senses, passions, and humors. Consequently, operations such as memory, judgement, and will, were reimagined in this period as the autonomous, executive faculties of a self-possessed individual, rather than the fluid action of animal spirits.[258]

According to Rowe then, at the time of Davenant's later works, such as his re-imaginings of Shakespeare's plays, the notion that the emotional and the physiological were inseparable was no longer the dominant ideology in early modern doctrines on emotion, and the body and mind were emerging as two separate entities. The passivity of

[256] Rowe, 'Humoral Knowledge and Liberal Cognition in Davenant's *Macbeth*', p.174.
[257] Ibid., p.174.
[258] Ibid., p.174 quoting John Sutton, *Philosophy and Memory Traces: Descartes to Connectionism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p.41.

humoralism which posited the human body as a site inflicted by environmental factors, senses, and passions was being replaced by a renewed stress on the autonomy of the individual with an entirely separate consciousness and the ability to govern one's own passions internally. These ideas came from several philosophers such as Locke and Hobbes who revived the theories of Aristotle and Augustine.

However, I argue that Davenant's *Albovine* subscribes to humoral explanations of the passions, and his work has not yet been altered completely by the changes in early modern proto-psychology. Paster, Floyd-Wilson and Rowe tell us that 'early modern Europeans had not yet separated the mind from this changeable body, or the body from the world'[259] and that the passions are not "internal objects," or even "bodily states": they comprise, instead, an ecology or a transaction'[260]. This certainly seems to be the case in *Albovine* and, in the world of the play, passions are figured as contagious and infectious, transmitted not only from person to person, but also by the environment and atmosphere of the court in Verona where the play is set. It will also suggest that these passions are a reflection of both the fictional court, and the Jacobean court which are 'infected' by the relationships between Kings and their favourites.

Inhaling Passion

Like Paster, Rowe and Floyd-Wilson, Tiffany Hoffman also outlines the importance of the environment in the generation of the passions in her essay 'Coriolanus's Blush'. She states that 'Galenism depicts emotional experience and human nature in perpetual flux, driven by the shifting balances in the body's fluids all in constant interaction with the world around

[259] Paster, Rowe, Floyd-Wilson, *Reading the Early Modern Passions: Essays in the Cultural History of Emotion*, p.16.
[260] Paster, Rowe, Floyd-Wilson, *Reading the Early Modern Passions: Essays in the Cultural History of Emotion*, p.18.

it.'[261] The first main section of this chapter will discuss the ways in which the ecological state of Verona interacts with the human body and plays a part in the exacerbation of passion, which is then transferred between people and atmosphere through the act of infectious breathing.

Inextricably linked to the act of breathing was the sense of smell, and as this chapter demonstrates many of the acts of breathing in the play are described in relation to smells and scents. Crooke outlines this relationship stating that breathing through the nose is essential for the sense of smell, he writes:

> There is no perception of odours, except when we do inspire, for though you fill the Nose full with Muscke or Amber-greese or other odoriferous bodyes; yea though you should annoynt the whole membrame with sweet oyles , yet you shall have no perception of odours except you drawe in the Ayre by inspiration.[262]

Crooke notes that the act of 'inspiration' and the inhalation of air is key in the 'perception of odours', suggesting that if anything were to block the nose or prevent air flow then scents would be undetectable. The descriptions of breathing in this play indicate a polluted and infectious atmosphere, often reflected by the implication of unpleasant smells. Holly Dugan explains that the nose 'displayed bodily vulnerability to environmental influences and the act of sniffing, particularly as diseases like syphilis and tobacco-caused cancers ravaged the noses of early moderns.'[263] Therefore, the nose was considered a gateway for the transmission of disease, and in this play, breathing and smelling play a fundamental role in the circulation of Verona's pollutive and passionate atmosphere.[264]

---

[261] Tiffany Hoffman, 'Coriolanus's Blush', in *Embodied Cognition and Shakespeare's Theatre: The Early Modern Body Mind*, ed. by Laurie Johnson, John Sutton, and Evelyn Tribble (London: Routledge, 2014), pp. 173-190 (p.175).
[262] Crooke, *Mikrokosmographia,* p.713.
[263] Dugan, *The Ephemeral History of Perfume*, p.13.
[264] Davenant himself is said to have lost part of his nose due to syphilis. In *Brief Lives*, early modern gossip, John Aubrey writes that '[h]e got a terrible clap of a dark-haired handsome wench […] which cost him his nose.' (Suffolk: Boydell Press, 1982), p.91.

Plague scholars such as Rebecca Totaro have argued that in *Romeo and Juliet*, excessive passions and consequential violence can be attributed to environmental issues such as the plague-infested air of Verona;[265] I argue that the same can be said of Verona in Davenant's play, which is full to the brim with references to Shakespeare's love tragedy.[266] While, as mentioned previously, Davenant's works were and are often criticised, in *Albovine* he effectively uses a consistent pattern of thematic imagery to build atmosphere. Right from the outset of the play, Davenant points to the pollution that fills the Veronese air when Hermegild and other members of the court describe Albovine's victory over Rhodolinda's father as follows 'he that in fierce / Battaile (when the Cannons sulpherous breath / Clouded the day) her noble Father slew'[267] and the governor commends Albovine's violent actions claiming that it was 'the powerfull breath / Of your victorious fame, that conquer'd vs.' (i.1) Both references to 'breath' in this passage suggest the transmission of violence, and the transference of violent 'sulpherous' passion which clouds and pollutes the air, causing change and persuading the citizens of the Veronese court to submit to their new king. Additionally, the adjective 'sulpherous' evokes a specific and unpleasant smell, like that of rotten eggs, and thus breathing is linked with the sense of smell, and the atmosphere of Verona is depicted as polluted, rotten, and reeking. The 'sulpherous' breath of the canons is linked to the 'powerful breath' of Albovine who celebrates his violent victory over his wife's father. From the start then, we are presented with a Verona which is

[265] Rebecca Totaro, 'Introduction', in *Representing the Plague in Early Modern England*, ed. by Rebecca Totaro and Ernest B. Gilman (London: Routledge, 2012), p.22.
[266] The mimicry of the violent love from *Romeo and Juliet* is evident in the opening few lines when Albovine describes his love for his favourite Paradine in the following terms, 'I am in loue too violent / My embraces crush thee' (*Albovine* 1,1), which recalls Juliet's comparison of Romeo to a 'wanton's bird' which she would kill with 'much cherishing' as well as the warning that Friar Lawrence gives to Romeo when he discovers he wishes to marry Juliet, 'These violent delights have violent ends / And in their triumph die, like fire and powder, / Which as the kiss, consume.' (Shakespeare, *Romeo and Juliet*, ii.3. 226 and ii.5.9-11).
[267] William D'Avenant, *The Tragedy of Albovine, King of the Lombards* (London: Felix Kingston, 1629), i.1.

overcome by the corruptive passions of the king and the prospect of violence, which literally fills the air.

Many of the descriptions of Verona's atmosphere explicitly portray the court as false and polluted. For instance, when Paradine believes he has been poisoned and learns of Hermegild's role in his apparent attempted murder and manipulation of his wife, he declares 'the rough young souldier / May spie at last these spirits of the Court, / That walke in artificiall clouds.' (iv.1) Here, the 'rough young soldier' refers to himself, and the 'spirits of the Court' refer generally to the members of the court but especially to Hermegild. The description of 'artificial clouds' links the natural environment of Verona with the pollutive decadence of the court, suggesting a reciprocity between the ecological state of Verona and the corruptive members of court, and specifically highlighting the poisonous and false nature of court favourites. The image of 'artificial clouds' is also remindful of Classen's assertion that everything in the early modern period was scented due to poor hygiene in an attempt to conceal unpleasant body odours. Either reading of this line indicates the toxic air in Verona and signifies the duplicity and dangers of ambitious court favourites. This description of Hermegild links him and his passions of greed and ambition to Verona's contaminated and unnatural air.

This idea comes full circle when Hermegild confronts Paradine in the final scene. Believing that Paradine has been poisoned by Valdaura and that his manipulations and lies have been successful, he taunts Paradine, saying,

> Good, dull souldier, why didst thou leave the camp,
> Thy rusty morion there, thy batter'd corselet;
> And thy shiver'd lance, t'amble here at court
> In slippery silkes; to walke in cloudy mists
> Of perfum'd ayre? (v.1)

Here, Hermegild asks Paradine why he decided to leave the army to come to court, comparing his soldier's uniform to the 'slippery silkes' adorned by those at court. Here he depicts the luxury of the court, but also implies the slimy and duplicitous nature of those who wear the 'silkes'. This is then coupled with the description of the atmosphere of Verona as 'cloudy mists' and 'perfum'd ayre.' Like the silks, the reference to perfume also simultaneously connotes the decadence of the court, as well as suggesting a falseness, a sense of artifice, and the idea of concealing something with the purposeful use of manufactured scent. The image of 'cloudy mists' adds to this sense of secretiveness, implying deception and portraying the air of the Veronese court as polluted and murky.

Additionally, in *Albovine*, the heat of Verona is constantly highlighted, and often depicted as the cause of ailments of both body and mind. For instance, in Act 5, Scene 1, Grimold the old sea Captain comments that '[t]his is a hot climate' (v.1) and the King's favourite, Paradine declares that '[t]he sun doth melt vs with his scorching beames/ Go fill my vsuall Beuiridge, Ile drink / Till I am cold. The constitution of my Soule, agrees / Not with this climate.' (iv.1) As the passions were often considered to be 'of the soul' in early modern humoral theory, Paradine implies here that the hot Verona climate has the power to alter his passions, and also that what he drinks will affect his passions by reducing his bodily temperature.

The hot contagious air of Verona is inhaled and circulated between the inhabitants of the court through the mouth as well as the nose.[268] In the first act Albovine speaks of kissing his favourite Paradine, saying 'Thy breath / Is as the smoke of spices. I taste thy / Melting lippes, and straight ingender kisses.' (ii.1) Here Albovine attributes the breath of

[268] For discussion of the heat in Verona in *Romeo and Juliet* see Naomi Liebler, '"There is no city without Verona walls"': The City in *Romeo and Juliet*', in *A Companion to Shakespeare: The Tragedies,* ed. by Richard Dutton and Jean E. Howard (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).

Paradine with a strong heat which melts his lips, suggesting the transmission of hot passion, in this case lust, which was believed to be caused by hot blood.[269] Moreover, as discussed in the introduction, the senses of smell and taste were connected, and here Albovine specifically describes the flavour of his love's breath, as spicy. While this once again emphasises the heat of the passions being transferred, it also demonstrates that taste as well as smell plays an important role in this circulation of emotion. Davenant uses the same image again later in the play when this time Hermegild (the Queen's favourite) and Valdaura (wife of Paradine) witness the Queen Rhodolinda and Paradine meeting after their sexual encounter. He says 'She hath melted quite his lips / With her hot breath', (iv.1) once again referring to the heat of lust. This continuation of the inhaling and exhaling of hot air represents the transmission of hot passion, which begins with the passions exchanged between the King and his favourite.

This idea of hot contagious breath being breathed out into the Veronese court continues, when, after having attempted to force his new wife, Rhodolinda, to drink from the skull of her dead father, Albovine attempts to regain her love by vowing never to revel in his victory over her father again. In this speech he suggests that if he speaks of his passions, namely his pride, then may 'his tongue blister, till't / Infect my breath with epidemick- heat.' (iv.1) Here, Albovine's passion contains a contagious heat which can infect and inflame other parts of his body, in this case his mouth, specifically his tongue and breath. By describing it as 'epidemick', he suggests that this hot passion is capable of infecting the entire court. The air of the Veronese court is transmitted from one inhabitant to the next, transferring contagious passions which are conducted via the nose and mouth, implying a cyclical relationship between human bodies and the environment in which they

[269] See Nicholas Culpeper, *The English Physician* (London: William Bentley, 1652), p.115-116.

dwell. In *Albovine* then, the ecological, physical and emotional are inextricably connected, as in the Galenic humoral model.

There is continued reference to the inhalation of passion and disease throughout *Albovine*, coupled with descriptions of the atmosphere and climate of the decaying and polluted Verona. The old sea captain Grimold claims starvation in an attempt to persuade Albovine to pay him an outstanding debt of money. Grimold provides much of the comic relief in the subplot of the play and frequently refers to the court and its inhabitants as 'rotten.' For instance, in Act 4, Grimold declares 'this luxurious citie / Hath made me so rotten, I dare not walke / I'th winde, lest I should be blowne in pieces.' (iv.1) Here, the image of Grimold's rotten body simultaneously refers to his physical starvation as well as an emotional disease, as we are told that he is 'melancholy' in the first act. These lines connect the human body with the surrounding environment which is the cause of Grimold's physical and emotional deterioration. His rotten body and mind are a result of the rotten and 'luxurious' state of Verona. The word 'luxurious' is key here as it connotes excessive passion, particularly lechery and greed, suggesting that the atmosphere of the Veronese court is infected with extreme lust and greed, which has in turn infected Grimold, causing his starvation and subsequent decay of his physical form.

Furthermore, like the use of the word 'sulpherous', the emphasis on the 'rotten' Verona,also suggests an unpleasant scent of decay. Danijela Kambaskovic describes a similar occurrence in Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, writing that '[m]oral judgement is often implied in early modern literary metaphors involving a sense of smell, as in Hamlet's observation that 'something is rotten in the state of Denmark.'[270] For Kambaskovic, the

[270] Danijela Kambaskovic, '"Among the Rest of the Senses…Proved Most Sure": Ethics of the Senses in Pre-Modern Europe', in *Conjunctions of Mind, Soul and Body from Plato to the Englightenment*, ed. by Danijela Kambaskovic (Dordecht: Springer, 2014), pp.337-370 (p.359).

rotten scent of Denmark mirrors the moral degradation of the state, and the same can be said of Davenant's Verona. The unpleasant odour and polluted atmosphere that has physically rotted the body of Grimold, is directly related to the moral corruption taking place in Albovine's kingdom, namely his passion for his favourite, and his favourite's excessive ambition.

These rotten passions that inflict the air of the Verona, are even more explicitly imbued with political implications. If we look back at the first occurrence of the word 'rotten' in Act 1, Scene 1, we find it is used once again by Grimold to describe the King's favourite, Paradine as 'rotten.' (i.1) According to Grimold then, the 'luxurious' Verona has been infected by the 'rotten' lust and greed of the King's favourite, Paradine. Davenant uses Grimold to express the anxieties about the consequences of the power given to court favourites, an anxiety that was undoubtedly topical given the controversial favouritism in James I's court, and the prospect of similar relationships developing in the new court of Charles I. Passions in *Albovine* are political and contagious, capable of not only decaying the physical human body, but also symbolising the possibility of the destruction of the court.

Eating Passion

As discussed in the introduction, early modern scholars such as Schoenfeldt and renaissance writers such as Cogan, explain that diet could be used to regulate the body and mind.[271] The next section will explore the role of food in the creation and alteration of the passions in *Albovine*, arguing that the images of consumption in the play bear a political message.

[271] See introduction for further details.

In both *Albovine* and *The Cruel Brother* Davenant uses versions of the same image of the eating of brains to depict the dangers of favouritism. In *Albovine* Grimold states that 'The king's head must now conuert to rotten wood, […] That Court Earwigges may liue there and deuour / His brains. Dost not perceiue how they begin / To creepe into his eares?' (i.1), and in *The Cruel Brother* the Duke tells his favourite Lucio that 'Thou art my earwig now, / Creeps't in my ear to feast upon my brains.'[272] By figuring the court favourites as 'earwigs' and consequently depicting the brains of both rulers as 'rotten', Davenant criticises the relationship between rulers and their favourites by presenting their favourites as corruptive, manipulative, and greedy. The eating of brains in both these passages symbolises the vulnerable nature of rulers whose minds and passions are swayed by the favourites that they so adore. Furthermore, the portrayal of said brains as 'rotten', or decaying implies that not only the bodies and minds of Albovine and the Duke are at risk, but the kingdom or court itself will rot or become corrupted by the aspirations and motivations of court favourites, linking back to the image of Verona's rotten atmosphere.

Moreover, Paradine, is described by Grimold as a 'rotten parasite.' (i.1) The use of the word 'parasite' in this play is particularly significant due to its several meanings. The first entry in the Oxford English Dictionary defines it as:

> A person who lives at the expense of another, or of society in general; *esp.* (in early use) a person who obtains the hospitality or patronage of the wealthy or powerful by obsequiousness and flattery; […] a person whose behaviour resembles that of a plant or animal parasite; a sponger.[273]

[272] William Davenant, *The Cruel Brother* (London: Augustine Mathewes, 1630), i.1.
[273] "parasite, n.". OED Online. December 2016. Oxford University Press. http://www.oed.com.lcproxy.shu.ac.uk/view/Entry/137636?rskey=WRIUvF&result=1&isAdvanced=false (accessed January 14, 2017). (Para 1 to 3).

But it is also linked with the act of 'eating', in two quotations included in the OED definition of the word. The first is a quotation from Richard Taverner's *Erasmus' Proverbes* (1539) which reads 'It is the fascion of a flatterer and parasyte to lyue of an other mans trencher'[274] as well as Nicholas Udall's translation of Erasmus' *Apothegemes* (1542) in which he writes 'Parasites, were called suche smelle feastes as would seeke to bee free geastes at riche mennes tables.'[275] Both of these examples link the flattery of parasites with the idea of greed and the act of eating.

Davenant uses imagery of eating to express the anxieties about the consequences of the power given to court favourites, an anxiety that was undoubtedly topical given the controversial favouritism in James I's court, and the prospect of similar relationships developing in the new court of Charles I. Through the imagery of eating in both the examples of the parasite and the earwig, Davenant emphasises the dangerous nature of both the monarch's passion for the favourite, and the favourite's excessive passions of greed and ambition. The passionate exchange between King and favourite is figured both as a disease eating away at the King's brain, and infused with the potential to consume the court as a whole.

This image of the brain as food returns once again at the end of the play. After manipulating every person around him, persuading them to destroy themselves and others so that he can gain power, Hermegild, believing that Paradine has been poisoned and is none the wiser to his plots, reveals himself as perpetrator of the violent plan that has caused Paradine to kill his own wife and the King. He tells him 'Tis I have shak'd thy brains / That heretofore were thick as curds, into / A pale, thin whay.' (v.1) Again, brains are figured as

[274] Richard Taverner, *Erasmus Desiderius, Proverbes* (1539), p.57
[275] Nicholas Udall, *Desiderius Erasmus- Apothogemes* (London: R. Grafton, 1542), p.108.

food, ready to be devoured, or in this case 'shak'd.' Hermegild describes his invasion of Paradine's brain as a manipulation of ingredients and suggests his capability to actually alter he physical form of his brain, reducing it from a liquid to a solid. The recurring image of the brains as food alludes to the fear that court favourites could control and consume the brains of their royal doters.

The relationship between passion and taste is most often expressed through sexual cannibalism in *Albovine*. Louise Noble states that

> there is a tendency for the rhetoric of sexuality to drift into metaphors of consumption, primarily because of the strong physical and emotional links between sex and food; however this rhetoric is also haunted by the very real possibility of sexual cannibalism – the slicing, cooking, and eating of the human body for sexual pleasure and emotional well-being.[276]

The idea of cannibalism and sexual pleasure permeates *Albovine.* Davenant implies that human flesh is polluted by inordinate passions, and that by consuming this flesh an individual may also become infected by lust, in Act 3, when Cunymond teases Grimold when the sea Captain announces that he wishes to be 'furnished' with a 'mistress.' In reply Cunymond asks, 'Is not your flesh a little tainted! / Are you not vnwholesome?' (iii.1) Here, Davenant links sexual appetite with the appetite for food, suggesting that Grimold's flesh is somehow contaminated, and perhaps infectious and therefore unfit for any kind of consumption, mocking him due to his age and suggesting that his body has gone off, so to speak. The word 'tainted' suggests that Grimold would taste rotten, in the same way that the descriptions of the rotten air convey an unpleasant smell. This could also be read on another level of passionate contagion; throughout the play Grimold tells everyone that he is starving, and is also described as 'melancholy' (i.1), an emotional and physical state which

[276] Louise Noble, *Medicinal Cannibalism in Early Modern Literature and Culture* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2011), p.74.

often went hand in hand, therefore it seems that more than merely suggesting that Grimold has decayed or rotted with age, Cunymond implies that his passionate state of 'melancholia' may also be contagious, and therefore contracted by digestive or sexual consumption of his flesh. As Grimold's apparent starvation is depicted as a result of the King's refusal to pay him some wages that he is owed, Grimold's passions are once again portrayed as a contagious disease inflicted upon him by the court and transferable through the consumption of his unsavoury flesh.

The relationship between desire and eating in the play is most frequently linked to the passions of Rhodolinda. In Act 3, Hermegild and Rhodolinda plan and execute a bed trick as part of their revenge plan against the king, in which Paradine is tricked into sleeping with Rhodolinda, believing that she is his wife Valduara. However, after the act, Hermegild expresses his fears that this plan, in which Rhodolinda would act as though she desired Paradine, will result in her actual desire for him, thus thwarting his plan to marry Rhodolinda for himself and overthrow Albovine. He says

> Though t'assist my great hopes with opportune
> Induction, I consented to this act;
> Yet now I chide my fond spirits. For who
> Dares trust th'vnruly appetite of youth?
> What I decreed she should but taste, she may
> Delight to surfeit on. It shewes fulsome!
> Here's the precious medicine that must restore
> Health to my hopes. (iv.1)

In this passage Hermegild depicts Paradine as a food substance for Rhodolinda to 'taste' and worries that by concocting the bed trick plan, Rhodolinda will long to over-indulge in her appetite for the young Paradine, using imagery of excessive eating, conjured through the words 'fulsome' and 'surfeit.' Hermegild fears that now Rhodolinda has become sexually involved with Paradine, he will replace him in her affections.

The act of cannibalism is used to express the King's desire for his favourite right from the start, when Grimold describes Albovine's affection for Paradine telling us that 'the royall foole greets him with such / Rauenous kisses, that you would thinke he meant / To eat his lips.' (i.1) This idea of eating lips is then passed on and literalised in the climax of the play when Paradine, pretending to be enamoured with Queen Rhodolinda, kisses her and bites off her lips in an act of revenge for her manipulation. The exchange goes like this:

> **RHODOLINDA:**
> Deare Paradine, I sure shall ravish thee,
> My appetite is growne so fierce. Let me
> Begin with thy moyst lip---
>
> [Pulls her to kisse him in the Chaire.]
>
> **PARADINE:**
> Let's to't like Monkeys, or the reeking Goat.
>
> **RHODOLINDA:**
> Oh! oh! oh! Helpe! helpe!
>
> [Both are bloody about their mouthes.]
>
> **PARADINE:**
> Cease your loud clamor, Royall Whore.
>
> **RHODOLINDA:**
> Thou didst eate my lips.
>
> **PARADINE:**
> Thy flesh is sowre, musty; more tainted then
> A Carion in a phlegmatick ditch for else
> Like th' Anthropophagus, I had deuour'd thee vp. (v.1)

In this exchange, in which the duped Paradine is revenged upon the duplicitous Rhodolinda, the relationship between passion and eating is clear. To begin with Rhodolinda depicts her desire for Paradine as a hunger, referring to her increasing 'appetite' and picking out his moist lip as an object to satisfy her. However, Paradine literalises this ambiguity by actually biting the lips of Rhodolinda. The use of the word 'eat' instead of bite in Rhodolinda's response to Paradine's violence suggests that he did not merely bite

her lips but actually chewed them off in their entirety, and possibly even swallowed them. Furthermore, Paradine's description of Rhodolinda's flesh reinforces ideas about contagion, decay and corruption which pervades the text. He uses adjectives such as 'tainted' and compares her flesh to that of a 'carrion'. Through this description he suggests that Rhodolinda's passions, her lust, her anger, and her desire for revenge have rotted her physical body, and that her flesh tastes 'sowre' and 'musty'. Through her passionate violence and lust, generated by the ambitious dishonesty of her own 'rotten' parasite Hermegild, she too has become rotten. In the last lines of his reply he suggests that if her flesh was not so contaminated he would have 'devour'd her up', and alludes to the legendary cannibalistic anthropophagi from early modern travel texts. By refusing to eat the rest of her 'tainted' flesh, Paradine insinuates that her body is contagious as well as unsavoury, suggesting that the effects of her violent passions are infectious.

The idea of being able to taste excessive or corruptive passion in the human body is present in the medical texts of the early modern period as well as the dramatic ones. In Nicholas Gyer's *The English Phlebotomy* (1592) he outlines the procedures and benefits of the medical practice of bloodletting. In doing so, he refers to the tasting of blood to detect its suitability as a medicine of sorts, suggesting that the taste of the blood can convey the humoral disposition of an individual. He writes

> No man doth willingly tast detracted bloud, but if by chaunce it come into the mouth, and doo tast sweet, it is according to nature, good, and of perfect concoction. If it bee bitter in tast, it sheweth aboundance of choller: if it be sowre, sharpe, and restringent, it denotateth aboundance of melancoly: if unsavery, aboundance of flegme: if salt, the bloud is mixt with salt flegme.[277]

[277] Nicholas Gyer, *The English Phlebotomy* (London: William Hoskins and John Danter, 1592), p.257.

Perhaps then, the taste of human flesh could convey similar traits about human emotion. The description of Rhodolinda's lips as tainted or sour may suggest either the abundance of melancholy or the abundance of choler in her body, reinforcing the idea that her entire body has become tainted by infectious passion. The idea that the blood carrying the humors which alter the passions, travels through the body and in doing so has the power to transform the 'character' of human flesh, can be linked back to Paster's contention that affects produced by bodily fluids and transported by the blood had the power to alter the make-up of human flesh.[278] Therefore, through Paradine's reaction to Rhodolinda's tainted flesh, Davenant suggests that her rotten passions of lust, anger, and desire have altered the 'character' or flavour of her flesh and blood, which has in turn become infectious and contagious when consumed.

In *Divine Hunger: Cannibalism as a Cultural System,* Peggy Reeves Sanday argues that 'Cannibalism is never just about eating but is primarily a medium for non-gustatory messages- messages having to do with the maintenance, regeneration, and, in some cases, the foundation of the cultural order.'[279] In *Albovine*, the cannibalism and the excessive lust that accompanies it act as a message about the decadence and decay of the court, the domain of the King, the supposed head of the social order, and this idea is highlighted further by Hermegild's commentary on the apparent starvation of aging solider Grimold when he says 'It is my wonder in a state so rich / As ours, […] a souldier should / Be forc'd to make his hunger a disease,' (iv.1) criticising not only the decadence and greed of the nobles, but also emphasising the poverty and hunger of the less fortunate.

Drinking Passion

[278] See introduction for full discussion.
[279] Peggy Reeves Sanday, *Divine Hunger: Cannibalism as a Cultural System* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), p.3.

As well as eating, *Albovine* is concerned with drinking and the effect this has on the passions. The final section of this chapter will explore the acts of drinking in the play, focusing on the relationship between the consumption of wine and the consumption of blood or other bodily fluids, and demonstrating how these acts of drinking relate to the generation of excessive emotions, particularly lust and anger.

The most affecting act of drinking in the play, which has already been mentioned, sees Rhodolinda, who is still in mourning for her father, forced to drink from her father's skull in an odd Middleton-esque scene. Although not literally consuming the skull of her father, the image of drinking from a skull recalls the early modern medical practice of consuming pieces of human skulls as a cure. Although consuming human remains was not strictly a feature of Galenic medicine, it would be foolish to assume that Davenant, or anybody living and working in this period, was influenced by only one doctrine of medicine. While humoral theory certainly dominated early modern medical discussion, there were certainly competing and conflicting theories circulating alongside it, and as we have seen already, the 17th century saw many dramatic changes in the world of medicine and the ways in which the human body worked, therefore it would be unwise to assume that Davenant would not have been privy to other ideas and theories outside of Galen's work. Moreover, even Galen believed in the 'curative effect on epilepsy and arthritis of an elixir of burned human bones.'[280] Many physicians, such as John French believed that the consumption of bones and skulls could have a healing effect. In his treatise he includes more than one recipe for elixirs made from the human skull. 'Another excellent spirit made out of Cranium, Harts horn, or Ivory' reads:

[280] Noble, *Medicinal Cannibalism in Early Modern Literature and Culture*, p.17.

> Take of either of these, (if you take Cranium it need not be bruised at all, only broke into little pieces; if Harts horn or Ivory, you must cut them in thin pieces) lay it piece by piece upon a net spread upon any vessell being almost full of water, cover this net with another vessel very close, then make the water boyl, and keep it boyling three dayes and three nights, and in that time the bones or horns, will be as soft as cheese; then pound them, and to every pound thereof put half a pound of Hungarian vitrial uncalcined, and as much spirit of wine as wil make them into a thin paste. This paste digest in a vessell hermetically seald the space of a month in Balneo, then distil it in a Retort in sand till all be dry, and you shall have a most excellent spirit. This spirit is of wonderful use in the Epilepsie, Convulsions, all Feavers putrid or pestilential, passions of the heart, and is a very excellent Sudorifick.[281]

Davenant takes this image of consuming human bones further, presenting the image of Rhodolinda drinking from her father's skull as an early indicator of her unruly lust, which reveals itself as the play endures. He does so through a second image of Rhodolinda's physical contact with her father's skeleton in a speech which recalls Juliet's charnel house speech.[282] In response to Paradine's attempts to persuade Rhodolinda to forgive Albovine and return to his bed, she says

> How! lye with him? Ile sooner choose a Mansion
> In a sepulcher: There commit incest
> With the raw remnant of my fathers bones:
> Sooner imbrace an ayrie Incubus:
> Mingle Limmes with some vlcerous Cripple,
> Able to infect an Hospitall. (i.1)

By linking these two images, Davenant conflates the consumption of wine from Rhodolinda's father's skull with an incestuous and contagious passion. In this description of an incestuous tryst with a skeleton in the sepulchre, Davenant employs the vocabulary of disease and decay, comparing her to a victim of leprosy, or an 'ulcerous' cripple with the

[281] John French, *The Art of Distillation* (London: E. Cotes, 1653). Here, French suggests you can use either 'cranium humanum', Hart's horn or ivory.
[282] Shakespeare, *Romeo and Juliet*, iv.1.

ability ‘to infect an Hospitall’, and thus aligning Rhodolinda’s passion with both the sexual and literal consumption of human bones.

When describing the King’s attempt to force her to drink from the skull, Rhodolinda declares that Albovine was ‘drunk with pride’ (i.1), portraying pride as a passion to be consumed. On the night in question, immediately before Albovine presents Rhodolinda with the bowl of victory, he asks for more wine three times, suggesting that intoxication played a role in his horrific demonstration of pride at his defeat of Rhodolinda’s father. First he asks for ‘Some wine!’ stating that he will ‘drinke as when / I’m hot with victory’, he then goes on to order ‘More wine!’, before finally shouting, ‘More wine! Bring vs the bowle of victory.’ (i.1) In the first example wine is figured as the causal factor for violent passions, as he describes the way in which it makes him ‘hot’, suggesting the heating of his blood and presence of the humor choler which then urges him to violence and the proud celebration of violent victories. Albovine himself blames the consumption of alcohol for his passionate actions, lamenting ‘He that drinks forfeits his mortalitie!’ (iii.1), unwittingly announcing his own fate as this act of drunken pride leads to his wife’s revenge and his own death. As in humoral theory, Davenant suggests that the food and drink one consumes has a direct effect on the emotions of an individual, and consequently their actions.

Similarly, when Hermegild dies in the final act of the play, stabbed by Paradine, Davenant returns to both the idea of intoxication and the consumption of bodily fluids. At his death Hermegild declares, ‘I stagger, and am drunk with mine own blood’ (v.1); he describes the amount of blood and how it enters his mouth as he dies, and simultaneously suggests that his acknowledgement of the role he has played in his own death. His blood is toxic and symbolises his excessive passion, namely his ambition, which has ultimately killed him. The effect the consumption of his own blood has on his body is depicted as

'drunkenness', referring back to Albovine's lack of reason as a result of alcohol and passion at the beginning of the play, while also conveying the literal drowsiness and light-headedness one is likely to experience after being stabbed multiple times. In *Albovine*, what one drinks affects the generation of one's passions, and in this case the passions themselves are figured as a liquid to drink. Wine and blood are conflated and presented as potentially poisonous and pollutive to the human body and mind, and given the power to generate passion and cause disease. The blood of the Queen's favourite, which contains his passions, is therefore presented as toxic and pollutive, once again reinforcing anxieties about the dangerous nature of favourites, and the consequences of their actions for the monarch and entire court.

Here, this act of drinking blood, which proves to be deadly and toxic can be read as a subversion of the Catholic Eucharist. As in the Marlowe's and Shakespeare's plays in the previous two chapters, the emphasis on the senses in Davenant's tragedy is reflective of the shifting nature of early modern Christianity. Rather than, sight and hearing, Davenant is concerned with smell and taste, two senses which, as demonstrated in the introduction, are also linked to God. As Imorde tells us, the sense of taste in particular was connected to spiritual passion during the Counter-Reformation. This emphasis on taste is undoubtedly due, at least in part, to the Catholic rites of the Eucharist, which the Counter-Reformation sought to restore. Unlike Protestantism, Catholicism taught that the host and the wine that formed the sacrament of Holy Communion was actually transformed into the body and blood of Christ, by a process called transubstantiation.

Like *Othello* and *Dido, Queen of Carthage* which in their exploration of the senses reflect Catholic and Protestant doctrines respectively, the portrayal of the senses of taste and smell in this play reflect the teachings of the Counter-Reformation. Instead, Davenant

figures this act of ritual drinking as one that causes human mortality, rather than reviving divinity or returning the body of Christ to those that receive it. This idea is most explicit in this scene as Hermegild is poisoned and intoxicated by the ingestion of blood. The numerous acts of eating and drinking of contagious and toxic human flesh, and also blood which is often figured as wine in this play, undermine the contention that the bread and wine that represents Christ is transformed into his actual flesh and blood, and this is just oneof a few examples of blood as a symbol for wine or vice versa.

When Albovine drinks the copious amounts of wine, he refers to it as 'legitimate blood of the rich Corsick grape' (i.1) and when Paradine believes that his wife Valdaura has poisoned him with 'a mixture of distll'd venome' she reveals that it was in fact, 'healthful as the blood of grapes' (iv.1). While drinking human blood does not sound particularly appealing to us now, in the early modern period the consumption of human blood, and 'mummy' which was also known as 'corpse matter' was believed to have medicinal benefits. In Act 4, Albovine tries to convince Rhodolinda to forgive him by proposing to make a strange and dramatic gesture. He says, 'Fill me a bowle with Negro's blood, congeal'd / Even into liuers! Tell her Hermegild, / Ile swallow tarre to celebrate her health!' (iv.1) In an odd attempt at a reconciliation, Albovine offers to make amends for trying to force Rhodolinda to drink from the 'bowl of victory' (i.e. her father's skull), by drinking from a bowl full of blood or perhaps even organs.

While cannibalism and the drinking of human blood may seem an extreme motif to use to satirise the lustful and greedy aspects of James's court, it would appear that the King himself did sanction the consumption of bodily matter and fluids in the name of medicine. Louis Noble tells us that

> the officially sanctioned *Pharmacopoeia Londinensis,* first published on May 7, 1618, with a proclamation by King James commending all apothecaries of the realm to embrace it. The *Pharmacopoeia* offers a survey of the entire 'materia medica simplicium,' cites a large number of medical sources, and includes in its catalogue various human excretions, grease of men, milk of women, mummy, and blood.[283]

In fact, ideas about the consumption of human flesh and fluids featured heavily in many early modern medical guides. Noble discusses the use of 'mummy' in the early modern medical world stating that

> The term [mummy] identifies matter procured from both ancient embalmed bodies, imported from the Middle East for the purpose, and local bodies, frequently the bodies of executed criminals sentenced to be anatomized and the bodies of those who were socially disenfranchised. […] In addition to mummy, bodily matter such as urine, faeces, blood, fat, and bone were deployed in the name of health. [284]

Albovine's vow to drink a 'negro's blood' certainly alludes to early modern medicinal cannibalistic practices, fitting with Noble's assertion that bodies chosen for the procedure were often 'socially disenfranchised,' and Albovine seems to view the drinking of said blood as a means of resolution between him and Rhodolinda, and perhaps a cure for his passion, thus instilling it with a restorative function. However, as we have seen, Davenant uses the imagery of this procedure and subverts it, giving blood an intoxicating effect rather than a healing one. At the moment of his death, Hermegild does not drink the supposedly healing blood of the negro, but instead swallows his own passion-infected blood, which throughout the play, is rendered pollutive, causing and exacerbating the passions of those around him, and eventually resulting in his own death.

Throughout the play, Hermegild plays a similar role to that of Iago in *Othello,* but unlike Shakespeare's plays about jealous husbands, Davenant's *Albovine* is concerned with

[283] Noble, *Medicinal Cannibalism in Early Modern Literature and Culture*, p.18.
[284] Ibid., p.3.

the way passions are linked with the mouth rather than the ears. Like Iago, Hermegild's words are presented as poisonous, for instance in Act 1, Paradine describes the motivations of fellow favourite Hermegild as follows: 'Hermegild still whispers in my ear, the king doth hate/ Thee Paradine. But Hermegild is read in all / The arts of court, and striues perhaps / My sence to poyson with leane iealousie.' (i.1) The description of Hermegild's words as poison is important in this play because it appears amongst several repeated ideas about the dangers of eating and drinking and the consequential effect these acts have on the generation and exacerbation of passion. In this speech, Paradine describes Hermegild's intentions to exacerbate his jealousy as a poisonous substance to be consumed. Furthermore, Hermegild also attempts to literalise his act of poisoning by manipulating Paradine's wife Valdaura, telling her that Paradine has been unfaithful and convincing her to give her husband poison to drink.

Despite the failure of Hermegild's plan to literally poison Paradine, it seems that his figurative poisonous potion works on Paradine's passions. Although at the beginning of the play, the members of the court fear that Paradine is a prime example of the lust-ridden favourite, manipulating and gaining favour with the King, at the beginning of the play he is described as 'honest' (i.1) and Albovine insists that his 'nature is much too blunt and credulous for court' (v.1). Instead, it is Hermegild, the Queen's favourite that most embodies the early modern anxieties about the dishonesty and dangers of court favourites right from the outset of the play, as he plots to steal the throne. By Act 5, the violent passions of Hermegild have been exacerbated in Paradine, as he uses words to poison him. Firstly, he convinces Paradine that his wife has been having an affair with the King, then attempts to incite his lust by announcing that if he kills the King he will have the Queen, before exacerbating his ambition, by suggesting that monuments will be erected if he

partakes in this violent act, and finally provoking his anger by reinforcing the crimes of his lustful wife, finishing their exchange with the lines, 'But he / Defil'd your sheets in the salt pride of lust. / Horror! This would incense the temperate doue; / Turn all his moysture into gall; teach him / To wear spurres on his heeles, and make him fierce / In duell as a British cock.' (v.1)

Hermegild's verbal poison is a heated concoction of passions, conveyed through his use of humoral language, suggestive of a physical transference of passion which is due, once again, to heat. Both of them refer to the bitterness of 'gall', referring to yellow bile which was believed to be stored in the gall bladder. Yellow bile was associated with the passion of anger and was said to be generated by a 'vital heat.'[285] Here then, when telling Paradine to turn his 'moisture into gall', Hermegild suggests that he turns his melancholy, (linked to moisture in the body and represented by black bile) into the more violent passions of anger and revenge. Paradine replies 'Fier! Fier! And warme blood!' (v.1) before exiting the stage to find and murder the King, and even after Paradine has killed Albovine, Rhodolinda and Hermegild, his passionate state lingers and seems to be at its most vehement when he declares, 'Now I doe swell with horror and sterne rage: / I will distract the whole world. Fire! Fire! Fire! / Murder, treason, and incestuous rapes! Fire! Fire!' (v.1) This image of his body swelling almost to bursting point with violent rage and his repetition of the exclamatory 'fire!' suggests that this infectious passion that has been stirred up and exacerbated by the Veronese court and those who dwell in it will not be easy to remove. It has taken over his entire body and made him permanently hot with violence. The continued references to the heat of Paradine's newly generated passions links to his description of poison, in the scene when he convinces Hermegild that Valduara did indeed

[285] Michael Stolberg, *Uroscopy in Early Modern Europe* (New York: Routledge, 2015), p.48.

feed him a poisonous drink. He exclaims, 'Oh, oh! It skorches all my entrailes vp: /As if like Porcia I had swallowed coales. / I spit scumme, such as o're th' hot Caldron boyles.' (v.1), as well as reminding us once again of Paradine's complaints about the hot climate which is detrimental to his mood. Therefore, the heated passions that Hermegild succesfully provokes in Paradine, appear to be the result of the contagious climate of Verona, as well as the figurative, but infectious, passionate poison which Hermegild forces him to drink.

The themes of intoxicating drinks, excessive appetite, and unruly lust in *Albovine*, represented through sexual cannibalism, alcoholism, and poison also furthers the argument that the play is a criticism of the court of James I, perhaps recalling to the minds of early moderns the famous banquets that occurred in James's court. James Shapiro's *1606: William Shakespeare and the Year of Lear* discusses the infamous extravagant and depraved court banquets which took place at Theobalds, the 'fabulous' estate of Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury. Sir John Harington, the godson of Queen Elizabeth described a banquet that took place during the visit of Christian, the King of Denmark and James's brother-in-law as follows:

> We had women, and indeed wine too, of such plenty, as would have astonished each sober beholder. Our feasts were magnificent […] I think the Dane hath strongly wrought on out good English nobles; for those whom I never could get to taste good liquor, now follow the fashion, and wallow in beastly delights. The ladies abandon their sobriety, and are seen to roll about in intoxication. In good sooth, the parliament did kindle to provide his Majesty so seasonably with money; for there hath been no lack of good living; shows, sights and banquetings, from morn to eve.[286]
>
> […]
>
> His majesty then got up and would dance with the Queen of Sheba; but he fell down and humbled himself before her, and was carried to an inner chamber and laid on a bed of state; which was not a little defiled with the presents of the queen which had been bestowed on his garments, such as wine, cream, jelly, beverage, cakes, spices and other good matters. The entertainment and show went forward, and most of the

[286] James Shapiro, *1606: William Shakespeare and the Year of Lear* (London: Bloomsbury, 2015), p.304.

> presenters went backward, or fell down; wine did so occupy their upper chambers.[287]

Harington goes on to say that 'The gunpowder fright is not out of all our heads, and we are going on, hereabouts, as if the devil were contriving every man should blow up himself, by wild riot, excess and devastation of the time and temperance.'[288] While Shapiro suggests that this account was more than likely fictional, or at least exaggerated, he also claims that '[m]any at court recalled the Twelfth Night celebrations two years earlier when the partying after *The Masque of Blackness* got out of hand: a banquet table was overturned and a mad scramble ensued as "chains, jewels, purses' and even 'the honesty' of a woman who was 'surprised at her business' were lost.'[289] These descriptions of court banquets which feature an abundance of food, overflowing wine, intoxicated nobles, and the consequential shedding of sexual inhibitions who ended up 'sick and spewing,'[290] resemble the same themes of overeating, excess, sexual consumption and intoxication that appear in *Albovine*. Therefore, by conjuring up the wildness and debauchery of the banquets at James I's court, known by many through various accounts of the events, Davenant criticises the court and highlights the indulgence of excessive passion by the king and his companions, effectively pointing out James I's inability to govern his appetite, a quality expected in a good king.

Although scholars of early modern humoral theory often stress the passivity of the doctrine, Hobgood notes that individuals were expected to 'take responsibility for their own humoral wellness and, through mediation of appetite, activity, climate, and affections, keep their bodies in healthy check.'[291] Ken Albala argues that this emphasis on governance of

[287] Ibid., p.307.
[288] Ibid., p.305.
[289] Ibid., p.307.
[290] Ibid., p.307.
[291] Hobgood, *Passionate Playgoing in Early Modern England,* p.101.

individual passions was intertwined with 'a growing consciousness of regulation, order, and rational government at a personal level in terms that parallel[ed] the rationalization of political states,'[292] and that 'thinking about government, economy, and defense of the state intensified current thought about personal government and diet.'[293] Therefore the moderation of appetites and passions reflected the ability of political states to maintain order and rationalisation, and consequently, the inability to achieve said moderation reflected the failure of political bodies.

Moreover, James I himself stressed the importance of self-control and management of the appetitive passions in his treatise on government, written for his sons, *Basilikon Doron* (1599), in which he states

> I need not trouble you with the particular discourse of the foure Cardinall vertues, it is so troden a path: but I will shortly say unto you; make one of them, which is Temperance, Queene of all the rest within you. I meane not by the vulgar interpretation of Temperance, which onely consists in *gustu & tactu,* by the moderating of these two senses: but I meane of that wise moderation, that first commanding your selfe, shall see as Queene, command all the affections and passions of your minde, and as a Phisician, wisely mixe all your actions according thereto. Therefore, not onely in all your affections and passions, but even in your most vertuous actions, make ever moderation to be the chiefe ruler.[294]

In this passage James explicitly warns against excessive passion, and advises his sons to gain control of their 'affections' and 'passions' in order to be the 'chiefe ruler.' Therefore, by using ideas about excessive eating, consumption of alcohol, sexual cannibalism, and sexual promiscuity to allude to the excess and debauchery of James I's court, Davenant calls into question his effectiveness and abilities as a ruler.

[292] Ken Albala, *Eating Right in the Renaissance* (California: University of California Press, 2002), p.217.
[293] Albala, *Eating Right in the Renaissance,* p.217.
[294] James I, *Basilikon Doron* (Edinburgh: Robert VValde-graue, 1603), p.84.

In conclusion, this chapter has demonstrated that in *Albovine* excessive passion is contagious, and is transferred from individual to individual via the mouth, through the senses of tasting and smelling and acts of breathing, eating, and drinking. This contagion has political implications and works to criticise both the fictional court of King Albovine within the world of the play, as well as the real court of James I, the scandals of which were fresh in the mind of early moderns. The presentation of the Veronese atmosphere as a polluted and pollutive vehicle for the exchange and transmission of excessive passion which generate violence demonstrates the influence of Galenist humoral theories on Davenant's tragedy, and assists in the establishment of a cyclical relationship between a corrupt court which generates passion, and the infectious passions of those within it, with the relationships between monarchs and their favourites at the centre.

The continued references to the consumption of food and flesh, particularly the preoccupation with sexual cannibalism in the play works in a similar way and is used specifically to highlight the potential dangers of "parasitic" court favourites who are ruled by their passions, as well as generating and overall sense of greed, excessive appetite, and the self-destruction of the royal court through passion-induced violence. Finally, the repetition of the relationship between alcohol and blood which figures the latter as intoxicating and infectious when consumed, turns early modern medicine on its head by subverting the belief that blood and other bodily fluids were beneficial for health and wellbeing. By aligning human blood with disease and poison, and using the jargon of humoral medicine to depict the presence of excessive passion within said blood, Davenant suggests that passions can be transferred via the blood not just within the body of a specific individual, but from person to person via the mouth and nose. Overall, whether transmitted through breathing, eating, or drinking, the swallowing of passion in Davenant's *The*

Tragedy of Albovine conjures up images of a corrupt and decadent court, which ultimately proves to be deadly.

The following section of this thesis will evaluate the ways in which characters in the plays, or the plays themselves attempt to govern or moderate the passions once they have been contracted or exacerbated. The first chapter of this section will turn from *Albovine* to John Ford's infamous tragedy *'Tis Pity She's a Whore* (1633), a play which features many of the same themes as Davenant's tragedy such as excessive lust, incest, cannibalism, and the human appetite. Rather than considering how passions in *'Tis Pity* are stirred up or contracted, this chapter and the ones that will follow, will contemplate how an individual might attempt to control, govern, moderate, or suppress the passions that so often prove fatal in early modern tragedy.

Section Two: Governing the Passions

Chapter Four:

'The Leprosy of Lust': Ungovernable Passion in John Ford's *'Tis Pity She's a Whore*

Turning from the creation of passions to emotional governance, this chapter on Ford's most famous tragedy will provide an introduction of sorts to the various early modern theories about whether passions can be governed and how they should be governed. These renaissance doctrines and polemics will be analysed alongside a play renowned for its exploration of excessive and controversial desire. Like the plays that have been discussed so far in this thesis, *'Tis Pity* is a play concerned with the human mind and body, as are most of Ford's works, and this chapter will once again address the relationship between emotion and health, asking whether inordinate emotion in Ford's play can be cured via spiritual or medical means. It will examine the power struggle between the individual and the excessive passions within them, as well as the dichotomy of religion and emotion, asking whether humans have the power to control their emotions, and suggesting that in Ford's play the church's inability to contain passion works to undermine the power of the Catholic Church. In the previous chapters I have argued that the creation of violent passion is often related to political and social issues such as race and the ruling classes; this chapter will take religion into consideration, asking how religious ideals and theories of emotion work together or against each other.

Lisa Hopkins notes that '[a]ll Ford's plays are concerned to a greater or lesser degree with emotional states and their effects upon the action, but most are also structured around violent and sensational acts.'[295] This contention is extremely pertinent when

[295] Lisa Hopkins, 'Staging Passion in Ford's The Lover's Melancholy' *Studies in English Literature,* 45.2 (2005), 443-459 (p. 443).

describing '*Tis Pity She's a Whore* (1633), arguably Ford's sensationally violent play, notorious for its exploration of the incestuous passion between Giovanni and his sister Annabella. Focusing on the sibling protagonists of *'Tis Pity*, this chapter will ask to what extent passion is presented as governable in Ford's tragedy, reading the play in conjunction with religious and philosophical tracts on the passions from the period, as well as the proto-psychological, spiritual, and material factors which affect Ford's portrayal of passion as governable or ungovernable.

While this chapter is informed by seminal texts such as Gail Kern Paster's *Reading the Early Modern Passions* (2004) and Mary Floyd-Wilson's *Embodiment and Environment in Early Modern Drama and Performance* (2007), both of which stress the importance of the relationship between the emotional and the corporeal in early modern humoural theory, ideas which are indisputably key to any discussion of early modern understanding of emotion, it will also consider other frameworks. For instance, Angus Gowland traces the development of the humours and passions in the early modern period, and argues that

> [I]nterest in disturbing passions was not the exclusive preserve of humanist philosophy. In fact, I would suggest that the development of the spiritual aspect of early modern ideas about disturbing emotions was the single most important factor fuelling the expansion of the potential usage of the idea of melancholy across European intellectual discourse.[296]

Gowland emphasises other frameworks for the study of early modern passion, in this case religious belief, which he argues became increasingly central to the understanding of emotion and emotional disease from the late 16th century onwards. While the ensuing

[296] Angus Gowland, 'The Problem with Early Modern Melancholy', *Past and Present,* 191 (2006), 77-121 (103).

argument includes a humanist discussion of the passions, due to the centrality of religious politics in the play, early modern spiritual and philosophical views about the moderation and governance of the passions will also form a significant portion of the chapter.

As outlined in the thesis introduction, some theorists such as Montaigne, believed that the expression of passion is beneficial. However, when the passion one wants to express is incestuous desire as in *'Tis Pity*, the repercussions of acting on that passion are certainly more dangerous and consequential than the venting of anger. Therefore, many early modern writers on the passions distinguished between good and bad passions when deciding whether or not they should or could be governed.[297]

Linking these ideas back to Ford's play, perhaps Annabella and Giovanni's desire itself would have been classified as the 'wrong' type of passion, and is therefore uncontrollable. Could their passion be construed as inordinate or excessive merely due to its incestuous nature? According to Anne E. Duggan, 'some Medieval and Renaissance theologians believed that incestuous passion was dangerous precisely because it manifested itself more violently than passion directed outside of the nuclear or extended family.'[298] Therefore, incest itself was always considered an immoderate passion, as it exceeds the normative nature of passion commonly exchanged between family members, making it more difficult to govern or extinguish.

As discussed in the introduction to the thesis, particular types of 'wrong' passions, and the inability to govern them with rationality were traits often deemed to be uncivilised or animalistic.[299] Therefore, by describing characters at the height of passion as animalistic,

[297] See discussion of Thomas Wright, Robert Burton and William Fenner in the 'Governing the Passions' section of the introduction.
[298] Anne E. Duggan, *Salonnieres, Furies, and Fairies: The Politics of Gender and Cultural Change in Absolutist France* (New Jersey: University of Delaware Press, 2005), p. 180.
[299] See discussion of animalistic passion with reference to Gail Kern Paster, and William Fenner in thesis introduction.

Ford presents their passion as overpowering and uncontainable; this is most explicit in Vasques's advice to his master Soranzo: 'Sir, you must be ruled by your reason, and not by your fury; that were inhuman and beastly.'[300] Here, Vasques warns his master to use his reason to control his passion, in this case 'fury', in order to prevent himself from becoming like a beast.

This association between animalistic behaviour and excessive passion was also explored in the proto-psychological texts of the period. For instance, in *The Anatomy of Melancholy'*s 'Symptoms of Love' Burton declares that

> The major part of lovers are carried headlong like so many brute beasts; reason counsels one way; […] this furious lust, *precipitates*, couterpoiseth, weighs down on the other; though it be there utter undoing, perpetuall infamy, loss, yet they will do it, and become at last *insensate*, void of sense; degenerate into dogs, hogs, asses, brutes.[301]

In this passage, Burton presents reason as a counsellor for the passions. However, when it comes to desire he claims that 'furious lust' overwhelms reason and transforms men into animals, overtaking the mind and ultimately causing a kind of love melancholy.

Burton's influence on Ford's works is often noted by critics and in *'Tis Pity* Ford uses similar adjectives to Burton when describing characters at their most impassioned. For example, Soranzo calls Hippolita 'monstrous' (ii.2.96) when she is unable to control her 'female spleen' (ii.2.125), and also refers to Annabella as a 'damnable monster' when he discovers that she is pregnant with another man's child, thereby linking her excessive lust with monstrosity and the inhuman. (iv.3.32) Additionally, in the latter scene Annabella, in retort, labels Soranzo as 'beastly' when he behaves with extreme anger and violence towards her. (iv.3.15) In each of these cases excessive amounts of passions, particularly

[300] John, Ford, *'Tis Pity She's a Whore and Other Plays* ed. by Michael Cordner (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), iv.3.83-85.
[301] Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, p. 507.

desire and anger, are associated with animalistic behaviour and a loss of control over the emotions.

The association between incest and animals is evident in productions of the play. In her discussion of Giuseppe Patroni Griffi's 1971 film production of *'Tis Pity*, Kate Wilkinson notes that 'Giovanni is frequently linked to animals' and that images of animal sex, specifically horses copulating, are used to parallel relationships in the film.[302] More recently, Shakespeare's Globe's 2014 production of the tragedy in the Sam Wanamaker Playhouse, saw Giovanni leaping onto tables, covered in blood in a manner that resembled the actions of a wild animal immediately after the murder of his sister. The prevalence of this relationship between incest and the bestial is not surprising given that in the early modern period incest and bestiality were often categorised alongside each other 'because they define with what or whom sexual congress is permitted or prohibited.'[303] In fact, Dympna Callaghan goes as far as to state that during the Renaissance incest and bestiality were 'versions of one another', demonstrating that incestuous passions were often conflated with an animalistic desire.[304] This theatrical link between Giovanni and the beasts is explicit in Ford's text itself, as in the final bloody banquet scene when Giovanni has reached the height of his passion and reveals his murderous and incestuous crimes, he too is labelled as a 'monster' (v.6.62) by the Cardinal and 'inhuman' by Soranzo (v.6.68).

Also contributing to this depiction of Giovanni as a man who is driven to his bestial nature by his incestuous passion are the cannibalistic undertones present in the final banquet scene. As well as being linked to bestiality, incest was often associated with

---

[302] Kate Wilkinson, 'The Performance History' in *'Tis Pity She's a Whore*, ed. by Lisa Hopkins (London: Continuum, 2008), p. 51.
[303] Dympna Callaghan, '(Un)natural loving: swine, pets and flowers in *Venus and Adonis*', in *Textures of Renaissance Knowledge* ed. by Phillipa Berry and Margaret Tudeau-Clayton (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003), pp. 58-80, p. 66.
[304] Ibid., p. 66.

cannibalism. Merrall L. Price states that 'Both incest and cannibalism are acts that invoke the bestial, allowing for the drawing of convenient boundaries between culture and non-culture, inside and out';[305] parallels were thus drawn between incest and cannibalism due to their transgressive nature, and used as a way of separating the civilised from the uncivilised, the human from the animal. This connection is alluded to in Shakespeare's *Pericles,* when Pericles reads the riddle from Antiochus which reveals Antiochus' incestuous desire for his daughter. The riddle begins with the line 'I am no viper, yet I feed / On mother's flesh which did me breed.'[306] Through the image of the 'viper' and use of the verb 'feed' to describe sexual intercourse with his own daughter, Antiochus' riddle links his incestuous lust with the action of cannibalism and bestiality. Cannibalism and incest are both centred on the idea of consumption of one's own kind: cannibalism signifies either the desire or act of eating a fellow human; incest signifies either the desire or act of sexual intercourse with a fellow family member. The heart represented the centre of passion for many early modern theorists (such as William Harvey who is credited with discovering how blood was circulated round the body). Therefore, when Giovanni arrives at Soranzo's banquet carrying his sister's heart impaled on his dagger, it becomes a symbol of their incestuous love expressed through the image of Giovanni's dagger piercing Annabella's heart, but also of food. The latter is most explicit in the following passage taken from Giovanni's speech:

> You came to feast, my Lords, with dainty fare,
> I came to feast too; but I digged for food
> In a much richer mine, than gold or stone
> Of any value balanced; 'tis a heart,
> A heart, my Lords, in which is mine entombed.(v.6.24-28)

[305] Merrall L. Price, *Consuming Passions: The Use of Cannibalism in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (London: Routledge, 2003), p. 25.
[306] William Shakespeare, 'Pericles' in *William Shakespeare Complete Works* ed. by Jonathan Bate and Eric Rasmussen (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2007), pp. 2323-2355 (i.1.65-67).

Here Giovanni talks about feasting on his sister's heart, conflating both his sexual appetite and his appetite for food. The appetite was often linked with the passions as some philosophers, including Nicolas Coeffeteau, cited the appetite as the cause of the passions, describing them as 'motions of the sensitive appetite.'[307] Moreover, the ability to control one's appetite was often regarded as a measure of masculinity as well as a marker of the civilised. Claire Jowitt tells us that 'the correct management of appetite' was an important social indicator in the early modern period and accounts of travels to non-European parts of the world .[308] For example, accounts such as Montaigne's *Of Cannibals* were often filled with tales of cannibalism and sexual promiscuity in order to present other cultures as less civilised, more animalistic, even monstrous and therefore in need of European rule and authority. Through Ford's tendency to convey emotional characters as animalistic and uncivilised (through his use of language and references to the transgressive behaviour that was most frequently associated with those thought to be "less-civilised" than those from the West), he links characters, particularly Giovanni, with an inability to suppress the appetite and consequently govern the passions.

Giovanni's apparent loss of reason, symbolised by his animalistic traits, could suggest that his passion could be classified as a mental disease. Throughout the play Giovanni is referred to as 'mad' by his fellow citizens of Parma and many critics argue that by the end of the play Giovanni is mad. For example, Mark Stavig argues that Giovanni's murder of Annabella demonstrates 'the ultimate depravity of a man approaching

[307] Coeffeteau, *A Table of Humane Passions with their Causes and Effects*, p. 26.
[308] Claire Jowitt, 'New Worlds and Old Worlds', in *Voyage Drama and Gender Politics 1589-1642* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002), pp. 191- 230 (p.192).

madness'[309] Brian Gibbons contends that Giovanni's act of violence is due to the fact that society has 'imposed psychological exile and finally madness on him'[310] and Lisa Hopkins notes the significance of the 'final frenzied and incomprehensible utterances' of Giovanni.[311] However, the emphasis in all of these views is on the climax of the play and both Hopkins and Gibbons use the word 'final' in their readings of Giovanni's madness, implying that Giovanni can only be considered mad at the end of the play. Although it is indisputable that Giovanni's mental state is at its most volatile and dangerous in the final scenes, I would argue that Giovanni begins the play mad, driven so by his attempts to supress his 'hidden flames' (i.2.217), and his mental state deteriorates further as the play endures and he is faced with more obstacles to his incestuous relationship, recalling Montaigne's contention that repressing passion tortures the mind.

Ford presents evidence of Giovanni's distraction as early as Act 1, and in the very first scene the Friar calls Giovanni a 'foolish madman.' (i.1.24) In Act 1, Scene 2, Annabella describes her brother in terms which resemble early modern symptoms of love melancholy;[312] upon seeing her brother below she remarks:

> Sure 'tis not he: this is some woeful thing
> Wrapped up in grief, some shadow of a man,
> Alas he beats his breast, and wipes his eyes
> Drowned all in tears; methinks I hear him sigh. (i.2.132-135)

Giovanni is consumed by his sorrow which is caused by his love for Annabella, a love which is prohibited by the moral codes of Parmesan society and Catholicism. In the same

---

[309] Mark Stavig, *John Ford and the Traditional Moral Order* (London: University of Wisconsin Press, 1968), p.119.
[310] Brian Gibbons, 'Introduction', in *Six Elizabethan and Jacobean Tragedies* (London: Metheun, 2008), pp. viii-xx (p.xix).
[311] Lisa Hopkins, *John Ford's Political Theatre* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994), p.102.
[312] See Du Laurens, *A Discourse on the Preservation of Sight*, p.118, in which he writes of the love melancholic 'You shall finde him weeping, sobbing, sighing, and redoubling his sighes.' And Burton *The Anatomy of Melancholy,* p.601, for symptoms of love melancholy.

scene, Annabella also frets that her brother is 'frantic' and Giovanni declares 'I am sick; I fear so sick / 'Twill cost my life.'(i.2.179-180) Moreover, Giovanni tells his sister 'I have asked counsel of the Holy Church, / Who tells me I may love you'(i.2.236-237), yet if we return to Bonaventura's speech from the first scene to which Giovanni refers, he merely stated that Giovanni 'may love' and does not endorse his feelings towards Annabella (i.1.19). It could be that Giovanni is lying to Annabella in order to persuade her to partake in an incestuous relationship. However, it seems that here Giovanni has convinced himself that the Church sanction his desire, and in stating this belief he is not dishonest but delusional. All of this suggests that Giovanni's love for Annabella has caused a melancholic disease.

The argument that Giovanni's passion has become pathological is strengthened when we examine the nature of his desire in correlation with Robert Burton's description of Heroical love melancholy, which he claims is generated by 'beautie alone, as men loue women with a wanton eye.'[313] Giovanni's praise of Annabella mostly centres on her physical attractiveness and his desire is arguably motivated by her beauty. In Act 1, Sene 2, he continuously complements her appearance referring to her 'immortal beauty' and 'lips' that 'would tempt a saint.' (i.2.197 & 212) From the very start of the play Giovanni displays the characteristics of a Burtonian love melancholic.

Additionally, Burton describes the symptoms of such melancholy as follows:

> immoderate, inordinate, and not to be comprehended by any bounds. […] sometimes it produceth rapes, incests, murders, &c. & is confined within no termes, of yeares, sexe or whatsoeuer else. Some furiously rage before they come to discretion or age.[314]

[313] Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, p.512.
[314] Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, p.540.

He cites 'incests' and 'murders' as likely outcomes of this heroical love melancholy, and Giovanni commits both of these immoral acts, beginning with incest and ending with murder. Furthermore, Burton's melancholic 'furiously rage[s]' and Giovanni's acts of violence and display of his sister's heart would certainly be defined in those terms. From the outset of the play Ford presents Giovanni as a young man affected by heroical love melancholy which is seemingly exacerbated by Annabella's marriage to Soranzo, finally causing it to become destructive at the end of the play. By figuring Giovanni's passionate actions as the consequences of a disease, Ford presents this passion as ungovernable. At the very least, his passion is depicted as an affliction which he himself has no control over. Unlike many of his other plays such as *The Broken Heart* and *The Lover's Melancholy*, Ford alludes to no medical cure or suggested psychological treatment for Giovanni's melancholy, thus it remains ungovernable.

Nevertheless, Ford's play does include references to a religious cure. During the early modern period religion and morality were often posited as tools for controlling and converting the passions. For instance, Wright presented turning to God as a method for destroying vehement passions:

> When thy passions are most vehement, then seeke for succour from Heauen, flie vnder the wings of Christ, as the chickens vnder their henne, when the kite seeketh to deuour them: beate at the gates of his mercie, craue grace to ouercome thy miserie. […] humble thy selfe before him, open thy sores and wounds vnto him and the good Samaritane will poure in both wine and oyle; and then thou shalt see thy passions melt and fall away as clouds are consumed by the Sunne.[315]

For Wright, 'succour from Heaven', and God's 'mercie', are enough to 'melt' the passions away, and this imperative passage resembles that of Friar Bonaventura in *'Tis Pity*, who

[315] Wright, *The Passions of the Minde in Generall,* p.88.

counsels Giovanni to repent and lock himself away in order to rid himself of his incestuous passion. After failing to convince Giovanni that he should simply put an end to his immoral fantasies, and discovering that instead he has acted upon them, Friar Bonaventura suggests a cure for his lust in his ironically passionate speech:

> Hie to thy father's house, there lock thee fast
> Alone in thy chamber; then fall down
> On both thy knees, and grovel on the ground;
> Cry to thy heart; wash every word thou utter'st
> In tears (and if't be possible) of blood:
> Beg Heaven to cleanse the leprosy of lust
> That rots thy soul; acknowledge what thou art,
> A wretch, a worm, a nothing; weep, sigh, pray
> Three times a-day, and three times every night:
> For seven days space do this; then if thou find'st
> No change in thy desires, return to me;
> I'll think on remedy. (i.2.69-80)

Here Bonaventura prescribes solace, prayer and repentance in order for Giovanni to 'cleanse the leprosy of lust.' Using imperatives such as 'wash' and 'cleanse' he suggests that Giovanni is unclean and in need of purification. He depicts Giovanni's passion as an infectious disease that should and can be expelled from the body. In this passage and throughout the play, Bonaventura emphasises the power and importance of external religious forgiveness. In order to encourage Giovanni to pay penance and participate in shrift he uses terrifying and horrific imagery of rotting souls and 'tears of blood.' Passion, in this case desire, is portrayed as something that can be moderated and ultimately destroyed by turning to religion. Friar Bonaventura presents not only God, but himself, as a heroic figure able to extinguish lust, telling Giovanni to 'return' to him if his repentance and seclusion are unsuccessful in ridding him of his passion, promising a solution.

However, while Ford's Friar expresses the view that faith can moderate the passions, the power and legitimacy of the Friar's claims are undermined. By presenting

himself as an almost God-like figure Friar Bonaventura embodies one of the major anxieties and criticisms surrounding Catholicism at this time. This idea is supported by the frequent tableau of confession which dominate the play, as 'not only reformers but Catholics themselves were troubled by the manner in which the sacrament (confession) blurred divine and human agency' by allowing a priest to hear and judge confession, and ultimately grant forgiveness.[316] Friar Bonaventura, who initiates and oversees confessions by Annabella and Giovanni and presents himself as a healer or remover of passion, could be viewed as a helpful Friar offering guidance and advice, or, alternatively, as one of the 'treacherous traitours' berated by Calvin, who attempts to usurp the position of God.[317] Although the Friar recommends shrift and penitence as a cure for passion, Ford undermines the validity of his advice by alluding to the perceived blasphemy of Catholicism.

Furthermore, the Friar gives a similar speech to Annabella. At the beginning of Act 3, Scene 4, the audience sees Annabella kneeling before the Friar in what Gillian Woods refers to as an example of the 'perfect confessional' and he begins an equally passionate and disturbing speech, encouraging Annabella to repent.

> Ay, you are wretched, miserably wretched,
> Almost condemned alive. There is a place—
> List, daughter—in a black and hollow vault,
> Where day is never seen; there shines no sun,
> But flaming horror of consuming fires,
> A lightless sulphur, choked with smoky fogs
> Of an infected darkness. In this place
> Dwell many thousand thousand sundry sorts
> Of never-dying deaths: there damned souls
> Roar without pity; there, are gluttons fed
> With toads and adders; there, is burning oil
> Poured down the drunkard's throat; the usurer
> Is forced to sup whole draughts of molten gold;
> There is the murderer for ever stabbed,

[316] Gillian Woods, 'New Directions: The Confessional Identities of *'Tis Pity She's a Whore'* in *'Tis Pity She's a Whore: A critical Guide* ed. by Lisa Hopkins (London: Continuum 2010), pp. 114-135 (p.116).
[317] Woods, 'New Directions: The Confessional Identities *of 'Tis Pity She's a Whore'*, p.116.

> Yet can he never die; there lies the wanton
> On racks of burning steel, whiles in his soul
> He feels the torment of his raging lust. (iii.6.8-22)

Like the speech he directed at Giovanni, Bonaventura's advice to Annabella is heated and hypocritically passionate as he advises her to deny her passion. He lists and layers horrific image upon horrific image, of 'infected darkness', 'toads and adders' and 'burning steel' in order to terrify Annabella into repentance. While Annabella differs from her brother as she does seem to seek forgiveness for her incestuous desire, critics often question the authenticity and motives of her repentance. Gillian Woods, for instance, suggests that despite appearances, Annabella's 'perfect confessional' is 'theatrically opaque' and while Annabella's repentance does seem genuine at the time of her conversation with the Friar, her subsequent actions undo the sincerity of her vows of penance. She continues her affair with Giovanni, and taunts Soranzo by blasphemously referring to the father of her child as 'angel-like' and consequently likening herself to the Virgin Mary. Not only does this once again undermine the power of Catholic rites, it also demonstrates that religious meditation and entreaties of forgiveness have failed in removing Annabella's passion, portraying her desire as ultimately ungovernable by means of religious rituals.

Additionally, the Friar's authority and ability to assist in the governance of Annabella's passions is once again called into question when he advises Annabella to cover up her incest-begotten pregnancy by marrying Soranzo, telling her

> Heaven is merciful,
> And offers grace even now. 'Tis thus agreed:
> First, for your honour's safety, that you marry
> The Lord Soranzo; next, to save your soul,
> Leave off this life, and henceforth live to him. (iii.6.35-38)

Alongside the typically moral advice to repent and ask for God's forgiveness expected of a Catholic Friar, Bonaventura paradoxically encourages the concealment of Annabella's pregnancy by means of an immoral and adulterous marriage. Unfortunately for Annabella, the Friar's plan is undone by the physical proof of her pregnancy. While the Friar may counsel that God's forgiveness and repentance will help Annabella to 'leave off this life', control her passions, and save her soul, they cannot prevent the materialisation of Annabella's seemingly advanced gestation which therefore reveals the truth about the baby's parentage. The sibling protagonists' passions cannot be moderated or extinguished when the physical evidence of that passion lives in Annabella's womb.

Similarly, the portrayal of the Cardinal strengthens the presentation of the Catholic church as corrupt and immoral. Firstly, the Cardinal covers up the murder of Bergetto which is carried out by Grimaldi because the murderer is 'nobly born / Of princes' blood.' (iii.9.56-57) Secondly, he ruthlessly orders that Putana, whose only crime is the concealment of Annabella and Giovanni's affair, be 'burnt to ashes', a cruel and disproportionate punishment. (v.6.134)

Thirdly, while viewing the piles of dead bodies around him, the Cardinal orders that 'all the gold and jewels' of the victims are confiscated by 'the canons of the Church', embodying the greed that the Catholic church was so often associated with. (v.6.147-148) Additionally, his claiming of the dead victims' fortunes can be seen as an attempt to regain authority after the Catholic church has failed to prevent the tragic events which have befallen Parma; so too can his closing lines '[w]ho could not say, / 'Tis pity she's a whore?'(v.6.159) By reinforcing the message that Annabella was a 'whore' with contemptuous certainty, the Cardinal aims to justify and downplay her horrific death, but

instead only serves to further highlight the flaws of Catholicism, and the Church's inability to enforce morality and control inordinate passion.

'Tis Pity recalls Christopher Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus* (1604), in which Faustus is led by excessive passion and sinful behaviour towards damnation as both deal with themes of agency, self-control and predestination. Some argue that Marlowe's play was influenced by the values and teachings of the Calvinist branch of Protestantism which taught that some individuals were chosen to be saved, and others were predestined to sin, and unable to choose otherwise. There is much debate about whether or not Marlowe reinforces or destabilises these values, with critics such as Ros King arguing that 'the behaviour of Marlowe's Faustus seems to follow (William) Perkins's Calvinist theology quite closely.'[318] Alternatively, I would argue that Marlowe presents Faustus's fall as a consequence of his own choices, a view which Gerald Cox and Paul Kocher share. They contend that Faustus' damnation is not a result of Calvinist predestination, but of his own free-will.[319] The same questions are relevant to *'Tis Pity*: does Ford suggest that its sibling-protagonists' passion and its consequences are out of their control due to a higher power, or does he portray them as agents of their own destiny, able to choose to resist their passions with the assistance of religious rituals and spiritual guidance?

An argument can be made for a Calvinist Giovanni who believes in predestination and expresses his own somewhat anti-Catholic belief that he has no control of his own passions. Jane Kingsley-Smith cites Giovanni's declaration that 'Tis not I know, / My lust, but 'tis my fate that leads me on' (i.2.155) as evidence that his 'incestuous passion precedes his blasphemy and, despite his Catholic background, his understanding of his fate is

[318] Ros King, 'Introduction' in *Doctor Faustus* ed. by Roma Gill (London: Methuen, 2008), pp. 4-9 (p.7).
[319] Matthew R. Martin, *Tragedy and Trauma in the Plays of Christopher Marlowe* (Surrey: Ashgate, 2015), p.156.

markedly Calvinist.'[320] Kingsley-Smith reads Giovanni's 'fates' as a reference to Calvinism and representative of predestination, however the reference to the plural 'fates' is perhaps more suggestive of The Fates otherwise known as Moirai or Parcae from classical Greek and Roman mythology. The Fates were 'spirits whom the Greeks believed determined the course of each human life.'[321] Consequently, whether we read Giovanni's 'fates' as evidence of Calvinist sensibilities, or as a reference to mythology that predates Christianity, Giovanni uses these ideas as an attempt to justify his lust. By blaming 'fate' or The Fates, Giovanni presents his incestuous lust as something beyond his control. According to Giovanni, his passion is ungovernable in the sense that he is unable to control it himself, however, he suggests that there is a higher power, whether Calvinist or pagan, that is able to govern his lust, and apparently chooses to let it rule. However, I would agree with Kingsley-Smith that Giovanni's mention of the ambiguous 'fates' suggests a turn away from Catholicism. While this passage indicates that denying his faith and refuting Catholic teaching renders him unable to govern his lust, it seems that Giovanni's waning faith, which eventually turns to full-blown atheism, also works to undermine the Catholic church's ability to correct the passions, rather than merely criticising Giovanni for turning his back on his religious beliefs.

Contrastingly, Christian philosophers on the passions, both protestant and catholic, often wrote that individuals were able to choose whether or not to indulge their passions. Thomas Dixon tells us that 'appetites, passions and affections, on the classical Christian view, were all movements of different parts of the will, and the affections at least, were potentially informed by reason'[322]. Gowland too, stresses the role of the will in the

[320] Kingsley Smith, *Cupid in Early Modern Literature and Culture*, p.92.
[321] "fate, n.". OED Online. June 2016. Oxford University Press. http://www.oed.com.lcproxy.shu.ac.uk/view/Entry/68488?rskey=Yq57Wa&result=1&isAdvanced=false
[322]Dixon, *From Passions to Emotions: The Creation of a Secular Psychological Category,* p.22.

moderation of the passions. In particular, he emphasises the importance of theological understandings of inordinate passions in post-reformation Europe due to the centrality of the concept of original sin in Protestantism. The doctrine of original sin was developed by church father Augustine, viewed as one of the theological fathers of the protestant reformation, who wrote that

> Signs of the just divine punishment for Adamic transgression, irrational passions served as a constant reminder of the corrupted postlapsarian will, the recognition of which was frequently portrayed as the first step in redemption.[323]

These anxieties and ideas seem pertinent when discussing *'Tis Pity* which debatably depicts Giovanni as an Adamic figure, ruled by his own will rather than God's will in the postlapsarian city of Parma. While the Calvinist and Lutheran branches of Protestantism thoroughly believed in predestination, English Protestantism did acknowledge the existence of man's free will, though not to the same extent as the Catholic church. The Catholic Catechism 1037 states, 'God predestines no one to go to hell; for this, a wilful turning away from God (a mortal sin) is necessary, and persistence in it until the end.'[324] Thus God chooses who will be saved, but the damned choose to sin, and more importantly they choose to continue in that sin rather than turning to the grace of God. The implication is that, even those who have sinned can choose to repent and be saved. By refusing to heed the Friar's advice and stop his sinful lust, Giovanni chooses damnation and rejects not only Catholicism specifically, but Christianity as a whole and therefore spirituality and religion represented by the Friar, fail to contain his passions.

[323] Gowland, 'The Problem with Early Modern Melancholy', p.105.
[324] David Bordwell, *Catechism of the Catholic Church* (London: Continuum, 1999), p.237.

The idea of free-will was much more central to Catholic doctrines on salvation and damnation and from the outset of *'Tis Pity She's a Whore*, as we have seen, through the speeches of Bonaventura, Ford conveys the idea that the incestuous passion between brother and sister can be obliterated completely. He advises Giovanni to 'Have done' (i.1.35) with his incestuous passion presenting Giovanni's desire for Annabella as an option he can decide not to choose. The Friar's actions recall those of Marlowe's Old Man in *Doctor Faustus*, who advises Faustus to turn away from necromancy, telling him,

> Oh gentle Faustus, leave this damned art,
> This magic, that will charm thy soul to hell,
> And quite bereave thee of salvation.[325]

Like Bonaventura, the Old Man suggests that Faustus can choose whether to sin or not, and whether or not to continue to follow his passions.

Nevertheless, for Giovanni, preventing his sinful feelings towards his sister does not seem to be an easy or even possible task, and he claims 'It were more ease to stop the ocean / From floats and ebbs, than to dissuade my vows' (i.1.64-65). At first glance at this passage, it seems that by comparing his love for Annabella to the sea in a hyperbolic metaphor, Giovanni expresses the view that his desire is a powerful, natural force, like that of the ocean. The sea represents an element of the wild, untameable and unruly, something which humans are unable to govern. However, on closer examination, the choice of the word 'dissuade' is a significant one. The use of 'dissuade' once again, presents Giovanni's incestuous love as a choice, and one that he is stubbornly sticking to rather than a passion that he has no control over. Additionally, the Friar responds to this statement by referring to Giovanni's desire for his sister as 'wilful flames' (i.1.66). The use of the word 'wilful' here

[325] Christopher Marlowe, *Doctor Faustus*, ed. by Roma Gill (London: Methuen, 2008), v.3.32-34.

adds to the idea of Giovanni's passion as a choice, as something he is intentionally pursuing, and therefore something he could just as easily prevent. The word 'flames' here is also interestingly ambiguous: while it could be read as a symbol for fiery and uncontrollable passion, a flame is also something that can be easily put out, or that eventually burns out itself. Once again, there is a tension between the Friar's view that the flame of Giovani's passion can be extinguished, and Giovanni's own argument that his desire is elemental and thus impossible to control.

Another way which Ford does this is through his recurrent associations of Giovanni's passion for Annabella with the divine. While it seems that Giovanni's initial efforts to follow the Friar's advice to repent his sins and end his incestuous lust may be genuine, as we have seen it becomes increasingly clear throughout the play that Giovanni has turned away from the teachings of the Catholic church, and many critics such as Alan Sinfield, refer to Giovanni as an atheist.[326] Ford sets up this theme in the very first speech of the play when Bonaventura warns Giovanni against 'devilish atheism.'(i.1.8) Giovanni's frequent, blasphemous, descriptions of Annabella as something godly, as one of the 'things above' support this claim. He tells the Friar that if he was young he would 'make her love your heaven, and her divine' (ii.5.36) and exclaiming in desperation at the beginning of the play: 'O, that it were not in religion sin / To make our love a god, and worship it!' (i.2.146-147). Here, words such as 'worship' assist in portraying Annabella as a goddess rather than a mere mortal. For Giovanni, religion is unable to prevent his passion and God has been replaced by Annabella.

Furthermore, at the end of the play after Annabella's murder, and as Giovanni takes his last breaths, he prays 'Where'er I go, Let me enjoy this grace / Freely to view my

[326] Alan Sinfield, *Literature in Protestant England 1560-1660* (London: Routledge, 1983), p.90.

Annabella's face' (v.6.106-107). Here the religious lexis is employed once again in the word 'grace', a term defined as 'a quality of God: benevolence towards humanity, bestowed freely and without regard to merit, and which manifests in the giving of blessings and granting of salvation.'[327] Here, by linking Annabella's beauty, emphasised by the rhyme, 'grace' and 'face' with God, Giovanni conflates, or perhaps even replaces religious idolatry with incestuous idolatry. Giovanni links the love they share with something beyond earthly life, as he hopes that they will be reunited in death. The presentation of their love as something divine undermines the view that religion could assist in the moderation of the passions, as the passion itself is portrayed as holy through the eyes of Giovanni.

Additionally, in Greek mythology the Graces were 'the three beautiful sister goddesses, Aglaia, Thalia, and Euphrosyne, the attendants of Aphrodite, who were regarded as the givers of beauty and charm.' Perhaps, Ford alludes to these figures from Greek mythology in the same way he refers to the Fates, not only to emphasise the beauty of Annabella's 'face' but to reveal Giovanni's doubts about Christianity by employing the ambiguous term 'grace' to simultaneously stand for pagan deities as well as Christian ones. In this passage, Ford plays with the semantics of religious phraseology, using it to present Annabella as a goddess in Giovanni's eyes, as well as perhaps alluding to the ancient pagan religions and ultimately positioning Giovanni in opposition to the Catholicism of Parma, suggesting that he and his passions cannot be controlled by the religious values of the society he lives in. While Ford does explore the ideas of religion as a method for the control of passions, he continuously complicates this idea, with Giovanni's blasphemy and potential atheism, and the portrayal of a useless and corrupt Catholic church, and ultimately

[327] For all definitions of 'Grace' see "grace, n.". OED Online. June 2016. Oxford University Press. http://www.oed.com.lcproxy.shu.ac.uk/view/Entry/80373?rskey=bUst4k&result=1

suggests that passion, particularly incestuous desire in *'Tis Pity* cannot be controlled by submission to the rituals and rules of religion.

While religion seems an ineffective tool for the governance of the passions in *'Tis Pity*, by the end of the play inordinate passion has been successfully destroyed by the deaths of the characters who embodied them. On the other hand, in *'Tis Pity She's a Whore*, passion is only defeated by further acts of passion, and is consequently never fully destroyed, only transmitted from one person to the next. Ford presents us with a chain of passionate violence and one passion is killed off by another, destroying yet perpetuating themselves in a series of murders and executions. These ideas reinforce anxieties about the contagious nature of passion, and the fear that it was catching.[328]

In *'Tis Pity*, however, Ford sends the message that passions exist in everyone, and almost every character in the plays is driven by passion. Ford even suggests a universality of passion, as he portrays both Italian characters and Spanish characters who demonstrate excessive passion.[329] it is not necessarily the passions which are contagious but the resulting acts of violence, which generate more violence. Gosson argued that plays not only had the power to generate and transmit passion, but to infect their audience members with vice and sinful behaviour. He wrote that

> they that came honest to a play, may depart infected [no] corruption can be greater then that which is daily bred by plaies, because the expressing of vice by imitation, brings us by the shadow, to the substance of the same.[330]

Therefore, for Gosson, the acts of passionate violence and incest in Ford's tragedy could not be contained by the deaths of his emotional characters, as their vices and passions

[328] See introduction for more in-depth discussion of contagious passion.
[329] In Act 5, Scene 6, 116, of *'Tis Pity* we discover that Vasques, one of the most passionate and violent characters in the play is actually a Spaniard.
[330] Gosson, *Playes Confuted in Five Actions*, p.57.

would have been passed on to the audience members who witnessed the play. Passion and also vice are ungovernable as they cannot even be kept within the borders of the play, transcending the narrative as well as the playhouse and continuing to reverberate long after the play has been witnessed.

However, what about those few of Ford's characters who are seemingly dispassionate? I am referring mainly to the blameless Bergetto, and the cold, emotionally detached Cardinal whose unfeeling nature has already been discussed. Bergetto who is called 'innocent' on a number of occasions in the text (ii.1.82), and approaches his own love interest Philotis with restraint and temperance, still ends up being killed by the passionate acts of another. When Grimaldi plots to kill Soranzo in an act of jealousy he accidentally stabs the likeable Bergetto, whose death is one of the most poignant moments in the play. What this demonstrates is that passion in the play is so inordinate that it even destroys those who do not indulge in their own passions. Passion in *'Tis Pity* is not contained within the body of the individual who feels it, but the effects of passions reach outside the individual, infecting others and destroying even the most virtuous and dispassionate of Ford's characters.

Woods argues that, 'tragedy tends to articulate problems rather than console us with the answers and Ford's paradoxes create meaning through contention not resolution.'[331] This can certainly be applied to Ford's treatment of the passions and their governability. *'Tis Pity* articulates the anxieties surrounding incestuous passion, and although the siblings are killed, the questions and problems created by incest are far from resolved. Similarly, while Ford may allude to the view of religious moderation of the passions, he also raises questions about it, and complicates said views through the representation of corrupt figures

[331] Woods, 'New Directions: The Confessional Identities of *'Tis Pity She's a Whore'*, p.119.

of the Catholic church. Ford includes paradoxes, especially in the character of Giovanni who attempts to justify his passion through a combination of competing ideas including neo-platonic philosophy, references to predestination, and allusions to pagan deities among others.

The depiction of the governability of the passions in Ford's tragedy recalls and combines Catholic, Protestant, proto-psychological, and anti-theatrical theories about the development and transference of the passions. He simultaneously alludes to the view of the passions as controllable through faith and religion, but ultimately and convincingly portrays Giovanni as suffering from a mental illness over which he has no control which has unpreventable consequences of violence and death. Not only do the passions in the play dictate the actions of nearly every character, they also transcend the boundaries of the theatre. In *'Tis Pity She's a Whore*, passion is universal, undeniable, dangerous and ungovernable.

The next chapter in this thesis will look at two other passionate men from tragedies by Philip Massinger. While in Ford's play Giovanni is unable to prevent his lust and his jealousy from propelling him into extreme violence, one of Massinger's jealous protagonists prevents himself from murdering his adulterous wife. The following chapter will ask whether Massinger's Caesar in *The Roman Actor* is actually capable of controlling his emotions, and how his response to his wife's apparent adultery differs from that of Sforza in *The Duke of Milan.* Following on from this opening chapter on emotional governance, the second chapter of this section will examine Massinger's play in relation to the principles of stoicism, a philosophy touched on briefly in this chapter.

Chapter Five:

'To Act or not to Act?': Performing the Passions of Cuckoldry in Philip Massinger's *The Duke of Milan* and *The Roman Actor*

So far this thesis has already examined a jealous husband in a chapter on Shakespeare's *Othello*, perhaps the most famous instance of the jealous husband in literary history. I have also discussed more briefly, the jealousy of Giovanni in *'Tis Pity* as he watches his sister/lover marry another man. Jealousy is a popular emotion in early modern tragedy and one that often acts as a catalyst for the violent resolutions of these plays. Philip Massinger includes the figure of the jealous husband in at least three of his plays including his tragicomedy *The Picture*, and his two tragedies *The Duke of Milan* and *The Roman Actor* (1629). This chapter will focus on his tragedies, comparing and contrasting two tragic protagonists: both are excessively passionate, both believe their wives have been unfaithful but only one of them murders his wife in response. This chapter will contemplate why it is that Sforza is propelled into violent action by his jealousy and desire and Caesar is able to refrain from murdering his wife. This exploration of deadly passion will once again be informed by and linked with early modern theories about emotional governance as in the previous chapter, as well as issues of power. The analysis of the plays in this chapter will draw on early modern discourses about absolutism and the importance of a monarch's ability to control their passions, ideas that were touched on in the opening chapter of the thesis and were developed more fully in Chapter Three on Davenant's *The Tragedy of Albovine.*

While the number of studies on emotion in the works of early modern playwrights such as John Lyly, John Ford, and of course Shakespeare have increased, there is, however, still comparatively little work on Massinger in this area. This chapter will extend the remit of current scholarship by including the works of Massinger in this discussion, in order to

argue that both *The Roman Actor* and *The Duke of Milan* engage with early modern proto-psychological theory.

The Duke of Milan has received less critical attention than other works in the Massinger canon, and work on *The Roman Actor* is usually concerned with the political implications or meta-theatrical nature of the play. For instance, in her study on 'onstage audiences' in Massinger's plays, Joanne Rochester describes *The Roman Actor* as 'Massinger's most meta-theatrical play'.[332] The discussion of Massinger's meta-theatre is almost always intertwined with a critique of his political views; after all, in the early modern period monarchy and spectacle went hand in hand, particularly during the reign of James I. Jonathan Goldberg dedicates a chapter of his influential *James I and the Politics of Literature: Jonson, Shakespeare, Donne, and their Contemporaries* to exploring the relationship between politics and performance in Massinger's *The Roman Actor* alongside other Roman plays from the period, including Shakespeare's *Coriolanus* and Ben Jonson's *Sejanus*, stating that 'The Roman plays that came to claim the stage in the Jacobean period reflect the style of the monarch and James's sense of himself as royal actor'.[333] Both Rochester and Goldberg describe *The Roman Actor* as an amalgamation of the Jacobean theatrical tradition of plays that provide a political commentary and the meta-theatricality that pervaded so many Caroline plays.[334]

---

[332] Joanne Rochester, *Staging Spectatorship in the Plays of Philip Massinger* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2010), p.15.

[333] Jonathan Goldberg, *James I and the Politics of Literature: Jonson, Shakespeare, Donne, and their Contemporaries* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1989), p.165.

[334] For instance, Ford's *The Broken Heart, The Lover's Melancholy,* and *'Tis Pity She's a Whore,* all of which are featured in this thesis are all examples of Caroline plays which rely on metatheatrical spectacles, as does his tragedy *Love's Sacrifice* which features womaniser Ferentes receiving his comeuppance, when the women he mistreats use performance as a pretence to stab him to death. See John Ford, *Love's Sacrifice* ed. by A.T. Moore (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002), iii.4.17-28. That is not to say that metatheatre did not feature in Elizabethan and Jacobean plays. For instance, the mousetrap scene in Shakespeare's *Hamlet* is one of the most famous examples of the play within a play. Also, in Thomas Kyd's *The Spanish Tragedy,* Hieronimo seeks his revenge for the murder of his son, by feigning reconciliation with his enemies, convincing them to appear in a play, and switching the prop daggers for real ones. See

Massinger's political position in *The Roman Actor* is debated by critics, some arguing that he presents a pro-absolutist tract and some that he promotes an anti-absolutist one. For instance, Goldberg contends that the play is an example of 'the high Roman style of Jacobean absolutism.'[335] Conversely, Jessica Dyson argues that Massinger chooses to 'raise questions' about the 'divine nature of kings themselves, emphasising that law and good counsel are needed to help mortal kings govern well,'[336] therefore destabilising the view that a King should be free to disregard law in favour of their own wants and emotional choices.[337]Dyson's argument is certainly a convincing one, as evidence from the play would suggest that Massinger counsels against the absolutist principles, as well as arguing for the ideologies of popular philosophical discourse of neo-stoicism, which advised individuals to exercise control over their passions.[338] The neo-stoic and anti-absolutist message of the play can be seen not only in the presence of stoic philosophers Rusticus and Sura, whose emotional restraint in the face of their execution enrages the emperor even more, but also in the effect that Caesar's passionate responses have on the outcome of the play. Caesar's passions of pride and anger lead him to mistreat and murder innocent people, resulting in mutiny amongst his subjects who plot to kill him; furthermore, his love for Domitia delays her murder, resulting in his. His overt expressions of emotion render him an ineffective emperor, who is eventually killed by his own people.

Shakespeare, 'Hamlet', iii.2.112 and Thomas Kyd, *The Spanish Tragedy,* ed. by Andrew Gurr (London: Methuen, 2009), v.4.47-67.

[335] Goldberg, *James I and the Politics of Literature,* p.203.

[336] Jessica Dyson, *Staging Authority in Caroline England: Prerogative, Law and Order in Drama 1625-1642* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), p.74.

[337] See James I, 'The True Law of Free Monarchies' in *The Political Works of James I*, ed. by Charles Howard McIlwain (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1918) in which he writes that 'Monarchy is the true pattern of divinity' and notes that 'Kings are called Gods by the prophetical King David, because they sit upon God his Throne in the earth.'

[338] See Femke Molekamp, *Women and the Bible in Early Modern England: Religious Reading and Writing* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), p.123.

Similarly, while there is comparatively less written on absolutism in *The Duke of Milan,* Curtis Perry points out that Massinger's earlier tragedy also deals with an absolutist ruler, whose 'passionate love of his wife is seen as the flaw in his otherwise regal nature'.[339] Sforza's passion for Marcelia comes before his role as Duke, and eventually causes a violent ending to the tragedy.

Passions are dominant in both plays, not only in regard to the protagonists. In *The Roman Actor,* people are continuously punished for acting on their passions. The 'violence' of Domitia's "passions"[340], for instance, causes her to seduce Paris and consequently results in his death and her imprisonment; Philargus is executed for his greed; Lamia is killed for desiring his own wife; and Caesar's lust and pride lead to his brutal murder. In *The Duke of Milan*, Francisco's desire for revenge is a result of the lust of Duke Sforza, who seduced Francisco's sister and swiftly abandoned her in favour of Marcelia. Francisco is then driven by his anger and desire for revenge. Moreover, Sforza's mother and sister, acting on their own jealousy and resentment, cause problems in Sforza's marriage to Marcelia, unwittingly assisting in Francisco's revenge plan. Finally, at the centre of the play is Sforza's infatuation for Marcelia, which causes not only the murder of his wife, but his own foolish demise.

Moreover, each of the plays feature characters who impersonate doctors and attempt (or pretend to attempt) to cure vices or excessive passions. In *The Duke of Milan* as part of his plan for revenge, Francisco disguises himself as a physician and claims to be able to cure Sforza of his distraction, painting Marcelia's corpse with toxic cosmetics which then

[339] Perry, *Eros and Power in English Renaissance Drama,* p.11.

[340] Philip Massinger, *The Roman Actor: A Tragedy* ed. by Martin White (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012), iv.1.2.

poison Sforza when, believing she is still alive, he kisses her.[341] In *The Roman Actor*, Act 2, Scene 1, Paris enters '*like a Doctor of Physic*' (ii.1.286) in the staging of a play called *The Cure for Avarice*, which has been designed to 'work compunction' in the miser Philargus when he witnesses 'himself so personated' (ii.1.102-8). Both of these examples not only suggest an interest in the medical and proto-psychological issues of the time, but also connect the psychological and the meta-theatrical in the same way that other playwrights of the period did[342]. In both cases, Massinger suggests that the passions need to be controlled or even cured.

The obvious endorsement of the principles of neo-stoicism in Massinger's plays makes the study of emotion in Massinger a valid and significant endeavour. While some argue that the neo-stoic principles of self-control contradict the passivity of humoral theory, the two schools did overlap, and many neo-stoics considered 'health care a matter of balancing hot and cold, dry and moist, even if they did not subscribe to humoral theory per se'.[343] Bearing this in mind, it is evident that there is a clear message in these plays about exercising control over one's passions, there is also evidence to suggest the influence of humoral theory. Despite the significance of the passions in his works there are very few examples of studies on Massinger which use this approach to his plays.

Nevertheless, the emotions are not altogether absent from Massinger scholarship. For instance, Adrian Streete offers a 'close-reading of the interrelations between passions, politics and subjectivity'[344] in Massinger's tragicomedy *The Emperor of the East*, in which

---

[341] Philip Massinger, *The Duke of Milan*, in *The Selected Plays of Philip Massinger*, ed. by Colin Gibson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978,) pp.7-97, v.2.214.

[342] See John Webster's *The Duchess of Malfi*, IV.2, and John Ford's *The Lover's Melancholy*, iii.3.

[343] Paul Menzer, 'The Actor's Inhibition: Early Modern Acting and the Rhetoric of Restraint' *Renaissance Drama* 35 (2006), 83-111 (p.96).

[344] Adrian Streete, 'Passions, Politics, and Subjectivity in Philip Massinger's *The Emperor of the East*', in *Passions and Subjectivity in Early Modern Culture,* ed. by Brian Cummings and Freya Sierhuis (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), p.217.

he examines the play alongside several religious texts and sermons on the passions, and argues that, as in his tragedies, 'rational self-control is […] urged'.[345] In his essay discussing the relationship between *The Duke of Milan* and Shakespeare's *Othello*, M. J. Thorssen discusses Sforza's inability to control his lust.[346] Two other essays by Charlotte Spivack and Marissa Greenberg focus solely on catharsis, the role of tragedy and the emotions it generates for the spectators of the plays, and how this intertwines with the meta-theatrical elements of Massinger's plays.[347] However, none of these studies refer to any medical or psychological tracts from the period in any detail, and none address the ways in which the creation of the fictional personalities of Massinger's tragic characters may have been influenced by the medical texts on the passions circulating in the period.

This chapter will fill a gap in Massinger scholarship, providing a close reading of *The Duke of Milan* and *The Roman Actor* alongside early modern medical and philosophical doctrines on the passions. The focus of the chapter will be on the emotions of the two protagonists of the tragedies, both examples of absolutist rulers whose excessive passion leads to their downfall. It will address the passions generated by acts, or so-called acts of adultery in examples of early modern tragedy and aim to understand the complex relationship between cuckoldry and violence, considering what it is that causes characters to make the decision to perform their emotions violently, by examining the possible early modern biological and proto-psychological explanations behind their decisions. It will

[345] Streete, 'Passions, Politics, and Subjectivity in Philip Massinger's *The Emperor of the East*' p.234.
[346] M.J. Thorssen, 'Massinger's Use of Othello in the Duke of Milan', *Studies in English Literature 1500-1900,* 2 (1979), 217-35.
[347] Charlotte Spivack, "Alienation and Illusion: The Play-Within-the-Play on the Caroline Stage", *Medieval and Renaissance Drama in England*, 4 (1989), 195-211 and Marissa Greenberg, "The Tyranny of Tragedy: Catharsis in England and The Roman Actor", *Renaissance Drama,* 39 (2011), 163-196.

attempt to discover how the passions influence their decision to act or not to act on their betrayal.

It is necessary to return to Renaissance humoral theory, as outlined in the introduction, in order to examine the general temperaments of our two jealous protagonists, and ask whether a variance in temper and personality dictates the difference in their reactions to cuckoldry. From the outset of *The Duke of Milan*, Sforza is seemingly melancholy. In the opening scene of the play, his servant Stephano describes the duke as having 'sorrow in his face' (i.1.37-38) and later in Act 1 Francisco depicts his master as 'full of sad thoughts' (i.3.229). As mentioned previously, sorrow and despondency were believed to have been caused by an abundance of black bile, or melancholy.

Contrastingly, in *The Roman Actor*, Caesar's temperament differs greatly from Sforza's, as he displays an angry personality and choleric disposition. Unlike Sforza, it would seem that Caesar's emotions are influenced by an abundance of yellow bile, or choler which causes extreme anger. Massinger presents Caesar as choleric, angry, rash and with a tendency towards violence right from the outset of the play, suggesting that a humoral imbalance is responsible for his aggressive emotional temperament. His angry nature quickly becomes evident when his subjects Lamia, Rusticus and Sura describe and criticise the actions of their leader:

> **LAMIA**
> Domitian, that now sways the power of things,
> Is so inclin'd to blood that no day passes
> In which some are not fasten'd to the hook,
> Or thrown down from the Gemonies. His freemen
> Scorn the nobility, and he himself,
> As if he were not made of flesh and blood,
> Forgets he is a man. (i.1.93-98)

From this short passage it is clear that Caesar often turns to violence as a punishment. Lamia's reference to Caesar's inclination to "blood" here may simultaneously signify his violent streak and the consequential spilling of blood, as well as his angry nature, as blood was a vital element in generating excessive passion. Specifically, in the generation of anger – an emotion that Massinger clearly attributes to his Caesar – the blood was said to be heated before being sent to the heart.[348] Here, Caesar is depicted as a violent tyrant, killing daily and for little reason. Additionally, on several occasions throughout the play, Caesar is harsh and impulsive when sentencing the so-called criminals, ordering the hanging of the harmless miser Philargus as well as 'shooting the messenger', and sentencing his loyal spy Aretinus to strangulation for informing him of his wife Domitia's wanton pursuit of Paris, the Roman actor of the title.

So far, out of the two protagonists, due to his reputation as hot-tempered and his history of violence, Caesar seems far more likely to murder his wife. It is interesting then that Sforza, with his sorrowful disposition, is the one that actually carries out the act of violence, whereas Caesar refrains from doing so, at least temporarily. Despite the fact that Caesar is continually portrayed as an irate and forceful tyrant throughout the play, he is the one who successfully prevents himself from responding violently towards his wife when he discovers her infidelity. After firstly ordering the guard to 'Kill her!' (iv.2.144) Caesar eventually settles for a less violent punishment, reducing her death sentence to a jail sentence and ordering the guard instead to 'Carry her to her chamber; / Be that her prison, till in cooler blood / I shall determine of her' (iv.2.152). Here Caesar describes the act of controlling his anger in physiological terms and the phrase 'cooler blood' refers to the

[348] Garthine Walker, *Crime, Gender, and Social Order in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p.85.

cooling of his temper, again alluding to the early modern belief that anger was often associated with heat, as theorised by Coeffeteau in *A Table of Humane Passions.*[349]

At this point though, it seems that Caesar is not only fully aware of his hot temper but is also able to pacify it long enough to make a rational decision before his imagination does indeed become 'troubled', and thus removes his wife until he is able to cool his blood and subdue his anger completely, and therefore decide her punishment without the influence of his excessive passions affecting his judgement or clouding his reason, unlike the sorrowful and sad Sforza, who kills his wife without any evidence, thought or explanation.

In most examples of early modern drama, it is those of a melancholic disposition, such as Sforza, that are known for their inability to perform their passions, most famously of course Shakespeare's Hamlet, renowned for his propensity to delay action, as he puts off his acts of revenge until the last moment. Bridget Escolme discusses the early modern belief that 'grief disables, rendering the avenging agent a somatic mess of tears, sighs and pallor'.[350] Escolme argues that sorrow and weeping were figured as unproductive, and delayed revenge, whereas anger 'produces motion'.[351] By this logic, it would be less surprising for a character like Caesar, who is frequently and easily angered and has a history of violence, to perform his emotions in an act of violence than for Sforza, the melancholic, to kill his wife with frenzied stabbing.

The next section of this chapter will argue that this subversion of active choler and disabling melancholy is due to a difference in the development of the protagonists' passions over the course of the narrative. In *The Duke of Milan* Sforza's love, jealousy and melancholy deepen, evolving into something much more excessive and dangerous. Love

[349] See introduction for discussion of Coeffeteau's exploration of humours and temperature.
[350] Escolme, *Emotional Excess on the Shakespearean Stage: Passion's Slaves,* p.185.
[351] Ibid., p.198.

and desire were frequently cited as a cause of a variety of illnesses including hysteria, green-sickness and love-melancholy, which was said to be caused by, but also, in turn, incite excessive passions, predominantly that of sorrow. According to Marion A. Wells the disease comes about when 'the over-heating of the spirits travelling from heart to brain disturbs the estimative faculty, which is concerned with making judgements about the world'.[352] This dangerous consequence of excessive love is clearly relevant to Sforza, who undoubtedly demonstrates symptoms and characteristics of a melancholic disposition, which cloud his judgement and cause him to stab his innocent wife.

Evidence for Sforza's melancholy as a disease caused by love can be found at various points in the text in the language that Massinger uses. For instance, by the second scene Sforza's melancholy greatly increases and he orders his wife to put an end to the current entertainments at court, exclaiming: 'Sick to the death, / Marcelia. Remove / These signs of mirth; they were ominous, and but usher'd / Sorrow and ruin' (i.3.154-6). The use of 'sick' and 'death' in this short passage suggests that Sforza's melancholy has transformed from a marker of his temperament to an illness, the word 'sick' depicting his sorrow as a disease, and the reference to 'death' conveying the beginning of a preoccupation and longing for death that was often cited as a symptom of the melancholic in early modern doctrines.[353] His grief and sorrow at his loss and the failure of his troops quickly transform into fears about his mother and sister being killed or ill-treated, and himself being captured and 'bound fast in chains', to further fears about his wife doting upon another man (i.3.187-8). The quick transition from one fear to another here

[352] Marion. A. Wells, *The Secret Wound: Love-Melancholy and Early Modern Romance* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006), p.1.
[353] Philip Barrough, *The Method of Physick* (London: Thomas Vautroullier, 1583), p.35.

demonstrates Sforza's fragmented state of mind. His failures as a leader engender and mirror his fears and anxieties about failing to protect his family and keep his wife.

Extreme jealousy was believed to be another characteristic of the love melancholic; in *The Anatomy of Melancholy* Robert Burton lists it under symptoms of melancholy alongside 'fear and sorrow without just cause' and 'suspicion.'[354] In *The Duke of Milan*, the anticipation and expectation of adultery without any cause or evidence motivates the actions and jealousies of Sforza, as he anticipates his wife's infidelity in his absence despite the fact that she has demonstrated no evidence of desire or adulterous intent towards another man. In the passage below Sforza makes his speculative anxieties clear, expressing them to his innocent wife:

> But should that will
> To be forc'd, Marcelia; and I live
> To see those eyes I prize above my own,
> Dart favours (though compell'd) upon another;
> Or those sweet lips, yielding immortal nectar,
> Be gently touch'd by any but myself;
> Think, think, Marcelia, what a cursed thing
> I were, beyond expression! (I.3.202-8)

Here, Sforza's hyperbolic sentiments, juxtaposed with the use of repetition and exclamatory sentences in the last two lines, suggest he is deeply distressed and fearful at the prospect of his wife Marcelia kissing another man, despite the fact that absolutely nothing has transpired to suggest his wife has been unfaithful, or even desired anyone but him. The existence of 'cuckoldry anxiety', as Mark Breitenberg labels it, before any suggestion, proof or evidence of adulterous acts was widespread in early modern culture and is frequently the case for Massinger's jealous male protagonists.[355] Sforza's display of

[354] Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy,* p.46.
[355] Breitenberg, *Anxious Masculinity in Early Modern England,* p.6.

unwarranted fear and jealousy is suggestive of melancholy as a disease as demonstrate by Burton's description of jealousy as painful and toturous, and the greatest bitter potion 'which this love-melancholy can afford'.[356] This jealousy, combined with his exaggerated declarations of love, and view of Marcelia as divine and her lips as 'yielding immortal nectar', suggests that Sforza is in the throes of love-melancholy.

Furthermore, in this description of jealousy, the passion is described in similar terms to that of anger, as Burton uses 'fire' to depict its effects. It is not the difference between hot and cold, melancholy and choler, anger and sorrow that separates the actions of these two characters, but the nature and development of their emotions. As these dramatic examples demonstrate along with the exploration of adust melancholy in the introduction, the separation of choler and melancholy as either hot or cold, violent or withdrawn, angry or sad, can be reductive.

This violent side of Sforza's melancholy becomes most apparent at the end of Act I when he employs his servant Francisco to murder his wife, should he die in battle, imploring him as follows: 'Should I miscarry in this present journey / (From whence it is all number to a cipher, / I ne'er returned with honour) by thy hand / Must have her murdered' (i.3.342-46) implying that he would rather she died than they live a life apart, and recalling to the audience's mind the statement he made earlier when he expressed his fears about her desiring another man in his absence.

Furthermore, the nature of Marcelia's murder suggests a frantic state of mind and signifies the development of Sforza's melancholy into madness. While, like many of Caesar's violent crimes, at first the killing of Marcelia appears to be a convoluted plot,

[356] Full passage is included in the introduction.

initially he only plans for her murder to occur if he should die, and decides that it should be Francisco who undertakes the task. However, after his safe return from battle Sforza's jealousy only worsens due to his wife's friendship with Francisco combined with the meddling, whispering and lying committed by Francisco himself, as well as Sforza's own mother and sister, and he ends up killing his wife in an unplanned, impulsive attack as the outcome of his ever developing infatuation and resulting melancholy. Sforza's extreme actions mirror the 'rash, raving' madness and 'violent acts' of the melancholic outlined by Burton above, and suggest that for Sforza love and its related passions have become so excessive and vehement that they have caused an uncontrollable mental illness, resulting in extreme violence. This madness is demonstrated further by the Duke's delusions about the death of his wife. After he murders Marcelia, the Duke still believes she is alive, and when Francisco, in an act of revenge, paints the Duke's dead wife's face with poisoned make up in order to make her appear alive, the Duke kisses her and dies; he is literally killed by his desire and the madness it has engendered in him (v.2.214).

Seemingly then, it is not necessarily the type of passion that separates and dictates the responses of our two protagonists but the nature of said passions. One notable difference between Sforza and Caesar is that whereas Caesar's anger is presented as merely a personality trait rather than an affliction, Massinger portrays Sforza's melancholy as a pathological illness that he cannot gain control of. In *The Duke of Milan* there is a sense of development as the narrative moves on, and Sforza gradually transforms from doting husband to madly jealous wife-slayer, whereas in *The Roman Actor* Caesar's behaviour is consistently aggressive, violent and extreme. In fact, if anything, his propensity for violence is somewhat diminished when it comes to his wife. Furthermore, unlike Sforza, whose violence appears to be solely motivated and controlled by his love and desire for Marcelia

and its resulting jealousy, Caesar is a protagonist who is seemingly motivated by several passions and vices, and therefore his decision to keep Domitia alive, a decision that is arguably highly uncharacteristic of him, is down to a conflict of the passions.

The following section will explore the various passions of Caesar and how they contribute to his decision to spare his wife's life, taking into consideration early modern categories of love to distinguish between the actions of Caesar and Sforza. Whereas Sforza's one weakness or error appears to be his excessive love for Marcelia, Caesar's surprising self-restraint is the result of multiple passions, when one passion, i.e. anger or jealousy, is overcome by another, i.e. love or desire. Clearly, when it comes to Domitia, Caesar is ruled by lust rather than anger, which usually provokes his violence, and this lust prevents the physical expression of his anger and jealousy. The following passage, which was mentioned briefly earlier in the chapter, outlines the emotional turmoil and dilemma that Caesar experiences when he discovers his wife's attempted infidelity:

> O impudence! – Take her hence,
> And let her make her entrance into hell,
> By leaving life with all the tortures that
> Flesh can be sensible of. Yet stay. What power
> Her beauty still holds o'er my soul that wrongs
> Of this unpardonable nature cannot teach me
> To right myself and hate her! – Kill her! – Hold!
> Oh that my dotage should increase from that
> Which should breed detestation. By Minerva,
> If I look on her longer, I shall melt
> And sue to her, my injuries forgot,
> Again to be receiv'd into her favour,
> Could honour yield to it! (iv.2.138-50)

Caesar's speech begins with his dramatic, exaggerated, anger-fuelled declarations of revenge. He uses extreme imagery of 'hell' and 'torture' to convey his hurt and fury towards Domitia, wishing her death, then suddenly stopping his rant short, proclaiming that

her beauty prevents him from hating her, then ordering her death once again, before finally deciding to lock her away until he is calmer. The use of enjambment here combined with several exclamatory sentences reflects Caesar's emotional conflict. His pride and anger dictate that he should execute her, but his desire for her causes him to spare her.

Although the play has a limited critical history it has been performed relatively recently by the Royal Shakespeare Company. Antony Sher, who played Caesar in the 2002 production stated that Caesar 'doesn't just lust after Domitia, he's in love with her, which gives Domitia power over him that anybody who's been infatuated, or been in love, knows about'.[357] Here, Sher makes a distinction between love and lust, suggesting that love motivates Caesar's mercy.

Early modern treatises on the passions made the same distinction and often split desire into opposing categories. It was most frequently defined as either pure or wanton, healthy or excessive, good or inordinate. In *Erotomania*, Jacques Ferrand split love into two categories, 'the one divine, the other common and vulgar'.[358] Bridget Escolme also discusses this idea, stating that

> The notion of a selfish, desiring, physical lust that is superficial and fleeting and could be for any sex object, and a love that is more lasting, "profound", individuated and ultimately virtuous is an undertone for a number of recent writings about Shakespeare and love. "Love and lust are generally polar opposites in Shakespeare," argues Maurice Charney, "and lust is associated with villains".[359]

While it may be difficult and perhaps reductive to separate Sforza and Caesar into categories of lover and lecher as though they were real people who feel real desire, the language that Massinger employs to describe their feelings towards their wives does

[357] Martin White, 'Introduction', in *The Roman Actor: A Tragedy*, by Philip Massinger (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007), p.225.
[358] Ferrand, *Erotomania,* p.3.
[359] Escolme, *Emotional Excess on the Shakespearean Stage: Passion's Slaves,* p.117.

substantiate this opposition. In *The Roman Actor* Massinger presents Caesar's desire as lust rather than the all-consuming love that Sher describes. The references to the power of her 'beauty' in the passage above depicts a lusty Caesar, focused on physical desire. He feels that he should detest her but if he looks at her he will 'melt' and forget his injuries. The emphasis on her physical appearance shows that lust motivates Caesar's fleeting mercy, as when he can no longer physically see her he decides that she should die.

Contrastingly, in Sforza's accounts of Marcelia, Massinger uses words and phrases such as 'the ocean of her virtues', 'goodness', 'tenderness', 'chastity', 'honour' and 'innocence' as well as beauty (i.3.329-32), representing a more meaningful and powerful love than Caesar's seemingly shallow, appearance-based desire for his wife. While Thorssen argues that Sforza's desire for Marcelia is also merely 'lust', citing the Duke's previous dalliance with, and sudden rejection of Eugenia in favour of Marcelia as evidence,[360] the heightened language, excessive praise, and extreme nature of Sforza's love for his wife separates it from his previous fleeting affair. Other than the rejection of Francisco's sister, Sforza does not enforce his kingly will or commit any other crimes until he attempts to control the desires of his wife and eventually murders her, nor is he presented as an individual usually swayed by emotion; his love for Marcelia and its resulting melancholy is portrayed as an exceptional case.

In the case of Caesar, though, Domitia herself accuses him of lust, blaming her own adulterous actions on his treatment of her as a sexual object, telling him that '[t]hy lust compell'd me / To be a strumpet, and mine hath return'd it / In my intent, and will (though not in act) / To cuckold thee' (iv.2.135-8). She then goes on to list Caesar's offences and repeatedly denounces Caesar for his lust-fuelled actions stating that

[360] Thorssen, 'Massinger's Use of *Othello* in *The Duke of Milan*', p.318.

> Though thy flatterers
> Persuade thee that thy murders, lust, and rapes,
> Are virtues in thee, and what pleases Caesar
> (Though never so unjust) is right, and lawful,
> Or work in thee a false belief that thou
> Art more than mortal, yet I to thy teeth,
> (When circl'd with thy guards, thy rods, thy axes,
> And all the ensigns of thy boasted power)
> Will say Domitian, nay, add to it Caesar,
> Is a weak, feeble man, a bondman to
> His violent passions, and in that my slave,
> Nay more my slave, than my affections made me
> To my lov'd Paris. (v.1.39-51)

Here the lusts and rapes that Domitia speaks of include an act of incest that Caesar partook in with his niece Julia, as well as the rape of his cousin Domitilla, who tells us that she 'was with violence forc'd / To serve his lusts' (iii.1.25-6). Domitia's list of Caesar's crimes undoubtedly depicts the emperor as the 'villain' mentioned by Escolme above. She depicts Caesar here as a man that is ruled by passion, not just by one particular passion but many of the most violent and vehement ones, including anger and lust. In the last two lines of this passage Domitia makes the strength of Caesar's desire for her and the potential dangers of it clear, suggesting that his "violent passions" make him 'weak', 'a bondman', a 'slave' and demonstrating that his desire for her places her in a position of power over him. While Sforza's jealousy is motivated by excessive love for his wife that causes a disease of the mind, Caesar's decision to keep her alive is based on lust and the prospect of the future fulfilment of that lust.

Additionally, it should be remembered that Caesar does eventually order the death of his wife but is killed himself before he can carry it out. He writes her name in a 'fatal book' in which 'some men of rank / Were mark'd out for destruction' (v.1.99-101), in a more calculated form of punishment, akin to that which Frankford inflicts upon his wife

Anne in Thomas Heywood's *A Woman Killed with Kindness.* This decision is carefully contemplated and planned, rather than a crime of passion like the murder Sforza commits. Caesar's process of deciding whether or not to kill Domitia appears to be the result of a battle between the passions of anger and desire, his desire convincing him to keep her alive, but his anger eventually getting the better of him as he makes his fatal, final decision. In early modern doctrines anger and choler were often specifically identified as passions of the noble, and that anger often arose from being slighted by someone of inferiority. Coeffeteau wrote that 'Being disdained by the baser sort' or 'scum of the people' was likely to provoke rage in men of a high social standing, such as Caesar.[361] In this period, women were generally regarded as inferior, and the difference in social status between Caesar and Domitia is mentioned more than once during the play, notably at the point when Caesar discovers his wife's transgressions and implies that her betrayal is worse and more ungrateful because he raised her from her 'low condition to the height of greatness, / Command, and majesty' (iv.2.123-5).

Therefore, it is this insult to his pride that eventually provokes his anger, and causes it to overthrow his lust, although he still maintains an emotional distance by writing her name in the book rather than ordering her execution in person or in fact killing her himself like many of his other victims. Unfortunately for him, this change of heart came too late, as his wife and her accomplices kill him first. As the above passage demonstrates, as well as anger and lust, Caesar is a man prone to pride and arrogance, and it is likely these passions that cause him to rethink his decision to spare his wife. Therefore, his anger is caused by the insults and injuries that Domitia has inflicted on his pride, not because he is consumed by love for her or has developed an unyielding jealousy due to her infidelity akin to that of

[361] Coeffeteau, *A Table of Humane Passions with their Causes and Effects* p.589.

Sforza. Another key difference in the two protagonists is that Sforza's actions are clearly motivated by love for Marcelia and his ensuing madness. The narrative of the play is driven by this single passion, whereas Caesar is a generally passionate character, motivated by lust, anger, pride, and this could be due to the political implications of the play and Massinger's decision to base his central character on the Roman Emperor Domitian. The role of Caesar as a King, and the effect this has on the way he chooses to express his emotions, will now be discussed.

As already discussed, Caesar's actions in *The Roman Actor* are undoubtedly indicative of an absolutist monarch. Throughout the text, Caesar continuously refers to himself as a god, and compares himself to figures of divinity. After he has ordered the unwarranted death of Lamia, for desiring his own ex-wife in an affection-provoking scene designed and executed purposely by the emperor, Caesar declares, ''Tis dispatch'd / And with as little trouble here as if / I had kill'd a fly' (ii.1.245-6), a line that recalls Shakespeare's famous speech from *King Lear*, 'As flies to wanton boys are we to th' gods, / They kill us for their sport' (iv.2.41-2) depicting him as an all-powerful being controlling the lives of his 'fly'-like subjects and killing people to suit his own wants and needs, rather than punishing them for any real crime. This imagery combined with frequent references to himself as a 'god' suggests an attempt to portray himself as god-like and a belief that he is divine. Massinger's Caesar is exemplary of the classical archetype of the overreacher, ruled and thusly overthrown by his hubris. He wants to be like a god, or even more powerful than a god, and it is his attempts to reach this goal and the consequential arrogance that leads him to his downfall, causing his wife and subjects to turn against him.

This relationship between politics and playing is continuously commented on and alluded to throughout Massinger's play. Throughout the play, Caesar's hasty and excessive

punishments appear to be dramatic spectacles, arranged by and for Caesar to demonstrate his power and the privileging of his will as the divinely chosen emperor. For instance, his harsh punishment of Lamia, the man from whom he stole his beautiful wife Domitia, is planned out and set up, much like a scene in a play. Knowing that his wife Domitia has an alluring and irresistible singing voice, he arranges for her to be singing at an open window for Lamia to hear, ordering his servant Parthenius to order Domitia to 'vouchsafe / The music of her voice at yonder window, / When I advance my hand thus' (ii.1.172-4), subsequently provoking his desire for his ex-wife, and consequently giving Caesar an apparent cause to execute the seemingly innocent Lamia.

The most significant of these dramatic spectacles of punishment is the scene in which Caesar kills Paris after he discovers his involvement with his wife. Once again, Paris is arguably innocent, as it was Domitia that pursued him and attempted to seduce him. In this scene Caesar literally performs his emotions, by setting up a scene akin to one from a play called 'The False Servant' and recalling the real-life scene he had just witnessed between Domitia and Paris. In the scene, Paris and Caesar essentially play themselves, with a young boy portraying Domitia, as was the tradition for female parts on the Renaissance stage. The scene ends with the betrayed husband, Caesar, killing the false servant, Paris, an act which becomes reality as Caesar refuses the prop sword and instead uses his own, actually stabbing Paris to death.

A.J. Hartley suggests that Caesar's decision to kill Paris in this overly dramatic fashion is an attempt at distancing himself from his emotions. He argues that 'in Caesar's mind, since he has never acted before, the murder will be veiled by the mystifying, distancing gauze of art, and what remorse lingers in his mind will be suspended with his

disbelief.'[362] Hartley's contention suggests a tension between the public and private emotions of Caesar. Here, Caesar literally acts out the emotions of anger and vengeance, to demonstrate his kingly power, but attempts to suppress and conceal any guilt or remorse he may feel for the murder. By distancing himself through 'acting', Caesar successfully validates his established public emotional persona, that of a powerful, unbending, absolutist monarch, using the play as a smokescreen to conceal his private emotions.

This tension between public and private emotion comes to a head when Caesar discovers his wife's transgressions. He struggles to act out his anger in the same way he has with the other victims of his violent and extreme punishments, suggesting that his private passion, the desire he feels for Domitia, interferes and intervenes with his usual dramatic displays of kingly aggression.

In his essay 'Of Love', Francis Bacon discusses the ideology that great rulers and wise men are not persuaded or overtaken by love or desire and that those who are show 'weakness', stating that it is 'impossible to love and be wise'. He includes examples such as 'Marcus Antonius, the half partner of the empire of Rome, and Appius Claudius, the decemvir and lawgiver', who like Massinger's Caesar are figures of ancient Rome. The figures Bacon lists are known for their suicides, which were believed to be caused by excessive love or lust, and are also the inspiration behind early modern dramatic works such as Shakespeare's *Antony and Cleopatra* and John Webster's *Appius and Virginia*.[363] Like Bacon's examples, both Sforza and Caesar are leaders led to death by desire, but only one of them takes the life of his beloved too.

[362] Andrew James Hartley, 'Philip Massinger's *The Roman Actor* and the Semiotics of Censored Theatre', *English Literary History*, 68.2 (2001), 359-76 (p.362).
[363] Francis Bacon, 'Of Love', in *The Essays*, ed. by John pitcher (London: Penguin, 1985), pp.88-89.

While there are some similarities in the portrayal of Massinger's two protagonists, as we have already seen, there are many vital differences. Both plays are concerned with the ability to exercise control over one's passions, but these passions are presented in contrasting ways. At the centre of *The Duke of Milan* is a ruler who has been overtaken by love for his new wife, a love which becomes obsessive, excessive and eventually pathological. Massinger presents this love as a disease of the mind which overthrows reason and generates brutal violence. In contrast, *The Roman Actor* is a violent play from the outset, a play in which greed and lust are punishable passions, not only for the subjects of Caesar, but eventually for Caesar himself. The tension between public and private passions in this play is palpable, as Caesar struggles to separate one from the other. Massinger does not present Caesar as a leader driven mad by love like Sforza, but a violent dictator afflicted with several excessive passions, whose lust initially delays his violence but whose anger and pride convince him to murder his wife, only too late.

This chapter has demonstrated that as well as politics and meta-theatre, emotion is also crucial in Massinger's tragedies and often intertwines with and enhances our understanding of the formerly mentioned issues which usually dominate scholarship on Massinger. Through comparing the portrayal of two of Massinger's absolutist, jealous and tragic rulers this chapter has revealed the influence of early modern proto-psychological doctrines on *The Duke of Milan* and *The Roman Actor* and demonstrated how the study of the passions can be used as an effective lens through which to read and understand Massinger's work.

From the passions of jealous husbands to the passions of suffering women. Many of the chapters so far have focused on the relationship between men's emotions and violence in early modern drama, due undoubtedly to the comparatively large number of

male protagonists in drama from this period. The next chapter however, will not consider the lust, anger, or jealousy of men, instead it will explore the emotional responses of women who have become subject to the desires and emotions of the men that control their lives, focusing specifically on John Ford's *The Broken Heart* and Thomas Heywood's *A Woman Killed with Kindness*, another play which features a jealous husband who refrains from murdering his wife upon discovery of her adultery. Instead of men who take revenge and enact their emotions with violence against others, this chapter will look at Anne Frankford and Penthea, women who are separated from their loved ones and respond to patriarchal control with self-violence, specifically food refusal.

Chapter Six:

Refusing Food and Reclaiming Passion: The Power of Starving Women in Thomas Heywood's *A Woman Killed with Kindness* and John Ford's *The Broken Heart*

This chapter moves from the excessive appetites featured in chapters three and four to the opposite end of the scale. In the two plays examined in this chapter, instead of consuming passions, the women in Heywood and Ford's plays attempt to purge themselves of immoderate emotion by starving their bodies. Like many of the previous chapters, this chapter will argue that theories about passions were frequently bound up with social and political issues. So far I have discussed the ways in which emotions were linked with conceptions about the monarchy, status and race and now this chapter will go on to discuss the relationship between passion and gender, arguably one of the most obvious and prevailing discourses found in early modern theories of emotion. Following a chapter on the emotional reactions of two men in the plays of Massinger, this chapter will address the emotional responses of two women in two Jacobean tragedies.

This chapter will continue in the same vein as the previous two chapters in this section by evaluating how characters in the plays attempt to govern their emotions. Instead of the religious guidance that Giovanni originally seeks out in *'Tis Pity*, Anne and Penthea choose a more physical method of passionate containment. Moreover, as well as considering how an individual may try to control their own passions, this chapter will build on these ideas to show how the contagious nature of passion means that through their self-starvation Anne and Penthea are also able to provoke the passions of those that view their starving bodies, returning once again to the idea of the eyes as gateways through which passion is generated from the opening chapter on Marlowe's *Dido, Queen of Carthage.*

This chapter will examine the relationship between the passions and the act of female self-starvation in *A Woman Killed with Kindness* (1603) by Thomas Heywood, and *The Broken Heart* (1633) by John Ford. The figure of the starving woman was not uncommon on the early modern stage. In Fletcher and Shakespeare's tragicomedy *The Two Noble Kinsmen* (1634), the Jailer's daughter falls in love with Palamon and when it becomes clear that he does not return her feelings she becomes "mad". Her madness is indicated by the following characteristics observed by her father who tells us: 'She is continually in a harmless distemper, sleeps little, altogether without appetite.'[364] Like the women who feature in this chapter, the Jailer's Daughter starves herself. Her madness is cured when she sleeps with a former suitor pretending to be Palamon, in a strange bed trick orchestrated by her father and a physician. When her behaviour is deemed inordinate, her passions and desires are controlled by patriarchal figures who manipulate her affections and take it upon themselves to "cure" her. While, unlike the women in the plays analysed in this chapter, the Jailer's Daughter survives, her "happy ending" only occurs when men regain control over her desires. Because she gives in to the wishes of her father and the desires of her suitor, her malady is cured and she is allowed to live, and the audience are left with the unsettling and problematic ending that features in so many Shakespearean tragicomedies.[365]

In the aforementioned tragedies, female self-starvation should be read as an act of agency and reaction against passion-controlling patriarchs. It will suggest that by refusing to eat or be "cured", the women who sadly die from malnutrition in these tragedies do so on their own terms and their deaths should be construed as acts of defiance and expressions of

[364] John Fletcher and William Shakespeare, 'The Two Noble Kinsmen' in in *The Complete Works*, ed. by Jonathan Bate and Eric Rasmussen (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2007), pp.2356-2397, iv.3.4-6.
[365] See William Shakespeare, *Measure for Measure* when the Duke proposes to Isabella at the end of the play, in *The Complete Works*, ed. by Jonathan Bate and Eric Rasmussen (Hampshire: Macmillan, 2007), pp. 155-214.

power against the fathers, brothers, and husbands who seek to control their bodies and passions.

Several critics have written on the act of female starvation in early modern plays, offering a variety of interpretations and applying differing critical theories to explain and understand acts of food refusal on the early modern stage. As Nancy Gutierrez points out in her seminal text, *Shall She Famish Then?* in many of the plays that deal with female food refusal we do not learn from the subjects themselves the exact motivation for their self-starvation, therefore there are several competing speculations about the reasons behind such acts.[366] The view that self-starvation is motivated by guilt caused by women's acts of adultery or excessive passion and should be read as a form of self-punishment is a popular one amongst critics. In reference to *A Woman Killed,* Martin Wiggins states that Anne Frankford 'starves herself to death in remorse' and that her 'slow, remorseful process of self-starvation' is an act of 'punishment' which she imposes on herself.[367] Likewise, Marion Lomax attributes Penthea's self-starvation to her 'feelings of guilt' in her introduction to John Ford's *The Broken Heart.*[368]

More often than not, critics link these guilt-motivated acts of self-starvation with religious doctrines. For example, in a chapter on *A Woman Killed*, Gutierrez connects Anne's starvation with Puritan devotion[369] and in Caroline Walker Bynum's *Holy Feast and Holy Fast,*[370] she explores the relationship between religion and fasting. While this

[366] Nancy A. Gutierrez, *Shall She Famish Then?: Female Food Refusal in Early Modern England* (London: Routledge, 2003), p.2.
[367] *A Woman Killed with Kindness and Other Domestic Plays,* ed. by Martin Wiggins (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. xiv.
[368] *'Tis Pity She's a Whore and Other Plays*, ed. by Marion Lomax (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), p.xiv.
[369] Gutierrez, *Shall She Famish Then?: Female Food Refusal in Early Modern England,* pp. 35-52.
[370] Caroline Walker Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast: The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women* (California: California University Press, 1987).

chapter will make similar connections between religion and starvation, its focus will be on the physiological and proto-psychological repercussions of these acts of food refusal. This chapter will look at female self-starvation continuing in the same vein as critics who stress the importance of the body.

For instance, Lomax and Reina Green both discuss the importance of the physical body in cases of food refusal. In her discussion of *The Broken Heart*, Lomax states that 'Penthea's self-starvation resembles an early case of anorexia nervosa'[371] and Green considers Anne Frankford's self-inflicted malnutrition to be 'emblematic of her wish for complete physical closure.'[372] Both of these examples convey the restriction of food intake as a method of controlling one's own body. Self-starvation in these plays is related to the governing of the physical body, building on the works of the likes of Christopher Frey and Leanore Lieblein who argue that 'for an Elizabethan audience, as for us, the idea of a starving body would have evoked a powerful and concrete mental image that insists upon […] fasting as a physical act with physiological consequences,'[373] to suggest that starvation in these plays also has psychological and emotional consequences.

As we have already seen, the emotional was inseparable from the corporeal during this period and what one put into one's body had a direct effect on an individual's mood and passions. Consequently, self-starvation can be read as a method of governing the passions and in these plays, self-starvation has psychological as well as physical repercussions.

[371] Lomax, *'Tis Pity She's a Whore and Other Plays*, p.xv.
[372] Reina, Green, 'Open Ears, Appetite, and Adultery in *A Woman Killed with Kindness' English Studies in Canada*, 31.4 (2005), 53-74 (p.64).
[373] Christopher Frey and Leanore Lieblein, 'My Breasts Sear'd: The Self-Starved Female Body and *A Woman Killed with Kindness*' *Early Theatre*, 7.1 (2004), 45-66 (p.45-46).

Lesel Dawson's *Lovesickness and Gender* argues that in *The Broken Heart,* Penthea attempts 'to eradicate her sexual desires'[374] through food refusal. I take a similar approach, suggesting that both Anne and Penthea use food refusal as a means to govern their own passions. By arguing that female self-starvation in these plays is a method of regaining control over one's own passions, this chapter will also contribute to 'the ongoing conversation about female subjectivity and agency' that Gutierrez places her own work into.[375]

In each of the plays women's emotions are restricted and controlled by fathers, brothers, and husbands who dictate to what extent, when, and to whom their passions can and should be expressed. Excessive grief and shame that the women experience in these plays are at once a symptom of patriarchal oppression and that self-starvation should be viewed simultaneously as a consequence of this, and a reaction against it. The biological and emotional are inseparable from the political and social repercussions of female self-starvation, and through the deprivation of their bodies the women in these tragedies attempt to regain control of their physical and emotional selves as well as revealing and criticising the potential dangers of the patriarchal restrictions placed on female passion.

The chapter will begin by discussing the ways in which female passions and bodies are controlled by patriarchal figures in each play. The first section of the chapter will focus on how, in the world of the play, men dictate the desires of women and demonstrate how Anne's and Penthea's self-starvation is a response to this control and an attempt at regaining authority over their own passions. Firstly, it will look at the grief and sorrow the women experience in response to their enforced separation from their loved ones, arguing that their fathers' and husbands' attempts to control them emotionally and corporeally

[374] Dawson, *Lovesickness and Gender in Early Modern English Literature,* p.122.
[375] Gutierrez, *Shall She Famish Then?,* p.3.

result in their excessive sorrow and self-starvation. Their extreme responses to this treatment reveals the potential dangers of patriarchal control over female passion in early modern society. Heywood and Ford therefore make Penthea and Anne agents of their own bodies and destinies within the fictitious worlds of the plays, as well as giving them an important role which extends beyond those worlds in by using them to criticises the patriarchal system at work in early modern England itself. Self-starvation should be read as a way of destroying these passions and a refusal to live with the emotional trauma of their brothers' and husbands' attempts to moderate and restrict their feelings and bodies.

The chapter will then go on to explore the role of shame, and demonstrate the ways in which food refusal is depicted as a method of governing female characters' "shameful" sexuality and desires. Rather than aiming to repress their passions due to guilt or as a form of punishment, Anne's and Penthea's self-starvation should be regarded as a method of removing the passions and bodily functions which their brothers' and husbands' try to control and deny the roles of wife and mother that they have been forced to undertake throughout their respective plays.

The third and final section of the chapter will argue that as well as using their starving bodies to claim back control of their own passions, Anne and Penthea's self-starvation allows them to affect the emotions of those around them. This section will explore the idea of performance, considering the plays as public performances in early modern playhouses as well as looking at the role of meta-theatre. It will argue that both women use their emotional and physical suffering to alter the passions of those who witness their depleted forms and eventual deaths both in the world of the play and on the early modern stage; revealing the dangerous consequences of a patriarchal society in which men attempt to regulate female passion.

There is much debate among critics about whether female food refusal is an act of agency and rebellion. For instance, Lomax contends that Penthea 'cannot rebel'[376] and Donald. K. Anderson takes the view that in *The Broken Heart* 'the lovers yield to society.'[377] Some critics such as Gutierrez compare *The Broken Heart* and *A Woman Killed,* arguing that one example of female self-starvation is more powerful than the other. She argues that Penthea violates 'the sex-gender system in the world of the play' and 'exhibits 'a female agency not possible in Anne Frankford's world.'[378] Both women use their starvation to reclaim their passions and take a stand against the men that control their lives.

This is evident in the ways in which the bodies and emotions of women are controlled by patriarchal figures in both plays. Genre and setting play a significant role in the emotional politics of each play.

Heywood's *A Woman Killed* is most frequently categorised as a domestic tragedy. Jesse M. Lander says of the genre: 'such plays centre on the prototypical private household- situated in a rural area and occupied by a gentry couple- and explore the pleasures and dangers of companionate marriage.'[379] Here, Lander stresses the idea that domestic tragedy is concerned with the 'private', a characteristic of Heywood's tragedy which is set in an isolated household in Yorkshire. The word private suggests a restrictive and contained environment, one that is unlikely to allow emotional freedom and expression and one that was often assigned to women in early modern society.

Writing on the public/private divide in early modern England, Martine van Elk tells us that

---

[376] Lomax, *'Tis Pity She's a Whore and Other plays*, p.xiv.
[377] Donald K. Anderson, 'Richard II and Perkin Warbeck', *Shakespeare Quarterly,* 13 (1962), 260-3 (p.260).
[378] Gutierrez, *Shall She Famish Then?,* p.53.
[379] Jesse M. Lander, '"Faith in Me Unto this Commonwealth": Edward IV and the Civic Nation', *Renaissance Dramatic Culture,* 27 (1996), 47-76 (p.53).

> once the ideology of domesticity took hold, women were ideally placed firmly within the home, and whether the private realm was identified as "society," "the market," or the negative of public action, women were seen as properly at the heart of the most intimate space within it.[380]

Like most women during this period, Anne is restricted to the "private" domain that Van Elk describes above and is thusly limited and contained within the domestic sphere in which most of the play takes place.

Wiggins notes the contrast between the public setting of the sub-plot of *A Woman Killed* and the private space within which the main plot takes place, stating that

> [t]his is one reason why the sub-plot develops more rapidly: its crises are open, whereas the Frankford house becomes a place of festering secrets half-glimpsed in the suggestive but potentially quite innocent, names of the card games mentioned by the adulterous couple.[381]

He also compares the passions of Anne in the main plot with those of anger-driven Mountford, the murderer in the subplot, suggesting that Mountford's passions develop more quickly and violently due to the freedom of said public space whereas Anne's sorrow worsens gradually, as she is bound to her oppressive and isolated home. Unlike the male Mountford who is allowed beyond the realms of the home and has the freedom to express his passions to whatever extent he sees fit, (although with dire consequences), Anne and her emotions are imprisoned within the family home which is overseen by her husband Frankford.

From the outset of *A Woman Killed,* men control Anne and her body. In the opening scene Sir Francis, Anne's brother, dances with her at her wedding celebration. Instead of asking her permission, he asks her new husband to allow her to dance with him saying, 'By

[380] Martine Van Elk, *Early Modern Women's Writing: Domesticity, Privacy, and the Public Sphere in England and the Dutch Republic* (California: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), p.5.
[381] Wiggins, *A Woman Killed With Kindness and Other Domestic Plays*, p.xiv.

your leave sister- by your husband's leave / I should have said – the hand that but this day / Was given you in the church I'll borrow.'[382] By describing her 'hand' as something he will borrow from her husband, Anne's body is depicted as an item one might possess. In this scene, Anne is the only woman in a room filled with men who pass her around and praise her for her 'ornaments / Both of the mind and body' (i.15-16) as well as her 'grace' and 'beauty' (i.20 & 23), as though she is an object to be owned and admired.

Not only do they praise her physical appearance and objectify her, they also comment on her temperament. Sir Francis praises her for being 'pliant' and 'duteous' putting Frankford in control and portraying Anne as malleable and compliant wife. (i. 41) The word pliant in particular, connotes a physical controllability, once again suggesting that Anne's body is possessed and governed by the men around her.[383] They also comment on Anne's emotional state, when Frankford tells Sir Francis, 'Your sister takes not after you, Sir Francis. / All his wild blood your father spent on you; / He got her in his age when he grew civil.' (i.49-51) The mention of 'wild blood' here recalls humoral medicine and implies that Anne's father did not pass down the unruly passions to her that her brother inherited from him. Frankford praises his wife's 'civil' passions and reminds Anne of the importance of remaining calm, dispassionate, and 'meek' in her role as mother and wife. (i.37) Moreover, the 'wild blood' also refers to the ejaculation of semen, which was also connected to the governance of the humours.[384] By depicting passion as something

[382] Thomas Heywood, 'A Woman Killed with Kindness', in *Plays on Women*, ed. by Kathleen E. McLuskie and David Bevington (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2014), pp. 349-4416, i.7-9.
[383] Perhaps Heywood's "pliant" Anne influenced the naming of Jonson's widow, Dame Pliant in *The Alchemist.* In the play both Subtle and Face aim to win the widow in order to gain access to her wealth. She is used in different ways throughout the play as part of Subtle's and Face's various plots to make money. See Ben Jonson, *The Alchemist*, ed. by Elizabeth Cook (London: New Mermaids, 2007).
[384] See Patricia Simons, *The Sex of Men in Premodern Europe: A Cultural History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), p.6. The notes in the text for this line also states that 'The image refers to the ejaculation of semen, seen as connected to blood in humours theory.'

hereditary, passed on by her father, Frankford suggests that Anne's emotions have been dictated by patriarchs since her birth.

In keeping with the domestic genre, Heywood's play abounds in references to food, with long elaborate stage directions describing the setting up of the dinner table, which invites the audience in to witness the meal-time ritual of a private home.[385] Throughout the play the act of eating is frequently linked to emotional expression. While pondering the potential repercussions of his adultery with Anne, Wendoll speculates about Frankford's reaction and the ways it could damage their friendship; central to his speculation is the idea of dining together. He declares, 'He cannot eat without me, / Nor laugh without me. I am to his body / As necessary as his digestion, / And equally do make him whole or sick.' (vi.40-43) In his speech, Wendoll links the social aspect of dining with friends with the emotional and physical repercussions of eating. He suggests that if he were to sabotage their friendship, Frankford would no longer be able to eat or laugh, implying that it would have negative consequences on his mental and physical wellbeing, and that his absence at Frankford's dining table would affect his digestion and result in sickness. This hyperbolic and almost romantic description of their relationship reinforces Rebecca Ann Bach's argument that Wendoll's pursuit of Anne is 'inscribed within his homosocial bonding with Frankford' and that Anne and Frankford's marriage 'is clearly subordinated to the homosocial bonds that it enables and perpetuates.'[386] This speech not only sums up the reciprocal relationship between food, emotions, and the body in the play, but also foreshadows Anne's starvation later in the play, when separated from Frankford and her

[385] Scene 7 opens with the following stage directions: 'Enter 3 or 4 Servingmen [including SPIGGOT the Butler and NICHOLAS], one with a voider and a wooden knife to take away all, another the salt and bread, another the tablecloth and napkins, another the carpet. JENKING with two lights after them.

[386] Rebecca Ann Bach, 'The Homosocial Imaginary of *A Woman Killed with Kindness'*, *Textual Practice,* 12.3 (1998), 503-524 (p.516).

children, she is unable to eat and her physical and emotional body begins to deteriorate as a consequence.

In the play, the dining table comes to represent Frankford's power as master of the house. He controls who may eat at the table and invites Wendoll to do so, telling him 'Please you to use my table and my purse - / They are yours.' (iv.53-64) As well as controlling the money and the dining table, Frankford controls Anne in a similar way and Allison P. Hobgood describes Anne as a 'domestic commodity in Frankford's patriarchal economy of obligation and contingency.'[387] When Frankford leaves, Wendoll is told to 'keep his table, use his servants, / And be a present Frankford in his absence' (vi.77-78) and later Frankford tells him to 'use / The very ripest pleasure of my house.' (i1.63-64) By suggesting that Wendoll takes his place as the head of the household in his absence, Frankford unintentionally encourages him to take possession of his wife as well and Anne is categorised as part of the domestic furniture. Once again, Anne is regarded as an object who can be owned and controlled both physically and emotionally by men, as Wendoll then takes his opportunity to appeal to Anne's desires and is successful in moving her to 'passion and to pity.' (vi.139) In the wooing scene, Anne loses control of her passions and instead, Wendoll takes charge, kissing her and telling her 'Nay, look not down and blush', before he exits with a wordless Anne. (vi.164) Anne is therefore passed from man to man, much like she is in the opening scene, and used in a similar way to Susan, who is prostituted by her brother, Sir Charles, to pay his debts.

In the play's sub-plot, when Sir Charles becomes financially indebted to Sir Francis Acton, he offers up his sister's body in repayment, telling her '[g]rant him your bed, he's paid with interest so.' (xiv.46) Here, Heywood includes the imagery of dismemberment

[387] Hobgood, *Passionate Playgoing in Early Modern England,* p.110.

when Susan compares the destruction of her virtue to the removal of her body asking her brother, 'Will Charles have me cut off my hands and send them Acton? / Rip up my breast, and with my bleeding heart / Present him as a token?' (xiv.57-60)[388] The sexual act is conflated with physical violence and Susan uses the image of her dismembered body to express her emotional grief at what is being asked of her. The loss of her virginity is likened to the removal of her heart, symbolising both her physical and emotional pain. The verb 'rip' used here combined with the reference to her blood suggests a violent and forceful loss of her virginity at the hands of Acton, and the wishes of her brother.

Like Anne, Susan chooses to take her own life and plans to kill herself after sleeping with Acton. Before Susan and her brother meet up with Acton, Susan says 'Before his unchaste thoughts shall seize on me, / 'Tis here shall my imprisoned soul set free.' (xiv.98-99) The word 'here' refers to the knife that she intends to use to commit suicide, and in this rhyming couplet Susan suggests that her death will be a means of escape. She describes the sexual act as being 'seized' upon by Acton's unchaste thoughts, a verb that connotes violent possession, before declaring that her suicide will set her 'imprisoned soul' free. By describing her 'soul', often considered the seat of the emotions as a prisoner, Susan implies that by killing herself she will not only take back control of her body, but of her passions too and aptly conveys the emotional and physical effect that their forced sexual encounter will have. In *A Woman Killed* the bodies and emotions of both Anne and Susan are manipulated, controlled, and commodified. The men in Heywood's play dictate the expression of their passions as well as using their physical bodies for their own pleasure

[388] This relationship between rape and dismemberment could be a deliberate reference to Shakespeare's *Titus Andronicus* in which Lavinia is raped before having her hands removed and her tongue cut out, an act of violence directly inspired by the myth of Philomel in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. See 'Titus Andronicus', in *The Complete Works*, ed. by Jonathan Bates and Eric Rasmussen (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2007), pp. 1616-1674, ii.4.

and gain. The same themes of emotional and physical control found in Ford's tragedy, come through in these plays and this is linked to their settings.

Unlike Anne Frankford who is firmly sequestered within the private domestic sphere of the home, Penthea in Ford's *The Broken Heart* is not a woman confined to the home. Contrastingly, Ford's play takes place at court in Sparta, a seemingly less restrictive, open, public environment. However, while the public spaces that contrast with the private home in *A Woman Killed* allow more emotional freedom, Ford's Spartan court does not, and the play is known for its preoccupation with the repression and moderation of the passions. For instance, Lisa Hopkins describes the court as 'a desert in both physical and emotional terms.'[389] Along with other scholars, Hopkins notes the significance of the Spartan proverbial tale of 'the fortitude of the Spartan boy who let a beast gnaw out his bowels till he died without expressing a groan.'[390] Therefore, Sparta is and was associated with a strict stoicism, which would make the government of the passions difficult for all of the characters in Ford's tragedy.

Furthermore, Penthea's self-starvation, like Webster's Duchess's in *The Duchess of Malfi,*[391] recalls the death of Lady Arbella Stuart who was believed to have died from starvation while imprisoned in the Tower of London in 1615. Arbella was imprisoned by James I for secretly marrying William Seymour without the King's permission. Like Penthea and the Duchess, Arbella's passions were controlled by the ultimate patriarch, the King. When she tried to marry the man she loved Arbella was imprisoned and regained

[389] Hopkins, *John Ford's Political Theatre,* p.83.
[390] Lisa Hopkins, 'Spartan boys: John Ford and Philip Sidney' *Classical and Modern Literature,* 17.3 (1997), 217-229 (p.224).
[391] See John Webster, 'The Duchess of Malfi' in *The Duchess of Malfi and Other Plays* ed. by Rene Weis (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), pp.103.201 In Act 4, Scene 1, the Duchess tells Bosola, 'The church enjoins fasting: / I'll starve myself to death.'

control of her own body, which had been emotionally and physically restricted, by refusing to eat. Arbella's cause of death was said to be

> '"a chronic and long sickness; […][one that after a long time resulted in ill-health and malnutrition], which, increasing as well by her negligence as by refusal of remedies… by long lying in bed she got bedsores, and a confirmed unhealthiness of liver, and extreme leanness, and so died." The liver- the unhealthy liver – was considered to be the seat of love, appropriately.'[392]

Arbella's separation from the one she loved was the cause of her death. Therefore, while Penthea is not a wife and mother confined to the domestic sphere, the pressures and controls on women of nobility and their choices in marriage were just as dangerous on the early modern stage, and in the real-life accounts that influenced them. The passions of noble women may have had public as well as private repercussions. Hopkins writes that 'James reacted angrily when he heard of it' and the story 'inevitably attracted considerable sympathy.'[393] As Penthea is also a member of the nobility, her death like Arbella's, would have had an emotional effect on those who witnessed or heard the story of her death. The idea that female food refusal influenced public passions as well as private ones will be discussed in greater detail later in the chapter.

As in the case of Susan and her brother in *A Woman Killed,* in *The Broken Heart* it is also brothers who often control the desires, emotions, and marriages of their sisters. As well as the controlling relationship between Ithocles and his twin Penthea which sees him marry her off to Bassanes, Orgilus too is in charge of his sister's romantic fate. In Act 1, Scene 1, Orgilus tells his sister Euphrania to promise 'To pass never to any man, however, / Worthy, your faith, till with our father's leave, / I give a free consent.'[394] Despite the fact

[392] Sarah Gristwood, *Arbella: England's Lost Queen* (London: Bantam, 2003), p.435.
[393] Lisa Hopkins, *Drama and the Succession to the Crown, 1561-1633* (London: Routledge, 2016), p.112.
[394] John Ford, 'The Broken Heart' in *The Selected Plays of John Ford* ed. by Marion Lomax (Oxford: Oxford, University Press, 2008) pp. 82-164 (i.1.92-94).

that he has been prevented from marrying the woman he loves because of her brother's actions, Orgilus still tells his sister not to marry without his permission. Additionally, before Euphrania even gets a chance to reply to this "request", her father Crotolon replies in her place, telling Orgilus, 'I'll promise for her Orgilus.' (i.1.96) The men in the play speak for her and ultimately get the final say in whom she will marry.

So far, this chapter has shown that while these tragedies are different in terms of genre and setting, in both plays women are refused the right to express and govern their own desires. This chapter will now examine how Anne and Penthea respond to said control of their bodies and emotions, examining their emotional reactions and reading their grief as a symptom of the restrictions placed upon their passions. Their self-starvation and suicidal intentions can be viewed as a result of this sorrow and a reaction against it, as they choose death rather than suffering the sadness inflicted upon them by their brothers and husbands.

As previously discussed, food and diet were linked to emotions and the moderation of what one ate was recommended for the moderation of passion.[395] Cynthia Marshall tells us in *The Shattering of the Self: Violence, Subjectivity, and Early Modern Texts*, that 'melancholiacs were immediately recognizable by their loss of appetite and resulting thinness.'[396] Additionally, if we turn to early modern explanations of love-melancholy we can see the support for Marshall's claims. For instance, in *Discourse of the Preservation of Sight* (1599), André Du Laurens claimed that in those suffering from 'amorous melancholie', 'all the functions of the bodie are likewise perverted, he becometh pale, leane, swouning, without any stomacke to his meat, hollow and sunk-eyed.' [397] According to Du Laurens love-melancholy affected individuals physically as well as mentally. The use

[395] See further information on diet and emotions in the introduction.
[396] Cynthia Marshall, *The Shattering of the Self: Violence, Subjectivity and Early Modern Texts* (Maryland, John Hopkins University Press, 2002), p.148.
[397] Du Laurens, *A Discourse of the Preservation of Sight*, p.118.

of the adjectives ‘leane’, ‘hollow’ and ‘sunk-eyed’ here depict a starving, deprived body of a love-melancholic, demonstrating that starvation and extreme emotions were certainly linked and that specifically, food refusal was often viewed as a symptom of melancholy.

Both Penthea and Anne lose or are separated from their loved ones and their self-starvation can certainly be read as a consequence of the grief generated by their losses. In *A Woman Killed with Kindness,* Anne is punished for her adultery by her husband, who instead of killing her, separates her from himself and her children. Anne expresses her grief in a hyperbolic speech, telling her servant ‘[y]ou have beheld the woefullest wretch on earth, / A woman made of tears.’ (16. 75-76) Here Heywood presents Anne as utterly overcome by grief and sorrow, and completely unable to prevent her tears.

Penthea too, is figured as one overcome with sorrow.[398] In *The Broken Heart*, Penthea’s brother Ithocles breaks off her engagement to her beloved Orgilus and marries her to Bassanes instead. Following this event, throughout the play she is frequently described as sorrowful and Ford’s characters employ the terms: ‘over-sad’ (iii.2.53), ‘lost’ (ii.2.43), ‘sad’ (ii.3.160), ‘grieved’ (iii.4.29), ‘miserable’ (iii.2.64), and ‘melancholy’ (iii.5.15) to describe her emotional state. It is clear then, that for both women, their separation from loved ones causes them to grieve, and they display certain emotional traits associated with love-melancholy, including self-starvation itself.

Additionally, both women express a desire to die, a characteristic, as mentioned briefly in an earlier chapter, that Elizabethan physician Barrough found typical in melancholics, writing that they ‘desire death, and do verie often behight and determine to kill themselves, and some feare that they should be killed.’[399] In *A Woman Killed* when

[398] Penthea’s name itself means sorrow. Her name is a reference to Euripides’s *Bacchae* in which Pentheus whose name means ‘man of sorrows’ is torn apart by the daughters of Cadmus because he thinks they should be more restrained.

[399] Barrough, *The Method of Physick*, p.35.

Frankford informs Anne that her punishment for infidelity will not be a death sentence but a separation from her husband and children, she immediately wishes for a harsher,more fatal punishment, comparing separation from her loved ones to death:

> 'Tis welcome, be it death. Oh me, base strumpet,
> That, having such a husband, such sweet children,
> Must enjoy neither! (xiii.132-134)

Here, Anne expresses her desire to die and suggests that her banishment from her home is a worse punishment than death itself. Anne's grief and her suicidal thoughts are symptoms of a mental illness such as love-melancholy.

Similarly, Penthea expresses the same death wish continuously throughout *The Broken Heart*. Throughout the play Penthea's speeches are increasingly filled with images of and references to death and dying. This is most palpable in Act 3, Scene 5 when Penthea tells Calantha 'Heaven will reward your piety, and thank it / For when I am dead; for sure I must not live; / I hope I cannot.' (iii.5.47-49) Here, Penthea demonstrates both of the characteristics Barrough outlines above; she believes that she should die, and she desires to. This scene ends with Penthea's powerful rhyming couplet: '[m]y reckonings are made even; death or fate / Can now nor strike too soon, nor force too late.' (iii.5.137-138) The rhyme here adds to the sense of finality and determination in Penthea's death plan, as do the dynamic verbs 'strike' and 'force.' She has put her plan into motion and is resolute to follow through with her fatal intentions, and she is even impatient and eager for her death to come.

While Penthea and Anne's starvation could merely be perceived as a symptom of an illness they have no control over, their determination to resist sustenance suggests a powerful agency. For instance, after Anne has been banished from her home she tells her

servant Nicholas ‘Last night you saw me eat and drink my last, / This to your master you may say and swear, / For it is writ in heaven and decreed here.’ (xvi.62-64) When Anne tells Nicholas of her plan to starve herself she is not raving, or excessively weeping but delivers the line clearly and resolutely. She has made a deliberate decision to starve herself. In the third line Anne states that her starvation is what God wants, it is ‘writ in heaven’ and many critics may read this as evidence that Anne longs to punish herself for her act of adultery. However, the second line of this speech is equally important as she tells Nicholas to inform Frankford of her decision; she invites Frankford to think of her and her starving body in order to persuade him that she has returned to a state of chastity and to evoke his sympathy. Rather than an irrational act of guilt then, Anne’s vow to starve herself appears to be a plan which she decides to enact in order to regain her position as wife and mother in Frankford’s household. Her reference to ‘heaven’ is a key piece in her plan to re-present herself as the saintly, chaste Anne Frankford so highly praised at the opening of the play. Anne tries to cling onto her identity, and her act of starvation could be considered an example of renaissance self-fashioning, much like Webster’s Duchess’s announcement, ‘I am Duchess of Malfi still.’ (iv.2.134) Not only can her act of food refusal be read as a method of governing her own passions, it also appears to be part of a plot to engender the passions of her husband.

Similarly, Penthea is equally determined to starve herself as her servants reveal that they ‘cannot any way pray her to eat.’ While in this scene Penthea appears mad, entering with her hair down and speaking in riddles, this is the first scene in which she displays any obvious signs that her sorrow has developed into insanity and we learn that her starvation began before she became “fully mad”. Towards the end of the scene Penthea faints and she is carried off by her servants Chrystalla and Philema, suggesting that she has been refusing

food for a while and the symptoms of her self-starvation have already developed and taken effect. This implies that her disordered speeches are likely a result of delirium caused by her food refusal rather than the other way round. Her self-starvation is not a symptom of an illness that renders her a passive victim unable to control her passions, it is, like Anne's, a conscious choice, one that exposes the cruelty of her brother Ithocles, as her dramatic fainting spell is accompanied by Penthea openly blaming Ithocles. She repeatedly points at him in an accusatory manner and refuses to blame herself, telling her spectators ''tis not my fault.' (iv.2.94).

The problem for many critics who question whether food refusal is an act of female agency, is that in both cases self-starvation results in death. Lomax, for instance, contends that in *The Broken Heart,* 'men try to exert control over women's bodies and women finally wrest this power from them, but often only to reserve the right to destroy themselves.'[400] Here, Lomax implies that while self-starvation in Ford's play can be considered an act of female agency, this power is then lost when Penthea dies from malnutrition. However, Anne and Penthea's expressions of agency are not undone by their deaths, but become more powerful and brave, as they would rather choose death than continue to live under the control of men. In doing so, they make their own decisions about the fate of their bodies and souls whilst revealing the horrific consequences of a society in which men rule the passions of women.

The next section of this chapter will address the shame that Penthea and Anne feel about their sexual passions. Self-starvation provides a method of controlling their sexuality and repressing their excessive passions. Anne's and Penthea's attempts to control their sexuality should not be viewed as submission to patriarchal control or a self-inflicted

[400] Lomax, *'Tis Pity She's a Whore and Other Plays,* p.xiv.

punishment, but a way to reassert their power over their own bodies and passions by extinguishing their desires altogether, leaving no passions whatsoever for men to control and damaging the sexual organs that define their gender and their perceived purpose as women.

Green writes that Anne Frankford 'can be seen as trying to control perception of herself as a sexual being given that her starvation limits her female sexual characteristics.'[401] Here Green suggests that Anne starves herself in an attempt to return her reputation to one that is chaste and pure, as due to the belief that food produced blood in early modern medicine, starvation was linked to the stoppage of menstruation, and thus sexuality.[402] However, Anne's starvation is not merely an attempt to prevent herself from being viewed as a 'strumpet' but an attempt at suppressing the desire itself. After submitting to her sexual urges through her affair with Wendoll, Anne now longs to regain control over her sexual appetite and repress her desire. She chooses to do this through food refusal, ignoring not only her appetite for food but physically controlling her carnal appetite too by preventing menstruation and therefore destroying evidence of her sexual maturity in an attempt to return to her previous state of innocence.

This chimes with St Jerome's teachings about eliminating menstruation in order to become holier, as fasting was often viewed as a method for achieving this. Marina Warner writes that

> Fasting, like chastity, was prescribed for both sexes; but like virginity, fasting has a particular character in women that enhances the symbolism of wholeness and purity. […]

[401]Green, 'Open Ears, Appetite, and Adultery in *A Woman Killed with Kindness',* p.63.
[402] See Marshall, *The Shattering of the Self: Violence, Subjectivity and Early Modern Texts*, p.149

> The effect on young women of the regime Jerome encouraged would undoubtedly be amenorrhea: the elimination of the curse of Eve.[403]

Thus, her starvation is an attempt to suppress and extinguish her sexuality, and purify herself once again. Anne's food refusal could therefore be construed as a result of Christian shame, and perhaps a punishment she inflicts upon herself for her unchaste actions. Read this way, Anne's decision to starve herself could be viewed as an act of submission to the patriarchal ideals placed upon women, not only by her husband, but by the Church too.

However, while critics may view Anne's decision as a form of self-imposed punishment, through her attempt to extinguish sexual desire and limit her reproductive functions, Anne refuses the role of sexual object and perfect mother that has been assigned to her throughout the play. She removes the option of men manipulating and governing her passions by attempting to remove them altogether. No longer able to fulfil the roles enforced on her, Anne reclaims her body and passions in the most extreme way, promising to destroy herself physically and emotionally rather than to continue living as a prisoner, refused the right to govern her own body, disallowed and unable to express the love she has for her children.

In *The Broken Heart*, Penthea's act of self-starvation should be viewed in a similar way, despite the fact that Penthea has not actually committed adultery, but only feels that by marrying Bassanes she has been unfaithful to Orgilus. It is even possible that Penthea is still a virgin, as Hopkins points out there is evidence in the text of Bassanes's impotence.[404] However, she continuously refers to herself using a negative sexualised vocabulary,

---

[403] Marina Warner, *Alone of All Her Sex: The Myth and the Cult of the Virgin Mary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), p.77.

[404] Hopkins cites Bassanes's lamentation, 'O that I could preserve thee in fruition / As in devotion!' (III.2.156-6) as evidence of Bassanes's impotence. See the full discussion of this idea in Hopkins' *John Ford's Political Theatre*, p.157.

employing words such as ‘whore’ (ii.3.102) and ‘strumpet’ (iv.2.171) at various points in the play. Like Anne, Penthea uses food refusal to govern her sexuality. This becomes evident towards the end of the play when Penthea tells us that she is no longer able to bear children, stating: ‘But ‘tis too late for me to marry now, / I am past child-bearing’ (iv.2.103-104) Here, she implies that she has stopped menstruating as a consequence of her starvation and is therefore unable to produce children. Thus, her starvation is an attempt to suppress and extinguish her sexuality.

Once again, it is easy to see how Penthea’s starvation is a self-inflicted punishment for her “excessive” sexuality. However, her attempt to destroy her female sexuality and reproductive organs should be read in the same way as Anne Frankford’s. By starving herself, Penthea seeks to smother her sexual passions and, in doing so, she abolishes the prospect of bearing children and becoming a mother. While it is unclear whether this was her intention, it would make sense for Penthea to destroy the possibility of becoming a mother to Bassanes’s children, as in the early modern period the anxiety surrounding cuckoldry was indicative of a wider and more terrifying male fear: that of bringing up illegitimate children. Seeing as Penthea already feels that she has committed adultery by betraying Orgilus, she would consider bearing Bassanes’s children an even worse offence. For Penthea, Bassanes’s children would be illegitimate as she thinks of herself as Orgilus’s wife. Therefore, her starvation can be seen as an act of resistance to her brother’s control of her romantic life, as she refuses to fulfil the wifely duties forced upon her by Ithocles. By denying this role, she reclaims her passions and stays true to her love for Orgilus.

The following section of this chapter will address the ways in which Anne and Penthea’s physically and emotionally starved bodies manipulate and alter the passions of those who witness their suffering and eventual deaths. Their starvation is as a performance,

put on to interrogate the emotions of the patriarchs that caused their emotional pain and to reveal the dangers of attempting to limit and confine female passion. This section will discuss this performance within the world of the play as well as in the real world on the early modern stage.

In *The Broken Heart* it becomes clear that while Penthea may feel ashamed of her passions, she does not take responsibility for her apparent "adultery" and depicts her adulterous marriage as a situation she has been forced into by her brother Ithocles. The idea that Penthea is trying to provoke a response from her brother- a recognition that his control of her marriage has caused her shame and sorrow- is evident in her speeches towards him. In the following passage through a discussion of Ithocles's own feelings for Calantha, Penthea reminds her brother of the role he played in the destruction of her relationship; she asks him

> Suppose you were contracted to her, would it not
> Split your very soul to see her father
> Snatch her out of your arms against her will
> And force her on the Prince of Argos?

To which he replies:

> Trouble not
> The fountains of mine eyes with thine own story;
> I sweat in blood for't. (iii.2.129-135)

The image of Penthea's soul being split into pieces poignantly expresses her pain and grief at being separated from Orgilus and forced into the arms of another. In this passage Penthea openly criticises her brother for attempting to control her desires and marrying her off, highlighting his responsibility in the generation of her grief and guilt to him and the audience. The use of sibilance creates a hissing sound, expressing her resentment and anger at the actions of her brother. The use of verbs such as 'snatch', 'split' and 'force' adds

violence to her speech and reinforces the idea that Penthea was taken from Orgilus and given to Bassanes against her will. Moreover, she attempts to take control of his emotions, and he struggles to refrain from weeping in response to his sister's resentment and pain, imploring her to desist from her guilt-generating rhetoric.

Throughout the play, Penthea frequently references the control and sense of imprisonment that her husband and brother have forced upon her, referring to Ithocles's actions as a 'rape' (ii.3.96) perpetrated on her truth. The use of the word 'rape' is significant in that it could be viewed in more than one way. According to the Oxford English Dictionary, the word 'rape' simultaneously meant to 'take or seize something by force', to have sexual intercourse with someone against their will, and to abduct a woman.[405] Here then, Penthea's use of the word 'rape' could refer to her brother and husband's attempt to control her sexually, as well as the literal act of abduction, as she was forcibly taken away from her beloved Orgilus; either way it conveys a physical dominance. It also depicts Penthea as an object, thereby reinforcing the idea that women were the property of men. Up until 1597 rape laws contributed to the depiction of women as property, then a new law was passed which revised the legal status of rape as a crime against the woman rather than a theft from her family. Marion Wynne Davis writes that '[t]he 1597 rape legislation, with its suggestion of female self-determination' is a 'validation […] of independent sexual control.'[406] However, Lisa Walters and Barbara J. Baines argue that 'considerable court evidence […] suggests that there was no subsequent increase in convictions, and […] the crime of rape was still being perceived as a crime

[405] "rape, n.3." *OED Online*. Oxford University Press, December 2014. Web. 26 January 2015.
[406] Marion Wynne-Davies, '"The Swallowing Womb": Consumed and Consuming Women in *Titus Andronicus*', in *The Matter of Difference: Materialist Feminist Criticism of Shakespeare*, ed. by Valerie Wayne (New York: Cornell University Press, 1991), p.219.

against property and class hierarchy.'[407] Furthermore, in this scene this lack of control is further emphasised by Penthea's use of the word 'bondage' (ii.3.125) to describe her situation.

Additionally, towards the end of the play just before Penthea faints from hunger, her anger and resentment towards her brother and husband is most explicit, as she openly blames them for her condition and depicts herself as a victim:

> O, my wracked honour! Ruined by those tyrants,
> A cruel brother and a desperate dotage!
> There is no peace left for a ravished wife
> Widowed by lawless marriage; to all memory
> Penthea's, poor Penthea's name is strumpeted:
> But since her blood was seasoned by the forfeit
> Of noble shame with mixtures of pollution,
> Her blood- 'tis just – be henceforth never heightened
> With taste of sustenance! (iv.2.144-152)

In this passage of the text Penthea's anger is most evident. She not only presents her brother and husband as 'tyrants' but also portrays herself as a passive participant by talking about herself in the third person and stating that her name 'is strumpeted', suggesting this 'noble shame' is something that happened to her, rather than something she actively caused herself. Furthermore, in this speech Penthea pinpoints her 'shame' as the cause of her melancholy as she presents it as something that has corrupted and polluted her blood and gives this as a reason for her self-starvation, demonstrating that her decision to starve herself is a reaction against the shame that Ithocles has caused her to feel. Consequently, it seems that Penthea's suicidal act of starvation is the only method she can employ in order to win control back from the male figures in her life.

[407] Lisa Walters, *Margaret Cavendish: Gender, Science and Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), p.231. See also, Barbara J. Baines, 'Effacing Rape in Early Modern Representation', *English Literary History*, 65.1 (1998) 69-98 (p.72).

I will now explore the role of meta-theatre and performance in the plays and how these reflect the emotional power of female self-starvation. Returning to the public and private dichotomy discussed previously in regards to the settings of the tragedies, it is important to remember that the plays themselves are forms of popular entertainment, public staged spectacles accessed by a variety of attendees. While Lomax argues that Anne and Penthea's expressions of power are limited and contained as their starvation leads to their deaths, their deaths themselves should be viewed as a declaration of power which reveals the cruel and dangerous patriarchal restrictions that provoke their food refusal. These criticisms of an oppressive patriarchal society not only send a message to the ones responsible in the world of the play, but the message reverberates beyond the stage, reaching the eyes and ears of the spectators that witness young women starving themselves to death as a last desperate attempt to reclaim control over their lives, bodies, and passions. Starving women not only strive to regain control of their own emotions, but manipulate the passions of those watching them die, by reminding them of the role they played in their deaths, or in the case of playgoers, their complicity in their deaths.

The plays themselves are social commentaries on gender roles and by using female characters, the playwrights alter the emotions of spectators. The same phenomenon occurs in the fictional worlds of the plays, as there is something of the meta-theatrical in both of them; a sense that both Penthea and Anne's acts of starvations are performances of sorts which they use to control their own passion, and also affect those of the people around them. Maud Ellman describes the act of self-starvation in early modern drama in the following terms:

> Self-starvation is above all a performance. Like Hamlet's mousetrap it is staged to trick the conscience of its viewers, forcing them to recognize that they are implicated in the spectacle that they behold.[408]

This idea not only applies to the audience members that view a play, but those who witness these acts of starvation within the fictional world of the play. This is particularly true of Penthea in *The Broken Heart*. In her discussion of the play, Dawson argues that Penthea 'exhibits a self-conscious theatricality in her final moments.'[409] In many of Ford's plays theatrics and death go hand in hand. Take for instance the banquet scene in *'Tis Pity She's a Whore* in which Giovanni interrupts a banquet with his sister's heart impaled on a dagger, or the scene in *Love's Sacrifice* in which Ferentes is stabbed to death by all the women he betrayed who are disguised as masquers, and how in – *The Broken Heart* – after Penthea's theatrical death, Calantha dies from a broken heart while dancing.

In the scenes leading up to her death, specifically Act 4, Scene 2, Penthea's "mad" scene is extremely theatrical. In a scene that is reminiscent of Ophelia handing out flowers and singing songs before her death by drowning, Penthea enters the stage speaking in riddles and poetic verse. Poignantly, she speaks of her separation from Orgilus and of her brother's cruelty using romantic metaphors and imagery. For instance, she tells her captive audience, 'The turtle sighs / When he hath lost his mate, and yet some say / 'A must be dead first.' (iv.2.71-3) Her speeches contain warnings of her forthcoming death as she speaks of graves, knells and the ending of her journey. As well as long, poetic speeches, this scene features dramatic gestures from Penthea as she takes the hand of Orgilus and wrings it in her own before pointing repeatedly at Ithocles in accusation. There is a sense

[408] Maud Ellman, *The Hunger Artists: Starving, Writing, and Imprisonment* (Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1993), p.17.
[409] Dawson, *Lovesickness and Gender*, p.124.

here that Penthea is performing for the rest of the court, with these exaggerated speeches and gestures which help her to express her emotions. Her words and actions in this scene allow Penthea to perform her true feelings of resentment, anger, shame, and sorrow under the guise of a woman suffering from madness. Even her appearance seems somewhat meta-theatrical as she enters the stage with 'her hair about her ears', (iv.2) a traditional hair style used to signify female madness and excessive sexuality on the early modern stage, which would have been well established and recognisable to an early modern audience by this time.

Rather than just reading this scene as Penthea's final "mad" scene before her untimely death, this scene should be viewed as a revelatory scene in which Penthea finally reveals her emotions. Here, rather than losing control of her emotions, she is reclaiming her passions from the grips of patriarchal control. She commands her audience and is finally fully honest and open about her feelings, expressing her hurt and anger towards her brother, and her sadness and melancholy about her forced marriage to Bassanes and consequential estrangement from Orgilus. While many of her speeches seem erratic, this scene almost feels as though it has been composed by Penthea herself; that she has orchestrated her final moments and know exactly when and how she will die and what her last words will be.

This idea continues when we learn of Penthea's demise in Act 4, Scene 3. Moments before Penthea's death is announced, Ithocles and Orgilus's conversation is interrupted by 'soft sad music' which they guess is coming from 'Penthea's lodgings.' Next, they hear a voice singing, '[a] song [within]'. (iv.3) Ford includes the song lyrics which read

> O no more, no more; too late
> Sighs are spent. The burning tapers
> Of a life as chaste as fate,
> Pure as are dr,
> Are burnt out. No heat, no light

> Now remains; ‘tis ever night.
> Love is dead; let lovers’ eyes,
> Locked in endless dreams,
> Th’extremes of all extremes,
> Ope no more, for now love dies,
> Now love dies, implying
> Love’s martyrs must be ever, ever dying. (iv.3.142-153)

This play is full of music and songs, and here in particular, music is used to provoke emotions such as pity, sadness, and sympathy. Moments after hearing the song, the audience learn that it does indeed accompany the death of Penthea and as well as a sorrowful funeral dirge, this song once again reinforces her message and depicts Penthea as a victim of oppressive and controlling patriarchal figures. The ‘life as chaste as fate’ and pure as ‘unwritten papers’ refers to Penthea and suggests that an innocent and faithful life has been needlessly lost. Moreover, the image of ‘unwritten papers’ being ‘burnt out’ connotes the act of purging and cleansing, mirroring Penthea’s desire to cleanse herself. The repeated lines about the death of love reiterate Penthea’s loss and the final lines which deem her a ‘martyr’ suggest that Penthea gave up her life for a love that she was expected to repress. The song acts as a feature of an elaborately staged death in which Penthea releases her sorrow and anger and reveals her innocence, drawing sympathy from the audience and guilt from her brother.

In the following scene the performance continues as Penthea enters the stage dead, but in a dramatic fashion. The stage directions read

> Enter Chrystalla and Philema, bringing in Penthea in a chair, veiled; two other servants placing two chairs, one on the one side, and the other with an engine on the other. The maids sit down at her feet, mourning. The servants go out; meet them Ithocles and Orgilus. (iv.4)

This elaborate entrance is almost like a masque in itself as Penthea's dead body is paraded and presented in a chair before her loved ones. Furthermore, when Orgilus asks how she died Philema and Chrystalla reveal the strange staging of Penthea's death, telling them

> **PHILEMA:**
> She called for music,
> And begged for some gentle voice to tune a farewell
> To life and griefs. Chrystalla touched the lute;
> I wept the funeral song.
>
> **CHRYSTALLA:**
> Which scarce was ended,
> But her last breath sealed up these hollow sounds,
> O cruel Ithocles, and injured Orgilus!'
> So down she drew her veil; so died. (iv.4. 4-11)

The servants's words suggest that Penthea knew when she was going to die, or perhaps, like Calantha who waits until the proper moment for her heart to stop, Penthea chose when to die. Like her dramatic entrance in the chair, Penthea's actual death appears to be an elaborately staged dramatic performance. Knowing that the moment of her death was nigh, Penthea called for melancholy music, before damning her brother and lamenting her lover in a histrionic fashion, and covering her face with a veil just before she drew her last breath.

Like Ford's fictional noble woman, Arbella Stuart's own starvation was construed by some to be a performance of sorts. The Earl of Northampton wrote that Arbella, 'pretends to fast from meat and drink, but God knows what supplies are brought in when the curtains are drawn.'[410] Of course, when Arbella's cause of death was reported the Earl was proven wrong, however, his speculation about Arbella's death still depicts her act of self-starvation as an active choice, implying that Arbella was in control of her own body. The idea that her death was a "performance" much like Penthea's suggests that she

[410] Gristwood, *Arbella: England's Lost Queen*, p.430.

purposely used her food refusal and consequential malnourished body to reclaim her desires from the grips of patriarchal control.

While the meta-theatrical aspects of Heywood's tragedy are perhaps not quite as obvious as in *The Broken Heart*, Anne's starvation also has an element of performance to it and her self-starvation transforms from a private domestic matter to one enacted in the public sphere. Anne invites people to witness her starvation, both in the world of the play and in the theatre. As previously mentioned, when she tells her servant Nicholas of her plan to starve herself Anne asks him to inform Frankford of this plan. A few lines later she describes her grief in an elaborate and dramatic fashion:

> You have beheld the woefullest wretch on earth,
> A woman made of tears. Would you had words
> To express but what you see. My inward grief
> No tongue can utter, yet unto your power
> You may describe my sorrow and disclose
> To thy sad master my abundant woes. (xiv.76-82)

In this speech, there is an emphasis on the relationship between seeing and the passions, recalling the theme of passion-engendering sight in the chapter on Marlowe's *Dido, Queen of Carthage*. Here, Anne tells Nicholas what he sees and how it should affect him. While sight was fatal for Dido, Anne hopes that the sight of her grief will generate passions of pity, compassion, and sympathy in Nicholas which he will pass on to his master. Passion is once again presented as a contagious disease, transmitted via the eyes.

Findlay states that '[p]lays such as Heywood's *A Woman Killed with Kindness'* and I would add Ford's *The Broken Heart* 'dramatize their heroines' lack of privacy by self-consciously exposing them to the critical-gaze of on-stage and off-stage spectators'[411] These acts of gazing not only reveal the restrictions placed on women, but allows them to

[411] Findlay, *A Feminist Perspective on Renaissance Drama,* p.132.

challenge them and incite the passions of their spectators. In the final scene Anne's starvation and death are witnessed by two audiences: the one watching in the playhouse and the group of men that visit her on her death-bed, the same group of men that praised her temperament and chastity at the opening of the play. In this scene, her brother, Sir Francis asks the servant Jenkin 'Is she so weak in body?' to which he replies

> Oh sir, I can assure you there's no hope of life in her, for she will take no sustenance. She hath plainly starved herself, and now she is lean as a lath. She ever looks for the good hour. Many gentlemen and gentlewomen of the country are come to comfort her. (xvii.34-37)

In the scene before this, Anne was only just announcing her plans to starve herself, therefore Jenkin's speech here is as much for the audience as it is a reply to Sir Francis. As it would have been difficult to make Anne look as though she had actually lost such a huge amount of weight in the space of a few minutes, Jenkin describes her as 'lean as a lath' and assures Francis and the audience that she has in fact starved herself. Here, both the audience and the characters in the play are told how to view Anne. In the last line of this passage, Jenkin informs Sir Francis that Anne has been visited by 'many gentlemen and gentlewomen', thus once again suggesting that she is something to be gazed upon, an object which appeals to the emotions of many witnesses via their eyes. Additionally, as Green notes, '[t]he final display of Anne's body is further complicated as the actual body in the bed is that of a boy actor', whose lack of breasts further emphasises the performance of the starved female body and absence of fertility.[412]

Anne's shrunken form clearly alters the emotions of those who come to visit. When Sir Francis sees a weak and emaciated Anne wasting away in her bed, he tells her

> I came to chide you, but my words of hate
> Are turned to pity and compassionate grief;

[412] Green, 'Open Ears, Appetite, and Adultery', p.68

> I came to rate you, but my brawls, you see,
> Melt into tears, and I must weep by thee. (xvii.63-66)

Sir Francis describes the effect that Anne's starvation has on his passions, explaining how his emotional state changes from anger to 'pity' and 'grief' due to seeing the results of Anne's food-refusal.

It also has the same effect on Frankford who tells Anne, 'in mere pity / Of thy weak state I'll wish to die with thee.' Upon seeing Anne's weakened state, Frankford feels 'grief' and 'pity' which move him to reinstate her as his wife, and mother to his children; he tells her 'My wife, the mother to my pretty babes, / Both those lost names I do restore back, / And with this kiss I wed thee once again.' (xvii.115-117) Anne gets her wish, and once again returns to her image of the perfect wife and mother. Gutierrez argues that this reinstatement means that Anne 'recuperates the disorder she has created and re-establishes the status quo,'[413] but I would argue that Anne's death prevents this re-establishment of the status quo and continues to disrupt the social order. She is not welcomed back to her husband and children with open arms and allowed to live happily ever after. Instead, despite her reinstatement in the role of chaste and meek wife and mother she still dies, and her husband's forgiveness comes too late. Her death highlights the problems and dangers of a patriarchal society which not only allows men to control women's passion, but which teaches that women who succumb to excessive passion should die for it.

These problems are highlighted further by the idea of complicit watching. In the introduction to the New Mermaids edition of the play from 2014, Frances E. Dolan discusses a production of *A Woman Killed* by the Royal Shakespeare Company in 1991. Dolan states that in this production directed by Katie Mitchell,

[413] Gutierrez, *Shall She Famish Then?,* p.50.

> Frankford and his men wore badges whose design looked […] like a pair of eyes, a wonderful reminder of the play's references to 'eyeballs' and its focus on surveillance and voyeurism: 'Eyes, eyes' Nick says when Frankford asks him how he knows about Anne and Wendoll's affair.[414]

Mitchell and Dolan's reading of the play emphasises the idea that Anne's starvation is something to be witnessed. In addition, 'Saskia Reeves played Anne as a woman 'whose suffering daunted the men around her – especially Maloney's weeping, guilt-stricken Frankford – into a sense of their own complicity in her death.'[415] By positioning the men and the audience members as bystanders, watching as Anne starves to death, the play, and Mitchell's production in particular, makes them accomplices. Anne's death does not provide an emotionally satisfying resolution to the play, instead it provokes sympathy, pity, compassion, and grief for Anne's untimely death, and perhaps even anger towards the men in the play who seek to control her. Additionally, as Findlay notes, 'we do know that women made up a significant part of Renaissance theatre audiences' and that men feared that women audience members would become 'inflamed by passions, transformed from a stone to an active, eroticized being.'[416] Perhaps, seeing Anne's death and her powerful reclamation of power over her own body, would have incited similar passions in the women in the audience, and encouraged them to take control of their own lives. In both plays, Anne and Penthea's starving bodies are not only an expression of their power over their own passions but also provoke passion in those who view their suffering and deaths in the play and in the theatre. Their deaths by starvation reveal and criticise the problematic nature of a patriarchal society which places restrictive boundaries upon female passion.

---

[414] *A Woman Killed with Kindness: Revised Edition* ed.by Frances E. Dolan (London: Bloomsbury, 2012) p.xxviii.
[415] Dolan, *A Woman Killed with Kindness,* p.xxviii.
[416] Findlay, *A Feminist Perspective on Renaissance Drama*, p.87.

In conclusion, this chapter has demonstrated that in Heywood's *A Woman Killed with Kindness* and Ford's *The Broken Heart,* female self-starvation should be construed as an act of female agency. Both Penthea and Anne use food refusal to alter their passions, taking their bodies and emotions back from the patriarchs that arrange their marriages, disregard their emotions, and use their bodies. Their starvation can be considered simultaneously as a result of their sorrow and grief caused by their estrangement from their loved ones, as well a method to extinguish said sorrow, and govern their bodies physically and emotionally. Their decision to starve themselves to death suggests that suicide is the only method available to them to extinguish their melancholic passions and take charge of their bodies. Anne and Penthea also starve themselves to limit their sexual passions, not as a form of self-punishment but as a denial of the characteristics associated with their sex. Through their removal of sexual passion, they refuse the roles of wife, mother, and sexual object that are forcefully assigned to them by men. They limit their passion to remove the possibility of patriarchal control of their emotions. Finally, this chapter has shown that female self-starvation has the power to generate and exacerbate the passions of those who witness it. Their starving bodies provoke pity, sympathy, grief, and guilt for those watching in the theatre as well as those around them in the world of the play. Through the provocation of these passions in those who experience their starvation, Anne and Penthea expose the dangers of a society in which female passion is governed by men.

The next and final chapter will also examine the role that gender plays in the generation and governance of the passions in Ford's tragicomedy *The Lover's Melancholy*. More specifically, it will focus on stereotypes of gendered emotion and how Ford plays with and subverts traditional male and female modes of emotional expression. This examination of gendered passion will form part of a wider discussion of the blending and

mixing of the generic codes of both tragedy and comedy in Ford's play. However, instead of considering how excessive passion in Ford's tragicomedy generates violence, it will examine how the passions are successfully moderated and death is avoided. While Ford's Penthea and Heywood's Anne Frankford choose death, the characters in *The Lover's Melancholy* manage to cure their passions and the traditional bloody ending of Fordian tragedy is averted. As in this chapter, and many others, the relationship between performance and emotion is central to the next chapter, however in *The Lover's Melancholy* performance does not merely work to spread or provoke emotion but also has the potential to cure it.

Chapter Seven:

'A Truth of Mirth and Pity': Tragicomic Passions in John Ford's *The Lover's Melancholy*

In this, the final chapter of the thesis, I will discuss a play that does not end in violence. As the previous chapters on *'Tis Pity She's a Whore* and *The Broken Heart* have already demonstrated, excessive emotion in Fordian tragedy usually results in violent climactic endings. The canon of Ford's work features tragedies which have extreme love at the centre and end with various grisly and passionate deaths including: sacrificial bloodletting, starvation, poisoning, and stabbing, to name but a few. This chapter will explore Ford's tragicomedy, *The Lover's Melancholy* (1629), in which, like his tragedies, love is presented as excessive, dangerous, and disease inducing. However, unlike its tragic counterparts, excessive love in this play does not prove fatal and passionate death is avoided.

The Lover's Melancholy can be compared with Ford's tragedy, *The Broken Heart* (1633) set in Sparta, a setting which symbolises 'powers of endurance and self-restraint',[417] according to T.J.B. Spencer, a theme discussed in further detail in an earlier chapter on *The Broken Heart.* As both *The Lover's Melancholy* and *The Broken Heart* are the only plays by Ford that are set in Greece where the principles of Stoicism originated, it is apt that *The Lover's Melancholy* also features this theme of self-restraint and emotional suppression throughout. Ford's Greek plays contrast with his Italian ones in this respect, in which, characters such as Giovanni in *'Tis Pity* and Caraffa in *Love's Sacrifice* are openly and excessively passionate throughout. In *The Broken Heart,* Ford depicts a world full of characters who desperately attempt to ignore, hide, and extinguish their passions in a society where emotional expression is discouraged, to the point where violence, anger,

[417] John Ford, *The Broken Heart*, ed. by T.J.B. Spencer (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1980), p.21.

jealousy, and sorrow boil over and enact themselves in death. The same could be said of several of the characters in *The Lover's Melancholy*. Eugene M. Waith states that within *The Lover's Melancholy* 'a struggle for calm is discernible in a number of Ford's characters, both those who succeed and those who do not succeed in imposing this calm on their turbulent natures.'[418] Ford gives the impression that while the potential for passionate and violent acts bubbles away under the surface, the characters' dangerous emotions are never quite given full rein. This chapter will compare the portrayal and development of tragicomic passions with those of early modern tragedy, asking why excessive emotion in *The Lover's Melancholy* is comparatively governable and how the play avoids the passionate and violent ending characteristic of tragedies.

The categorisation of the play as a tragicomedy will undoubtedly prove important to this analysis of Ford's play and I will begin this chapter by considering the significance of generic conventions and their role in the prevention of passion-induced death. I will contemplate the "rules" of tragicomedy, examining them against the genres of tragedy and comedy, exploring the similarities and differences between these three categories of renaissance drama in order to decipher to what extent genre and its codes affect the comparatively optimistic outcome of *The Lover's Melancholy.* This will be achieved through an exploration of definitions of early modern tragicomedy, as well as examining the play in conversation with examples of both renaissance comedies and tragedies, such as John Webster's *The Duchess of Malfi*, and Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night*, as well as Ford's own tragic works.

After an overview of tragicomedy as a genre, I will move on to discuss specific tragic and comic elements of *The Lover's Melancholy* in turn. Ford's play uses, interacts

[418] Eugene M. Waith, *Patterns and Perspectives in English Renaissance Drama* (London: University of Delaware Press, 1988).

with, twists, and flouts the traditional rules and critical understanding of tragedy such as the tragic hero. However, potentially tragic moments, themes, and motifs of the play are diluted or undermined, and these work to prevent a tragic conclusion.

There are also many comic scenes and tropes found in *The Lover's Melancholy*, demonstrating the mixing of generic characteristics in this play. Ideas about comedy are often bound up with gender roles. This section will address the presentation of gender and its importance in the generation or repression of the passions. It will examine the ways in which male and female emotional expression often differed in early modern culture, and different genres of drama, how Ford reinforces or destabilizes these categories of gendered emotion, and to what extent the representation of said categories acts as a catalyst for the non-violent ending of Ford's play.

Tragicomedy

During the early modern period there were specific ideas about what constituted a tragicomedy. What is a tragicomedy supposed to do or have that makes it different yet similar to its fellows, tragedy and comedy? In *Early Modern Tragicomedy*, Subha Mukherji and Raphael Lyne tell us that tragicomedies should have

> that blend of horror and humour, pathos and danger, which allows for double-affect, for playful possibilities of simultaneous but disparate, even conflicting, impacts – giggles and shudders, embarrassment and poignancy, alienation and sympathy.[419]

Notably in this definition of the ideal tragicomedy, Mukherji and Lyne emphasise the importance of emotion, particularly the significance of a mixed emotional impact on readers or audience members. Similarly, Jacqueline Pearson outlines characteristics of tragicomedy, and contends that 'the plays depend on a pattern of mixed emotions, joy and

[419] Subha Mukherji and Raphael Lyne, *Early Modern Tragicomedy* (Cambridge: D. S Brewer, 2007), p.5.

sorrow, detachment and involvement, and of clashing tones and images'[420]. It is clear from both of these descriptions of tragicomedy, that the presentation of emotion is key when categorising a play as a tragicomedy. It is a mixing, blending, and sometimes clashing of emotions that makes the drama both tragic and comic.

This idea of blended emotions is expressed somewhat metatheatrically in the opening scene in which Menaphon tells the story of Parthenophil and the Nightingale to his friend Amethus, who then describes the tale as 'A truth of mirth and pity.'[421] Amethus' reception of the story mirrors Mukherji and Lyne's ideal of the expected reaction to tragicomedy, as he finds it simultaneously humorous and sympathy-inducing. Furthermore, at the end of the play, after being reunited with his daughter Eroclea, Meleander declares, 'Here, in the legend of thy two years' exile, / Rare pity and delight are sweetly mixed.' (v.2.172) Once again, Ford explicitly points to the purpose of the tragicomedy. By using the term 'legend' to describe Eroclea's exile, Ford emphasises that the audience have witnessed a 'narrative' or an 'account', not only of Eroclea's personal experiences, but of her father's experience of being separated from his daughter. Unlike Menaphon's tale, in which he recounted his own experiences, *The Lover's Melancholy* is Ford's account of Eroclea's 'legend'. He therefore stresses the fictional nature of the play, and points explicitly to the function of tragicomedy, which is to mix pity and delight.[422] Meleander's words act as a sort of instruction, telling the audience how they should feel about the outcome of *The Lover's Melancholy*. This configuration of opposite emotions not only

[420] Jacqueline Pearson, *Tragedy and Tragicomedy in the Plays of John Webster* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1980), p.27.
[421] John Ford, 'The Lover's Melancholy' in *'Tis Pity She's a Whore and Other Plays* ed. by Marion Lomax (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp.1-80, i.1.162.
[422] See *OED* definition 2: 'A story, a tale; a narrative, an account; *esp.* the story of a person's life or deeds.' "legend, n." *OED Online*, Oxford University Press, March 2018, www.oed.com/view/Entry/107040. Accessed 13 May 2018.

features within the world of the play, but the play itself, also provokes a confusing concoction of emotions.

Tragicomedy is not always defined merely by the mixture of conflicting generic elements or emotions, but more specifically by a potential for danger which is thwarted at the last moment. An idea that comes from Guarini's tragi-comic formulation 'il pericolo, non la morte', the danger but not the death, a formulation that early modern dramatist John Fletcher adopted. In the introduction to *The Faithful Shepherdess* Fletcher wrote 'A tragi-comedie is not so called in respect of mirth and killing, but in respect it wants deaths, which is inoughe to make it no tragedie, but brings some near it, which is inough to make it no comedie.'[423] For Fletcher, tragicomedy comes close to the fatality of tragic narratives, it wants death, yet it never achieves death, preventing its classification as either comedy or tragedy. While this definition of the genre explicitly states that a tragicomedy is not necessarily a mixture of murder and laughter, the mixing of emotion described by Pearson, Mukherji and Lyne above is inherent and implicit in Fletcher's 'danger but not the death' theory. In a play where death is always a possibility, 'fear' is likely to be a significant emotion within the play itself and in the audience watching the play. Moreover, when this threat is resolved, both fictional characters and real-life audience members will feel emotions at the opposite end of the scale such as joy and relief. The following section of this chapter will examine the ways in which Ford's play coincides with Fletcher's ideal, demonstrating how the mixture of emotions works alongside the 'il pericolo non la morte' aspect of Ford's tragicomedy.

[423] Charles Mosley, 'The Literary and Dramatic Contexts of the Last Plays', in *The Cambridge Companion to Shakespeare's Last Plays,* ed. by Catherine M. S. Alexander (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), p.48.

In the play this mixing of emotions is frequently linked to the potential for violence. For instance, in Act 2, Scene 2, when Meleander, railing in madness, lets out a loud laugh, Rhetias is suspicious and in an aside to the audience, says that '[t]here's wormwood in that laughter; 'tis the usher to a violent extremity.' (ii.2.78) The reference to the bitterness of wormwood in Meleander's laugh suggests that darker emotions lurk beneath the apparent cheeriness on the surface. Rhetias's assertion that this bitterness is an 'usher to a violent extremity', implies that these repressed vehement emotions have the capacity to cause actual violence, or violent passions. Laughter, an expression of happiness and comedy is imbued with tragic potential.

This mixing of comic and tragic emotion occurs again in Act 1, Scene 2, when Corax and Rhetias argue. In this scene, Rhetias is abusive towards Corax accusing him of being a fraud and suggesting that he is not a real doctor. Corax then replies to Rhetias' accusations as follows:

> Have at thee! Thou affect'st railing only for thy health; their miseries are so thick and so lasting that thou hast not one poor denier to bestow on opening a vein. Wherefore, to avoid a pleurisy, thou'lt be sure to prate thyself once a month into a whipping, and bleed in the breech instead of the arm. (i.2.114-118)

Here Corax suggests that Rhetias is only abusive in order to receive a violent punishment such as 'whipping' that would cause him to bleed, as he cannot afford to have his blood let, to cure his 'miseries.' Later in the scene he tells Rhetias 'Thou wouldst hang thyself, so wretchedly miserable thou art, but that no man will trust thee with as much money as will buy a halter' (i.2.137-139). In both of these sections of Corax's retorts to Rhetias, there are suggestions of violence, and death. In the first passage Corax not only refers to the 'whipping' of Rhetias, which may have been seen as humorous, but also begins his speech with the phrase 'Have at thee!', suggesting that he is threatening to fight Rhetias, and is

possibly brandishing his sword at this moment, signifying the potential for this comic argument to become something more fatal. In the second passage of speech Corax talks about Rhetias hanging himself, bringing the rather serious and dark idea of suicide into a predominantly comic scene. Once again, Ford's ideas about passion-generated death lurk beneath the surface, and are combined and diluted with comedy.

The harsh insults between Rhetias and Corax seem to come to a strangely abrupt stop when they describe their cruel words as 'flattery' and 'good morrows' and decide to drink wine together instead (i.2.141-142). Here, wine possesses a curative function in that it provides a means of reconciliation for Rhetias and Corax and through their friendly drinking, a violent crisis is averted. In early modern thinking wine was often considered as a cure for melancholy, however it was also sometimes viewed as an exacerbator of the passions depending on an individual's temperature; Burton writes that 'wine is bad for madmen, and such as are troubled with heat in their inner parts or brains; but to melancholy, which is cold (as most is), wine, soberly used may be very good.'[424] Like the passions in this scene, and in the play more generally, wine has the potential to be both good and bad, curative and detrimental to the human body. The wine symbolises both the mixing of emotion and genre. In this scene, ideas about cure start to surface as Ford mentions wine and bloodletting, both of which were cited as remedies for melancholy.[425] The contrast between disease and cure is continuously represented throughout the play and becomes intertwined with the conflict between health and death, comedy and tragedy, excessive passion and emotional governance. These ideas will be discussed in further detail below.

[424] Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy,* p.473.
[425] See Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, p.306 and p.481.

Disease and Cure

The tragicomic conventions of contrasting emotions and the palpable threat of danger throughout the play are interlinked in Ford's decision to simultaneously present passionate diseases while alluding to possible curative methods for unruly passions. The following section will discuss the relationship between the opposing ideas of passionate disease and emotional cure in the play, arguing that this juxtaposition of sickness and medicine plays a role in the thwarting of violence and death. While Ford's characters discuss melancholy, refer to green-sickness, and describe themselves as 'stark mad', they also continuously allude to various methods of curing the passions.

At the beginning of the play, we learn that Menaphon has returned from travelling, a trip he embarked upon in order to cure his melancholy. This is evident when Amethus asks him 'how have thy travels / Disburdened thee abroad of discontents?' (i.1.49-50). Ford introduces the idea of travel and nature as a cure for melancholy. Unfortunately, Menaphon's travels fail to cure him as he tells Amethus

> Such cure as sick men find in changing beds,
> I found in change of airs; the fancy flattered
> My hopes with ease, as theirs do, but the grief
> Is still the same. (i.1.51-53)

Here, Ford refers directly to Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy,* in which he assigns curative qualities to travel, writing that there is 'no better physic for a melancholy man than change of air, and variety of places, to travel abroad and see fashions.'[426] Although Menaphon feels that his attempt to rid himself of his extreme passions has been futile, Ford still presents us with two opposing ideas, the passionate disease and possible antidotes.

[426] Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, p.336.

One particular cure that Ford points to in *The Lover's Melancholy* is that of theatre. While antitheatricalists theorised about the danger of transmitting inordinate passions and diseases in the playhouses, some believed that theatre held a curative quality in that it allowed theatre goers to know and embrace their emotions through the medium of drama. For instance, Senault wrote that 'if the knowledge of the disease be requisite to the cure, it is no less necessary to know the Passions, that we may better govern them.'[427] Senault argues that experiencing and learning about the passions will help individuals to better understand them, and therefore be abler to control them. Ford's presentation of the curative qualities of theatre in *The Lover's Melancholy* seems to be in line with Senault's contention.

The representation of theatre as a cure works on two levels in the play. Firstly, within the world of the play Corax the physician prescribes theatre to cure Prince Palador of his melancholy. In Act 1, Scene 2 Corax employs foolish courtiers Rhetias, Pelias, and Cuculus and his page Grilla to help him put on a masque imploring them as follows, 'I'll shape ye all for a device before the prince; we'll try how that can move him.' (i.3.147) The performance takes place in Act 3, Scene 3 and is called 'The Masque of Melancholy.' In an attempt to cure the Prince of his malady, Corax's players present seven different types of melancholy: Lycanthropia, Hydrophobia, Delirium, Phrenitis, Hypocondriacal, Wanton Melancholy and Love-melancholy. Here, Ford metatheatrically alludes to the restorative qualities of playgoing. However, the masque is unsuccessful in curing the Prince. Despite this, Ford still presents the potential for restoration alongside the prospect of violence, and the dangerous aspects of the play are balanced out by the possibility of a remedy for the passions which usually result in chaos, violence and death.

[427] Senault, *The Use of Passions*, p.30.

While 'The Masque of Melancholy' fails to cure Palador's melancholy, Ford presents his own play, *The Lover's Melancholy* as a remedy for inordinate passions. This is evident in Palador's final speech of the play when he declares, '*The Lover's Melancholy* hath found cure; / Sorrows are changed to bride-songs. So they thrive / Whom fate, in spite of storms, hath kept alive.' (v.2.252-254) In the play text the title of the play is written in italics giving the sentence '*The Lover's Melancholy* hath found cure' a double meaning. As well as telling us that Palador's love-melancholy has been cured, this passage figures the play itself as a cure.

This passage, and the ending of the play more generally, also comply with the Guarinian ideal of tragicomedy, characterised by Jacqueline Pearson as the 'avoidance of death and its abrupt change in focus by a final surprise.'[428] This is apparent in the final two scenes of *The Lover's Melancholy*, when Eroclea, the lost love of Prince Palador and estranged daughter of Meleander, reveals herself after being disguised as a man for most of the play; this revelation immediately cures the Prince's melancholy, and Meleander's madness, and the play ends with the promise of several weddings. The lines quoted above neatly express this idea of averted danger. In this play, the sorrows of tragedy end with the weddings of comedy, the storms of tragedy have come close, but have failed in killing the characters, and the mental illness that pervades the text, and many other early modern tragedies, have been cured. By offering examples of various cures for extreme passion, Ford minimises the threat of the passion-induced deaths that we expect from an early modern tragedy. Despite this, there are direct references to what is often considered Shakespeare's greatest tragedy, *King Lear* (1606). The next section will show how through

[428] Pearson, *Tragedy and Tragicomedy in the Plays of John Webster*, p.27.

connections to *Lear*, Ford's play continues to generate the threat of tragedy, violence, and death.

Lisa Hopkins notes the similarities between Ford's tragicomedy and both comic and tragic works by Shakespeare, stating that '*The Lover's Melancholy* with its mad father and cross-dressing daughter combines echoes of *King Lear* and *Twelfth Night'*, demonstrating the coming together of two seemingly distinctive genres in Ford's play.[429] I will now demonstrate how Ford uses the tropes of tragedy to highlight the possibility of violence and death.

Tragedy

This section will focus on tragic emotions as well as some of the traditional tropes and traits of tragedy. In his discussion of the Aristotelian conventions of tragedy, Gene Fendt states that : 'In tragedy, the operative passions are pity and fear and their related painful passions.'[430] *The Lover's Melancholy* certainly generates pity, as Ford presents us with several suffering characters including: the melancholic Prince Palador who has been separated from his beloved Eroclea, Eroclea's father, Meleander who has also been estranged from his daughter and suffers from a resulting madness, as well as Eroclea herself who has been without her family and fiancé for so long. While the play certainly produces pity, and conveys the pity of characters within it, arguably the most fear-inducing, and also violent event, occurs before the narrative of the play begins.

In Act 2 we learn that the catalyst for the play's action was the rape or abduction of Eroclea by Palador's father, King Agenor. Although Eroclea was betrothed to the Prince,

[429] Lisa Hopkins, *'Tis Pity She's a Whore: A Critical Guide* (London: Bloomsbury, 2010), p.2.
[430] Gene Fendt, *Love Song for the Life of the Mind: An Essay on the Purpose of Comedy* (Washington: The Catholic University of America Press, 2007), p.170.

Agenor, desiring her himself, stole Eroclea from her father and fiancé. Rhetias describes the event as follows:

> In brief, a rape by some bad agents was attempted; by the Lord Meleander, her father, rescued, she conveyed away, Meleander accused of treason, his land seized, he himself distracted, and confined to the castle where he yet lives. What had ensued was doubtful; but your father shortly after died. (ii.1.170-175)

Rhetias links the mental illness in the play with the former King's treatment of Eroclea. He uses the verb 'rape' here, but the use of this word is ambiguous. As noted earlier in the chapter on starving women, and in the notes to this play, rape was often used to describe the act of abduction.[431] However, later in the play, Ford uses striking contrasts to convey Agenor's actions towards Eroclea, suggesting sexual violence. Her father, Meleander describes the assault:

> Thy sister, my Eroclea, was so gentle
> That turtles in her down do feed more gall
> Than her spleen mixed with; yet when winds and storm
> Drive dirt and dust on banks of spotless snow,
> The purest whiteness is no such defence
> Against the sullying foulness of fury.
> So raved Agenor, that great man, mischief
> Against the girl – 'twas a politick trick,
> We were too old to honour. (ii.2.33-41)

Through the association of Eroclea with a turtle dove, she is depicted as a tender, calm, and rational individual, as doves were believed not to have spleens, the organ that was often said to be responsible for violent anger and melancholy.[432] This not only tells us that Eroclea is not a violent character, but also implies that Agenor is. This idea is then increased by imagery of purity, generated by the use of adjectives such as 'purest', 'whiteness' and 'spotless snow.' Contrastingly, Agenor's 'fury' is depicted almost as a

[431]See notes to the passage above in Ford, *'The Lover's Melancholy'*, p.238.
[432] See notes to above passage in Ford, *'The Lover's Melancholy'*, p.239.

disease that Eroclea could not defend herself against. The King's passion is described with words such as 'dirt', and 'sullying foulness', that stained the chastity and wholesomeness of Meleander's daughter. This image, combined with the use of the word 'mischief' to define Agenor's treatment of Eroclea, seems to imply that Agenor did rape, or attempt to rape Eroclea in the sexual sense of the word. The contrast between peaceful and violent passions here, not only emphasizes the violence of the acts that happened before the play, but also suggests a gender divide in relation to emotional expression, with male expression figured as active and aggressive. Agenor's violence is driven by his desire for Eroclea, making him similar to some of Ford's tragic characters such as Giovanni in *'Tis Pity She's a Whore* whose love for his sister leads to him killing her, or Duke Caraffa who enacts his jealousy with violence against his "adulterous" wife in *Love's Sacrifice*. Through this description of Agenor's excessive and aggressive passionate act, Ford alludes to the kinds of violence abundant in early modern tragedies.

However, by removing Agenor from the play before the narrative begins, Ford reduces the threat of violence, and makes a somewhat harmonious ending seem possible. While this passage refers to what is undoubtedly the most violent, and fearful event in the play, the fact that it is merely mentioned and not enacted on the stage means that the audience is aware of the possibility of violence, it is alluded to but never fully realized. Therefore, while Ford definitely includes pity in his tragedy, he dilutes and reduces the most fearful and violent section of the play to a mere descriptive account. It is not only fear that is absent from the play, but the key tragic convention of the tragic hero. The next section will consider to what extent Ford includes a tragic hero in his play and the ways in which he plays with and subverts this traditional literary concept.

The Aristotelian archetype of the tragic hero is defined as 'a person of exalted position who, on account of some error or flaw, suffers a 'total reversal of fortune.'[433] For the tragic hero, the 'error' or 'flaw' is usually an excess of the passion of pride or hubris. Ford's Duke Caraffa, Marlowe's Doctor Faustus, and Shakespeare's King Lear are all examples of early modern tragic heroes who fit this description. In *The Lover's Melancholy* Meleander's story is similar in many ways to Lear's, both experience melancholy and madness due to being separated from their daughters. However, unlike Lear, Meleander is not a king, he is a subject of a king, and his separation from his daughter is not caused by his own 'error' or pride, but by the dead King's desire for her, her rejection of him, and his subsequent damaged pride. In Ford's play the King's passion generates Meleander's passion rather than his own. In this play then, Meleander is more similar to Shakespeare's Cordelia than he is to Lear. Both Cordelia and Meleander are punished for their defiance of the King and cast out from society. Therefore, unlike Lear and Cordelia, Meleander and his daughter survive the play because Meleander is undeserving of death. While Cordelia is also undeserving of her fate, her death can be construed as a punishment for her father's excessive hubris. As Meleander is comparatively innocent, separated from his daughter due to someone else's pride, instead of being punished he is cured by his reunion with Eroclea. Therefore, death is avoided due to the absence of the immoderate passions of the traditional tragic hero.

These ideas about the social repercussions of the passions of the tragic hero are reinforced by Gail Kern Paster who states:

> That tragic protagonists are souls moved by great passions is true almost by definition thanks to their position at the centre of worlds in crisis; their passions are oceanic as a matter of social scale no less than of immediate circumstances. Such

[433] Karuna Shanker Misra, *The Tragic Hero Through the Ages* (New Delhi: Northern Book Centre, 1992), p.1.

> figures do not avoid being changed by their great passions, but such change necessarily brings about change to others.[434]

Here Paster argues that in tragedy, the effect of an individual's emotional state varies depending on their social status. Lear is certainly at the centre of a world in crisis, but Meleander is not. Instead, Meleander is an example of one of the 'others' that are affected and changed by the emotional excesses of those great tragic protagonists. While King Agenor's passionate actions certainly resulted in misfortune for others in the play, he is no longer present to continue his own tragic narrative and probable violent ending, giving the other characters in the play the opportunity to survive and escape the consequences of the King's actions.

One could argue that Prince Palador usurps the role of tragic hero, as he is a character of the highest social standing and son of the deceased King. His melancholy is his weakness and his emotional condition begins to infect the whole of his kingdom, thus he embodies both Paster's and Fendt's definitions of tragic heroism. The idea of the tragic hero bringing about change to others is evident in Sophronos's speech at the beginning of Act 2 in which he declares

> Our commonwealth is sick: 'tis more than time
> We should wake the head thereof, who sleeps
> In the dull lethargy of lost security.
> The commons murmur and the nobles grieve,
> The court is now turned antic and grows wild (ii.1.1-5)

The use of words such as 'sick', 'lethargy', 'grieve', 'antic' and 'wild' in this speech, connotes disease and suggests that Palador has transferred his own emotional illness onto his subjects, placing Palador in the role of the tragic protagonist whose passions affect

[434] Gail Kern Paster, 'The Tragic Subject and Its Passions', in *The Cambridge Companion to Shakespearean Tragedy*, ed. by Claire McEachern (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), pp. 152-171 (p.155).

those around him. However, it seems more likely that Palador belongs to the category of the affected, that it was his father's passions which generated not only his own malady, but those of the people in their kingdom, and that Palador has merely inherited a discontented, ailing kingdom. Consequently, the absence of a tragic hero is key in the prevention of a violent ending in the play. Once again, Ford presents the idea of tragedy by featuring an archetypal tragic hero in the play's backstory but avoids the usual trajectory of the tragic hero, which usually ends in death, by killing off this threat before the play proper begins. As well as playing with the "rules" of tragedy, Ford also includes features of early modern comedy, which assist in undercutting the tragic narrative and preventing violence.

Comedy

The comic conventions found in Ford's play merge with tragic emotions and features of early modern tragedy in order to extinguish the chances of a deadly resolution to the play. As argued by Hopkins above, there is evidence of influences from Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night* in Ford's play, most notably, the themes of cross-dressing, pranks, and mistaken identity. For instance, a reference to a cross-gartered fool, Cuculus, recalls Malvolio in his yellow stockings, and, like Malvolio, Cuculus also becomes the butt of a joke, when Pelias disguises a boy as a female page, and convinces him that ''tis indeed a wench' (i.2.29). The comedy surrounding the cross-dressing in the play is most palpable when Cuculus, believing Grilla is a woman, begins to make crude remarks and directs sexual innuendos towards his transvestite page as follows: 'if I take pains with thee, I should raise thy understanding, girl to the height of a nurse, or a court-midwife at least; I will make thee big in time wench.' (i.2.66-69) The reference to raising her understanding is a pun on 'his imagined dominance of her in the sexual act', and the word 'big' refers

simultaneously to him increasing her importance, as well as impregnating her.[435] The fact that he is unwittingly speaking to a boy makes these claims seem all the more ridiculous and consequently amusing, due to their unfeasibility. These comic scenes, with references to lust and sexual desire mitigate the darker tones of the play and the references to mistaken identity and gender switching recall some of the confusing and comic moments of Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night*. However, it this image of Cuculus dominating Grilla, also recalls the attempted rape of Eroclea. Ford gives suggestive nods towards the violent potential of love and desire, combining light elements with the dark, and demonstrating this mixing of ideas that pervades the play. Perhaps the most significant feature of early modern comedy that Ford borrows for *The Lover's Melancholy* is the reversal of gender roles, and more specifically, female agency.

Early modern theorists are fond of splitting genres into categories of gender. Linda Bamber for instance, separates 'comic heroines' from 'male tragic heroes'[436], and Pamela Allen Brown divides genre into "male tragedy" and "female comedy".[437] David Scott Kastan and Peter Stallybrass discuss this trend of categorising genre in terms of gender and state 'tragedy and history' are usually labelled as 'privileged male spaces' and 'comedy as the space of female rule and festive inversion.'[438] As Kastan and Stallybrass note, this gendered contrast between comedy and tragedy is readily apparent in the Shakespearean canon with many of Shakespeare's most famous tragedies named after their central male protagonist, such as *King Lear*, *Hamlet*, and *Macbeth.* Furthermore, as we have seen in this

[435] See notes to the above passage in Ford, 'The Lover's Melancholy', p.327.
[436] Linda Bamber, *Comic Women, Tragic Men: Study of Gender and Genre in Shakespeare* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1982), p.37.
[437] Pamela Allen Brown, 'Dido, Boy Diva of Carthage: Marlowe's Dido Tragedy and the Renaissance Actress', in *Transnational Mobilities in Early Modern Theatre*, ed. by Eric Nicholson and Robert Henke (Surrey: Ashgate, 2014), pp. 113-130 (p.129).
[438] David Scott Kastan and Peter Stallybrass, *Staging the Renaissance* (London: Routledge, 1991), p.3.

chapter's discussion of *Twelfth Night*, it is Shakespearean comedy that includes ideas about sexual inversion, and female authority as the play arguably centres around Viola, who is disguised as her brother Sebastian. Ford's play too, features a dominant woman, Eroclea, who disguises herself as a man throughout most of the play, only revealing her identity at the end. Turning Paster's definition of the tragic-hero on its head, Eroclea is a sort of inverted tragic-hero, who brings about change when she reveals her true self to her loved ones, curing both her father's madness and Prince Palador's melancholy. Instead of infecting the kingdom with inordinate passions like Lear, Eroclea heals the passions that have overtaken her loved ones by returning to them. Eroclea is the agent of the play who remedies the excessive passions of the men she loves, her father and her fiancé.

This examination of both tragic and comic tropes in the play, has revealed the importance of gender, specifically gendered emotion. As noted earlier, the tragic hero is not present in *The Lover's Melancholy* and it seems that typical male protagonists from Shakespearean tragedy, are replaced by the strong women, characteristic of early modern comedy. Typical male emotional expression (i.e. active anger or noble stoicism) has been replaced by the weeping and mourning assigned to early modern women. However, this is a play in which gender is often inverted through multiple cases of cross-dressing, and as well as swapping clothes, the characters in Ford's play swap emotional stereotypes, and this exchange contributes significantly to the relatively harmonious ending of the play.

In *A Treatise of Melancholy* (1586), Timothy Bright wrote that 'children are more apt to weepe, then those who are of greater yeares, and women more than men, the one having by youth the body more moist, rare, and soft, and the other by sex.' Furthermore, in *Masculinity and Emotion in Early Modern English Literature*, Jennifer C. Vaught outlines

the essential differences between male and female displays of emotion, which were frequently present in the discourse of early modern drama of all genres. She states that:

> Gender tends to shape and limit the ways in which both sexes display a variety of emotions in early modern texts representative of different literary genres. Men often express their emotions stoically or moderately, or vent intense emotions through violent action. Women frequently grieve by weeping and wailing and traditionally perform the cultural work of mourning.[439]

Here then, Vaught argues that early modern drama, more often than not, distinguishes gender roles through differences in expression of emotion. While there are undoubtedly exceptions to this rule, the previous studies in this thesis do somewhat substantiate Vaught's claims. Many, if not all of the male characters from early modern tragedies that form the topic of discussion in this thesis, such as Massinger's Sforza and Caesar, endeavour to ignore their feelings, enact them violently, or partake in a combination of both, as often the attempted stifling of the passions results in them being expressed more aggressively. While the previous chapter on starving women has demonstrated that self-starvation should not be considered a passive act of emotional expression, the women studied in these plays rarely partake in acts of violence against others and there are some weeping women in early modern drama who arguably, fit Vaught's archetype of emotional women.[440] This stereotypical dichotomy also comes through in Shakespearean tragedies including the aforementioned *King Lear.*

In *Lear* tears are described as 'women's weapons' and the aging king does all he can to resist this effeminate expression of emotion. (ii.2.466) In *Hamlet* Laertes describes his sister Ophelia as the archetypal example of Gail Kern Paster's 'leaky vessel', both

[439] Vaught, *Masculinity and Emotion in Early Modern English Literature*, p.2.
[440] Such as Shakespeare's Ophelia from *Hamlet* and Olivia from *Twelfth Night.*

figuratively and literally as she dies by drowning. In the following passage he links water and tears to women, and wants to purge himself of his effeminacy represented by his tears:

> Too much of water hast thou, poor Ophelia
> And therefore I forbid my tears. But yet
> It is our trick; nature her custom holds,
> Let shame say what it will. When these are gone,
> The woman will be out. [441]

The same can be said of *The Lover's Melancholy* when Menaphon tells Amethus the story of how he met his new friend Parthenophil on his travels, whom he discovered playing the lute, and being challenged by a nightingale who attempts to rival his musical talents. In the following passage Ford outlines early modern gender differences through the act of and attitudes to weeping as Menaphon tells Amethus the ending of the story:

> The bird, ordained to be
> Music's first martyr, strove to imitate
> These several sounds, which, when her warbling throat
> Failed in, for grief down dropped she on his lute,
> And brake her heart. It was the quaintest sadness
> To see the conqueror upon her hearse
> To weep a funeral elegy of tears,
> That trust me, my Amethus, I could chide
> Mine own unmanly weakness that made me
> A fellow-mourner with him. (i.1.145-153)

Firstly, it is apt that the nightingale is figured as a grief-stricken female here, reinforcing the early modern contention that women are less able to control their emotions and linking excessive emotion to death, as the nightingale dies from her own sadness. The nightingale represents Philomel from Greek mythology, who was transformed into a nightingale after being raped by her brother-in-law Tereus, once again referring to the tragic elements under the surface of the play. Philomel's rape mirrors that of Eroclea, the catalytic event which

[441]William Shakespeare, 'Hamlet', in *The Complete Works*, ed. by Jonathan Bate and Eric Rasmussen (Hampshire: Macmillan, 2007), pp. 1918- 2003 (iv.6.169-173).

sets the play in motion and produces the disorderly emotions that many of the character's experience. Therefore, at first, it appears that Ford presents us with traditional representations of gendered emotion as the nightingale symbolises the weeping woman who has been ravished by a lusty king; the passive leaky woman versus the active, hot-blooded man.

However, in this passage we see Parthenophil's reaction to the death of the nightingale, who apparently wept 'a funeral elegy of tears', as well as Menaphon's own reaction. He describes himself as a 'fellow-mourner', suggesting that he also cried at the creature's death, and blaming his 'unmanly weakness' for his weeping. At this point in the play, Parthenophil is of course Eroclea in disguise, and it is likely that the audience would be unaware that he is actually a woman, therefore Ford seemingly presents the image of two men crying in mourning for the nightingale. Here then, Ford blurs the boundaries of gender through the cross-dressing Eroclea, and destabilizes the notion of gendered emotional expression by simultaneously presenting both male and female weeping. The instability of Eroclea's gender here, added to by the fact that the character would have been played by a male actor, interrupts the concept of clear-cut gendered categories of emotion.

In *The Lover's Melancholy,* there are several other instances of weeping and crying, and this action is most frequently attributed to the men in the play. For instance, on the very first page of the play-text Sophronos, is seen to be '[*weeping with joy*]' at his reunion with his son, Menaphon. (i.1.25) From the outset of the play then, Ford presents us with men overcome by emotion, expressed in the form of tears. The most frequent weeper in the play is Meleander, who has descended into a state of extreme grief since Eroclea's disappearance. While, as we have seen, Meleander is similar in many ways to Shakespeare's Lear, his attitude to crying differs greatly from Shakespeare's hubristic

King's. While Lear abhors crying and spends the majority of the play trying to refrain from doing so, Meleander openly, weeps throughout *The Lover's Melancholy.*[442]

Bridget Escolme states that 'gender underpins the binaries of active revenge and inactive grief, where women are socially barred from violent action.'[443] According to Escolme, in early modern drama men's emotions lead them to violent action, and women are usually passive. In Ford's play however, whether it is due to generic conventions, or proto-psychological influences, both men and women are barred from violent action, the binary is undone, and men take on the so-called 'inactive' female expressions of emotion. As well as crying, Meleander also stops eating, mirroring the emotional expression of many grief-stricken women in many of the plays discussed in this thesis such as Anne Frankford, and Ford's own Penthea. While in my chapter on starving women I argue that their self-starvation is an active not a passive act, it is still undoubtedly an emotional response assigned mostly to women and related to female sexuality. Rather than plotting revenge or murdering people in a fit of rage as so many of the other male protagonists in this thesis do, Meleander withdraws and turns his grief in on himself. It seems then, that the typical early modern representation of aggressive male emotional expression is absent from Ford's play and that this absence of "active" violent male characters undeniably contributes to the non-violent conclusion of the play.

Although, in *The Lover's Melancholy*, male characters continuously express their anxieties about appearing effeminate due the expression of excessive passions, it is these characters that seem to suffer most from the effects and diseases caused by said passions. Therefore, while the words of the characters may, on the surface seem to support early

[442] See 'The Lover's Melancholy', Act 2, Scene 2, 113, when he describes his 'useless tears', and Act 5, Scene 2, 217, when he tells Palador, 'My tears must thank ye, / For my tongue cannot'.
[443] Escolme, *Emotional Excess on the Shakespearean Stage: Passion's Slaves,* p.188.

modern ideals about passion and gender, the fates and actions of the characters seemingly contradict the views that they express, as it is mainly the men in the play that are consumed by their emotions rather than the women. It is this blurring of categories of gendered emotion, and lack of the stereotypical, early modern "masculine" forms of emotional expression that prevent passions from developing into fatal diseases, resulting in a comparatively peaceful ending to the play.

In conclusion, this chapter has shown that tragicomedy and the avoidance of death that characterises it, depends upon the mixing of contrasting emotions. *The Lover's Melancholy* avoids the tragic ending of its fellows in the Ford canon by continuously combining light and dark elements, comic and tragic influences and tropes, and pathological emotions and their cures. Throughout the play, Ford generates the possibility of danger which is then surprisingly avoided or resolved. However, rather than merely juxtaposing opposite ideas in order to create a stark and often shocking contrast, Ford also blends generic conventions, blurs gender boundaries, and fuses the comic and tragic together.

While Ford's play is obviously influenced by tragedies such as Shakespeare's *Lear* and tragedy as a genre more broadly, he experiments with the concepts, "rules", and imagery that he takes from these stimuli. Ford alludes to violence but the audience never see it, emotions are related to the physical and emotional storms found in Lear but these are prevented, the idea of "tragic hero" trajectory is present but confused by the death of King Agenor before the play begins. The potential for excessive emotions to transform into uncontrollable madness and consequential chaos and murder is palpable throughout *The Lover's Melancholy* but the elements that produce this possibility are blended and balanced

out with comic elements such as cross-dressing, female agency, and the prospect of renewal, restoration and cure.

This chapter has also shown that key to this blending of genres is the subversion and confusion of gendered emotion and the absence of the tragic hero, Agenor, who is the only character that displays the typically male emotional traits found in early modern doctrines. Instead, Ford's play has a strong woman at its centre and features men who express their emotions in a way that was stereotypically feminine. Though the play deals with love-induced passionate states such as grief, and even demonstrates the potential for jealousy, these passions are all expressed through acts of mourning and weeping, acts that were assigned mainly to women. Although in their speeches, the male characters in the play frequently reinforce early modern clichés about gender and emotion, their actions do not comply with their views. Unlike the several other male characters discussed in this thesis, love-melancholy, or jealousy, or excessive desire does not turn to anger, produce motion, or inspire vengeance. *The Lover's Melancholy* mixes tragic emotions with comic ones, diffusing tragic moments with dark comedy and alluding to the potential tragedy lurking beneath the most comic scenes. The violent ending of Fordian tragedy is always a possibility in the play, but is narrowly avoided due to this merging and twisting of light and dark, deadly and restorative, male and female, disease and cure.

Conclusion

In this thesis, I have explored the relationship between violence, emotion, and power on the early modern stage. I examined the ways in which extreme emotions result in violence and death in drama by Christopher Marlowe, William Shakespeare, William Davenant, John Ford, Thomas Heywood and Philip Massinger, as well as considering how this link between emotions and physical violence is reflective of the social and political power struggles of early modern society.

This thesis has shown that the acts of murder and suicide that characterise the endings of early modern tragedies are motivated by inordinate and immoderate passion and reflect the various discourses of early modern emotions. While many of the acts of violence in these plays are a response to fictional, romantic relationships and the emotions that accompany them, more often than not, the portrayal of passionate violence in these plays also tells us something about the wider relationships of early moderns, revealing the power dynamics between kings and their subjects, men and women, the Church and its followers, and white Europeans and their foreign counterparts.

The first half of the thesis has shown that the relationship between human bodies, emotions, and environment is a significant feature of early modern tragedies from the Elizabethan, Jacobean, and early Caroline periods. Specifically, in the three plays that make up the first section of the thesis, the senses and bodily functions play an essential role in the generation and dissemination of corruptive passion. Moreover, the first half of the thesis shows that early modern notions of bodies and passions were firmly connected to discourses of social and political power and often used by playwrights to challenge the dominant ideology of early modern societal and governmental hierarchies.

Chapter one on *Dido, Queen of Carthage*, demonstrates that Marlowe's play is concerned with the human mind and body. Specifically, Marlowe's tragedy reflects the

early modern anxieties about the corporeal vulnerability of humankind and the dangerous nature of infectious passion. Moreover, this emphasis on the body and human passion works to enhance our understanding of the political and social implications of Marlowe's tragedy. Through his portrayal of Cupid and his victim, or victims, along with the unreliable nature of sight, Marlowe suggests that all people from Queens to nurses are susceptible to excessive passion. He therefore presents the Carthaginian Queen, often read as a symbol for Elizabeth I, as a mortal human who is equally subject to corruptive desire, thus challenging the early modern discourse that celebrated the monarch as a divine being.[444] Moreover, his Cupid, like many representations of the god from Renaissance art, symbolises all kinds of love and Marlowe presents heterosexual, homosexual, and pedarastic desire as equally powerful and potentially dangerous.

Chapter Two offered new insights into one of Shakespeare's most frequently watched, performed, read, and studied tragedies. While jealousy is of course an important emotion in William Shakespeare's *Othello*, this chapter has shown that fear is an equally significant driving motivation for the plays' eponymous protagonist. Othello may be jealous and angry, but he is also afraid of transforming into the stereotypical Moor that early moderns were taught to fear. These fears concerning the irreligious, barbarous, overtly passionate Moors are transferred to Othello himself via his ears, which are continuously subject to malicious and slanderous words from the people surrounding him and exacerbated by the sound of the bell which signifies religious Others, the devil, and the supernatural. This transference of emotion ultimately results in Othello transforming into the man that he fears becoming when he smothers his innocent wife. In *Othello* as in *Dido*, emotions are communal phenomena, transferred from person to person with the help of the

senses. By re-examining the passions in Shakespeare's famous tragedy in conjunction with his emphasis on the sense of hearing, chapter two not only sheds new light on *Othello* and enhances our understanding of the play's fatal events, but discloses how the play can teach us about the fears and anxieties of the early modern subject, the ways in which these fears were transmitted, and the potentially dangerous impact that the spreading of these fears could have.

In the third chapter of the thesis on *The Tragedy of Albovine*, I outlined how the famously royalist Davenant uses his representation of pollutive passion to criticise James I and the relationship between monarchs and their favourites more generally in his earliest tragedy. The dangerous and corruptive desires of the king and queen pollute and infect the court, specifically demonstrating how court favourites symbolise destructive and fatal passions that lead to the bloody climax of Davenant's tragedy. Excessive passion, particularly lust, greed, and ambition are continuously transferred between the inhabitants of the Veronese court via acts of breathing, eating, and drinking, bodily functions are linked with the senses of taste and smell. This chapter shows that Davenant was influenced by different medical doctrines, including those that promoted the benefits of drinking the bodily fluids of other humans, but that ultimately the Galenic theories which dominated early modern doctrines of emotion were still highly influential and central to works written in the Caroline period, such as *Albovine.*

Moreover, as well as reflecting the individual political and social concerns in each play, when considering all three of the plays in section one as a collective, the relationship between the senses and the religious concerns of the period becomes visible. In the first of the plays, *Dido, Queen of Carthage*, Marlowe taps into the early modern anxiety about Catholic idolatry by questioning the reliability of sight and criticising desires that are based

upon visual appearances. Protestantism was characterised by a move away from the visual aspects of the Catholic church and instead emphasised the benefits of hearing God's word. This Protestant privileging of hearing also pervades Shakespeare's *Othello*, however, by presenting the corruptive nature of words, this tragedy also alludes to early modern theologies about hearing the "wrong" thing and allowing the words of the devil to enter one's ears. Finally, Protestantism rejected the Catholic doctrine of Holy Communion, which stated that bread and wine go through a process of transubstantiation to become the body and blood of Christ. Instead, for Protestants, the bread and wine of the Eucharist only commemorates the death and resurrection of Jesus. Davenant's tragedy features several examples of pollutive eating, drinking and breathing, and subverts the Catholic conception of the Eucharist by presenting the consumption of body and blood as a poisonous and deadly act.

The second half of this thesis has demonstrated the significance placed on the management of the passions in different facets of early modern society. In each of the plays there is an emphasis on the ability to govern and restrain one's passions and this section reveals the variety of often conflicting, methods of emotional suppression encouraged in early modern religious sermons, along with medical, and philosophical treatises. Moreover, this section of the thesis shows how the Renaissance emphasis on effective governance of the passions was a marker of a good Christian, a fair and effective ruler, and an obedient woman and shows how playwrights portray the problematic nature of a society in which the patriarchs that were at the helm of the Church, the family home, and the country tried to control the passions of others.

Chapter Four on Ford's *'Tis Pity* explored the play in conjunction with a number of early modern theses on the moderation and destruction of the passions. Ford's tragedy is

concerned with the role of religion in the governance of the passions and thusly destabilises early modern notions that emotion can be controlled through penance, prayer and turning to God. In Fordian tragedy, the passions are uncontrollable, particularly if they result in a pathological condition, and attempts to smother them usually increase the chances of a bloody and violent ending. Passion and violence in Ford's Parma know no bounds, spreading out from the incestuous couple at the centre of the tragedy to infect and affect others, including those watching the play in the early modern playhouse. I found in exploring *'Tis Pity* that Ford features violent passion in his play not only to make a sensational and entertaining tragedy, but to make a statement about the hypocrisy and incompetence of the Catholic church. Ford's play explores the dichotomy between religion and passion, emphasising how ineffectual the former is in the prevention or moderation of the latter. This chapter has shown that despite Ford's allusions to various methods of emotional control and repression, passion in his most famous tragedy is volatile and dangerous, and the cause of a chain of gruesome deaths.

Chapter Five revealed how the political and metatheatrical statements made in Philip Massinger's tragedies, *The Duke of Milan* and *The Roman Actor* are intertwined with his views on stoicism and anxieties about the dangers of unmoderated passion. In both plays Massinger sends the message that the inability to control one's passions will result in violent tragedy, and criticises the ideals of absolutism which stated that rulers are entitled to act upon their own emotions no matter the consequences. In the *Duke of Milan*, Sforza becomes so impassioned that like Ford's Giovanni, his desire becomes pathological to the point of obsession, paranoia, and unwarranted jealousy which cause him to kill his innocent wife. Massinger warns against the transformative effects of excessive desires, particularly for rulers. In his representation of Caesar, Massinger depicts a violent ruler whose body

overrun with a number of competing immoderate passions, however instead of murdering his "adulterous" wife like Sforza, Caesar's lust, pride, and anger result in the mutiny of his subjects, including his wife, who kill him before he can murder Domitia. This chapter proved that the presentation of the passions in these plays is an equally important and revealing framework for the study of Massinger's tragedies.

Chapter Six offered a comparison of Heywood's domestic Jacobean tragedy *A Woman Killed with Kindness* and *The Broken Heart*, a Caroline tragedy set in the court of Sparta. Through an examination of female passion in both of these tragedies, this chapter revealed how self-starvation is used by women as a tool to regain control of their passions and bodies in the home and at court. It also became evident that through their presentation of women's bodies and emotions, Ford and Heywood problematize the governance of women's passions by their fathers, brothers, and husbands. Additionally, by exploring the concept of starvation as a performance, I found that female food refusal is often theatrical and a performance in its own right which affects both onstage and offstage audiences in the early modern playhouse. In this chapter I argued that the acts of female food refusal in the plays are expressions of female power and attempts to regain control of their passions from the patriarchs that dictate how they express their passions and, that as well as using starvation to control their own passions, Heywood's Anne Frankford and Ford's Penthea are able to impact and affect the emotions of those who witness the consequences of their starvation.

The final chapter of the thesis took a slightly different tact and looked at another of Ford's plays, this time a tragicomedy, and asked why this play which is preoccupied with immoderate passion and has the potential for a narrative of revenge does not end with the same bloody climax as Fordian tragedy. In this chapter I found that Ford's play is heavily

influenced by Shakespeare's *King Lear*, but that these allusions to Shakespearean tragedy are mixed with and thus weakened by continued references to Shakespearean comedies such as *Twelfth Night*. The mixing of comic and tragic elements in Ford's play means that destructive emotions are always present but never fully realised, and although the play alludes to love sickness and madness, these ideas are often juxtaposed with ideas about the cures for such maladies. Some of the comic conventions in *The Lover's Melancholy,* such as the inversion of gender roles and cross-dressing, resulted in the dilution or absence of the active, violent, modes of emotional expression traditionally linked with men. In Ford's tragicomedy, the tragic hero is absent, and the men who would usually plot their bloody revenge, display the characteristics usually associated with the emotions of women in early modern doctrines. This mixing of comedy and tragedy, illness and cure, along with the inversion of gendered emotion results in a comparatively happy and violence-free ending to Ford's tragicomedy.

As a whole, this thesis shows that as well as considering emotion as an individual experience, when it comes to addressing emotion in early modern texts it is equally important to examine the passions as communal phenomena. The numerous representations of the passions as infectious found in the plays in this thesis clearly demonstrate the anxieties about the transmission of emotion as well as the development of passions from an individual feeling to a group one. It also shows how these communal emotions are not merely reflective of anxieties about the health of the human body, but also reflect the socio-political issues that concerned and spread throughout early modern England. In *Othello* the fear of other cultures becomes so infectious that it eventually creates a 'green-eyed monster' and results in the brutal deaths of innocent people, and in *A Woman Killed with*

Kindness and *The Broken Heart,* women's passions have an emotional effect on their spectators.

Through a detailed exploration of the works of playwrights such as Philip Massinger, Christopher Marlowe, William Davenant, and Thomas Heywood this thesis has extended the remit of emotions scholarship in the field of early modern literature. It is not only the works of Shakespeare, but the works of other comparatively understudied playwrights, particularly Caroline dramatists, that have much to tell us about how early moderns thought about and experienced emotion. The tragedies of playwrights such as Philip Massinger and William Davenant are especially underrepresented in studies of early modern emotion, and early modern literature scholarship more generally. Many studies of Caroline drama tend to focus on the comedies of Massinger and Davenant's masques and poetry rather than their tragedies and their works are usually studied for their political aspects rather than their representation of human emotion but this thesis has shown that the two are not mutually exclusive. Although the works of John Ford are renowned for their exploration of mental illness, excessive passion, and love-melancholy, there are still comparatively few studies on his plays and many critics choose to focus on his most famous tragedy *'Tis Pity She's a Whore.* However, due to productions of his tragedies at both Shakespeare's Globe and The Royal Shakespeare company in the past few years, interest in Ford's canon of work is growing. This thesis coincides with this burgeoning interest in Ford's works, and has explored his preoccupation with emotion not only in *'Tis Pity* but in *The Broken Heart* and his tragicomedy *The Lover's Melancholy* contributing to and opening up new avenues of the conversation about Ford's detailed exploration of deadly passion. This study has revealed that the passions were still of paramount interest and importance to Caroline playwrights, and that they were still concerned with the Galenic

model of emotions in addition to other schools of thought. The study of the emotions is a worthwhile and highly useful framework to employ to discover new meaning in a variety of early modern plays.

Additionally, this thesis contributes to the recent scholarship in senses and emotions in early modern drama. By exploring the close connection between senses and emotions in early modern art, philosophy, and proto-psychological texts, I have re-examined emotions in more frequently studied texts such as Shakespeare's *Othello,* offering new insights into a play most often discussed for its depiction of sexual jealousy to reveal the importance of hearing, the impact of communal emotion, and the centrality of excessive fear in Othello's tragic downfall. Furthermore, by considering the representation of the act of seeing in *Dido, Queen of Carthage,* this thesis has brought to light the importance of the relationship between bodies, emotions, and environments in Marlowe's play.

Future Studies

There is of course room to widen the scope further. While this study includes an exploration of representations of women's emotions in early modern drama, the plays that feature in this thesis are written by men. Future studies of emotion in early modern literature should examine the comparatively understudied plays written by women writers such as Mary Sidney and Elizabeth Cary. This would allow scholars to see how the portrayal of emotion, particularly gendered emotion in the works of women writers compares to that of the male playwrights of the early modern period, and ask what this may reveal about women's perceptions of their own passions as well as those of the patriarchs that govern their homes, bodies, and lives. Additionally, the fictional women in this play are only violent against themselves, future studies of women's passions in early modern drama should examine the women who plan and commit murder and enact revenge such as

Ford's widows Hippolita from *'Tis Pity* and Fiormonda from *Love's Sacrifice,* Alice Arden from *The Arden of Faversham*, and Heywood's *A Warning for Fair Women.* Studies on emotion in these plays could answer questions about how the passions of murderous women differ from those who withdraw or commit suicide and how the passions of vengeful or violent women are dictated by factors such as age, bodily temperature, humoral imbalances, psychological maladies, or physical conditions in early modern culture and drama.

This thesis has shown that the preoccupation with emotion is still present in tragedies from the Caroline period. Specifically, despite the fact that the Galenic theories of emotion were increasingly being challenged and decreasing in dominance at this point, there was still an obvious and overwhelming interest in the relationship between emotion, embodiment, and environment in Caroline tragedies such as those by Massinger and Davenant. The works of Davenant in particular are full to the brim with anxieties about the dangers of the consumption and transference of passions in the form of infected air, diseased flesh, and polluted beverages. Therefore, forthcoming studies of emotions in early modern drama should explore the works of more Caroline playwrights, including Davenant, Massinger, Ford, James Shirley, and Richard Brome, and consider why humoral theory continued to be so present in Caroline drama, and whether or not the presentation of the passions by Caroline playwrights reflects any changes to the dominant ideology concerning human bodies and passions that occurred in the Caroline period.

Additionally, although in this thesis I did explore many of the plays in performance on the early modern stage, there is an opportunity for future studies that analyse the emotional responses to violence in Renaissance drama, and drama from other periods for that matter, for a modern day audience. The Royal Shakespeare Company have recently

teamed up with global market and opinion research specialists, Ipsos MORI to 'monitor the emotional engagement of a theatre and cinema audience' while they watch their recent production of Shakespeare's most violent play, *Titus Andronicus.* The RSC outline the experiment as follows:

> We've recruited two groups of people to wear heart rate monitors on their wrists whilst watching the play. One group was to watch the show in Stratford-upon-Avon at the Royal Shakespeare Theatre, whilst the second group was to watch the live broadcast of *Titus Andronicus* in a cinema on 9 August. The two groups have been demographically matched based on age, theatre experience and gender to achieve a comparable set of results. As well as monitoring their heart rates as they watch *Titus Andronicus*, those taking part complete a series of short interviews immediately after the show, to explore the strength of their reaction and engagement.[445]

Studies such as these explore the psychological and physiological impact that violent drama can have on an audience member. There is room for more studies of this kind in relation to both a modern day audience and an early modern one. Scholars of emotion in drama, or in other artistic representations, may seek to discover how audiences react to witnessing, viewing, or reading about fictional violence of an extreme and often gratuitous nature and how said responses relate to the period the audience lives in and the violent acts they are exposed to in their everyday lives. For instance, nowadays, information is so easily accessible due to the internet, the television, and social media, that we are constantly exposed to violence, whether it be acts of terrorism in the news, YouTube videos of executions, or the latest violent television drama series. Therefore, the staging of violent renaissance dramas today can not only teach us about early modern emotions and violence, but will provoke an emotional reaction in individuals that relates specifically to their

[445] *Does Shakespeare Still Shock?* (2017) https://www.rsc.org.uk/news/does-shakespeare-still-shock [Accessed 18th September 2017).

culture and the time and place in which they view the play. Studies of this kind can teach us more about how our responses to violence on stage manifest themselves physiologically and mentally in the body. Moreover, with the advent of live theatre screenings at the cinema, research into audience emotional reactions have the opportunity to compare how an audiences level of engagement and consequential reaction to violence in the theatre differs when an audience witness the play on the big screen, an opportunity that the RSC have already taken.

Through a detailed exploration of the representation of the body and mind in plays by Marlowe, Shakespeare, Heywood, Massinger, Davenant, and Ford, this thesis has shown that the violent endings of early modern tragedies are caused by excessive passion and that this preoccupation with the relationship between the corporeal, emotional, and environmental is explicit within the texts which are evidently influenced by and employ the same proto-psychological terms and ideas used by writers of medical, philosophical, and religious doctrines on emotion from the period. The plays in this thesis can teach us about early modern understandings of bodies and emotion, and in turn, by examining early modern emotional doctrines we are able to extract new meanings from the texts.

Furthermore, these differing representations of passionate violence and violent passions should not only be considered valuable for what they tell us about early modern proto-psychology, but the application of this emotional framework to the plays in question has also shown that in the early modern period, and in the drama specifically, emotions were not standalone biological or psychological experiences, but were imbued with political, social, and religious meaning. The playwrights that feature in this thesis continuously employ discourses of excessive emotion in order to question, destabilise, criticise, and subvert early modern hierarchies of power. Via the centrality of human

emotion in these plays, they challenge the dominant ideologies of monarchical emotion, gendered passion, religious authority and racial stereotypes. The violent consequences of extreme emotion not only demonstrate the power of the passions in a corporeal or mental sense, but reveal how the passions of those at the top of the hierarchy detrimentally affect those below them, how infectious passion undoes the boundaries between rulers and their subjects, and how attempts to control the passions of those perceived as "inferior" proves to be a dangerous method of oppression which results in death. The last chapter of this thesis on Ford's tragicomedy which does not end with violence, shows that when the boundaries and restrictions of these emotional hierarchies are removed or at least weakened, excessive passion can be cured, conflict can be resolved, and life can continue.

Bibliography

Adelman, Janet, 'Iago's Alter Ego: Race as Projection in *Othello*', in *Political Shakespeare,* ed. by Stephen Orgel and Sean Keilen (New York: Garland, 1999), pp. 111-130

Aesop, *The Complete Fables,* trans. by, Olivia and Robert Temple (London: Penguin, 1998)

Albala, Ken, *Eating Right in the Renaissance* (California: University of California Press, 2002)

Allestree, Richard, *The Ladies Calling* (Oxford: The Theatre, 1673)

Anderson, Donald K., 'Richard II and Perkin Warbeck', *Shakespeare Quarterly,* 13 (1962), 260-3

Aquinas, Thomas, *Selected Philosophical Writings*, ed. by Timothy McDermott (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008)

Arab, Ronda, Michelle Dowd, and Adam Zucker, eds, *Historical Affects and the Early Modern Theatre* (New York: Routledge, 2015)

Aristotle, *De Anima*, in *The Basic Works of Aristotle,* ed. by Richard McKeon (New York: Random House, 1988), pp.535-606

Aristotle, *Physics*, ed. by David Bostock (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008)

Aubrey, John, *Brief Lives* (Suffolk: Boydell Press, 1982)

Bach, Rebecca Ann, 'The Homosocial Imaginary of *A Woman Killed with Kindness', Textual Practice,* 12.3 (1998), 503-524

Bacon, Francis, *The Essays* (London: Penguin, 1985)

Bacon, Francis, *Sylva Sylvarum: Or a Naturall Historie* (London: John Haviland and Augustine Mathewes, 1627)

Bailey, Amanda, and Mario Digangi, eds, *Affect Theory and Early Modern Texts: Politics, Ecology and Form* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017)

Baines, Barbara J., 'Effacing Rape in Early Modern Representation', *English Literary History,* 65.1 (1998), 69-98

Balizet, Ariane M., 'The Cuckold's Blazon: Dismemberment and Domesticity in *Arden of Faversham and A Woman Killed with Kindness',* in *Staging the Blazon in Early Modern English Theatre*, ed. by Sara Morrison and Deborah Uman (Surrey: Ashgate, 2013), pp. 97-108

Bamber, Linda, *Comic Women, Tragic Men: Study of Gender and Genre in Shakespeare* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1982)

Barolsky, Paul, 'Boticelli's *Primavera* and the Poetic Imagination of Italian Renaissance Art', *A Journal of the Humanities and the Classics,* 8.2 (2000), 5-35

Barrough, Philip, *The Method of Physick* (London: Thomas Vautroullier, 1583)

Belsey, Catherine, 'Alice Arden's Crime', in *Staging the Renaissance,* ed. by David Scott Kastan and Peter Stallybrass (London: Routledge, 1991), pp. 133-150

Berger, Pamela,'Mice, Arrows and Tumours: Medieval Plague Iconography North of the Alps', in *Piety and Plague: From Byzantium to Baroque,* ed. by Franco Mormando and Thomas Worcester (Missouri: Truman State University Press, 2007), pp. 23-63

Berlant, Laura, and Jordan Greenwald, 'Affect in the End Times: A Conversation with Laura Berlant', *Qui Parle*, 20 (2010), 71-89

Bloom, Gina, *Voice in Motion: Staging Gender, Shaping Sound in Early Modern England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007)

Bordwell, David, *Catechism of the Catholic Church* (London: Continuum, 1999)

Botticelli, Sandro, 'Primavera', Tempera on panel (Uffizi Gallery: Florence, c.1470-1480)

Breitenberg, Mark, *Anxious Masculinity in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996)

Brennan, Teresa, *The Transmission of Affect* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2014)

Bright, Timothie, *A Treatise of Melancholie* (London: Thomas Vautrollier, 1586)

Bronzino, Agnolo, 'Venus and Cupid, Folly and Times', Oil on wood (London: National Gallery, c.1545)

Broomhall, Susan, *Gender and Emotions in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Destroying Order, Structuring Disorder* (London: Routledge, 2017)

Brown, Pamela Allen, 'Dido, Boy Diva of Carthage: Marlowe's Dido Tragedy and the Renaissance Actress', in *Transnational Mobilities in Early Modern Theatre,* ed. by Eric Nicholson and Robert Henke (Surrey: Ashgate, 2014), pp. 113-130

Burton, Robert, *The Anatomy of Melancholy* (Oxford: Printed by John Lichfield and James Short, for Henry Cripps, Anno Dom, 1621)

Butler, Todd Wayne, *Imagination and Politics in Seventeenth-century England* (Hampshire: Ashgate, 2008)

Bynum, Caroline Walker, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast: The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women* (California: California University Press, 1987)

Calefas-Strebelle, Audrey, 'Muslim 'others'', in *Early Modern Emotions: An Introduction,* ed. by Susan Broomhall (London: Routledge, 2017), pp. 300-303

Callaghan, Dympna, '(Un)natural loving: swine, pets and flowers in *Venus and Adonis',* in *Textures of Renaissance Knowledge,* ed. by Philippa Berry and Margaret Tudeau-Clayton (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003), pp. 58-80

Campbell, Lily B., *Shakespeare's Tragic Heroes: Slaves of Passion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1930)

Cardano, Gerolamo, *De Musica* quoted in Viviana Comensoli, 'Music, The Book of the Courtier, and Othello's Soldiership', in *The Italian World of English Renaissance Drama: Cultural Exchange and Intertextuality,* ed. by Michele Marrapodi (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1998), pp. 89-105

Cicero, 'Cato the Elder on Old Age', in *Cicero: Selected Works* ed. by Michael Grant (London: Penguin, 1971), pp.211-250

Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations,* IV, xxix, 62; quoted in Katharine Eisaman Maus, *Ben Jonson and the Roman Frame of Mind* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984)

Classen, Constance, *The Deepest Sense: A Cultural History of Touch* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2012)

Clough, Patricia Ticineto, and Jean Halley, eds, *The Affective Turn: Theorizing the Social* (London: Duke University Press, 2007)

Coeffeteau, Nicolas, *A Table of Humane Passions with their Causes and Effects* (London: Nicholas Oakes, 1621)

Cogan, Thomas, *The Haven of Health* (London: Anne Griffin, 1636)

Cohen, Derek, 'Patriarchy and Jealousy in *Othello* and *The Winter's Tale*' *Modern Language Quarterly,* 48.3 (1987), 207-223

Connolly, Annaliese, 'Evaluating Virginity: *A Midsummer Night's Dream* and the Iconography of Marriage', in *Goddesses and Queens: The Iconography of Elizabeth I,* ed. by Annaliese Connolly and Lisa Hopkins (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007), pp. 136-153

Connolly, Annaliese, 'Review- *Dido, Queen of Carthage*' *Renaissance Journal,* 2.1 (2004), 26-31

Cooke, Jennifer, *Legacies of Plague in Literature, Theory and Film* (London: Macmillan, 2009)

Coventry, William W., *Demonic Possession on Trial: Case Studies in Early Modern England and Colonial America 1593-1692* (New York: Writer's Club Press, 2003)

Craik, Katherine A., and Tanya Pollard, eds, *Shakespearean Sensations: Experiencing Literature in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013)

Crooke, Helkiah, *Mikrokosmographia* (London: William Iaggard, 1615)

Culpeper, Nicholas, *Directory for Midwives: or a Guide for Women* (London: Peter Cole, 1662)

Culpeper, Nicholas, *The English Physician* (London: William Bentley, 1652)

Cummings, Brian, 'Animal Passions and Human Sciences: Shame, Blushing and Nakedness in Early Modern Europe and the New World', in *At the Borders of the Human: Beasts, Bodies, and Natural Philosophy in the Early Modern Period,* ed. by Erica Fudge, Ruth Gilbert, and Susan Wiseman (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1999), pp. 26-50

Davenant, William, 'A Proposition for Advancement of Moralitie' (London, 1653), attributed and reprinted by James R. Jacob and Timothy Raylor, 'Opera and Obedience: Thomas Hobbes and 'A Proposition for Advancement of Moralitie by Sir William Davenant', *Seventeenth Century,* 6.2 (1991), pp.205-250

D'avenant, William, *The Cruel Brother* (London: Augustine Mathewes, 1630)

D'Avenant, William, *The Tragedy of Albovine, King of the Lombards* (London: Felix Kingston, 1629)

Davies, Jonathan, *Aspects of Violence in Renaissance Europe* (London: Routledge, 2013)

Dawson, Lesel, 'Menstruation, Misogyny and the Cure for Love', *Women's Studies,* 34.6 (2005), 461-484

Dawson, Lesel, *Lovesickness and Gender in Early Modern English Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008)

Delumeau, Jean, *La Peur* (1982) quoted in William G. Naphy and Penny Williams, eds, *Fear in Early Modern Society* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997)

Descartes, René, *The Passions of the Soule* (London: A.C, 1650)

De Wall, Nichole, 'Sweet Recreation Barred: The Case for Playgoing in Plague-Time', in *Representing the Plague in Early Modern England,* ed. by Rebecca Totaro and Ernest B. Gilman (London: Routledge, 2011)

Dickens, Emma, ed., *The Da Vinci Notebooks* (London: Profile, 2005)

Dixon, Thomas, *From Passions to Emotions: The Creation of a Secular Psychological Category* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003)

Does Shakespeare Still Shock? (2017) https://www.rsc.org.uk/news/does-shakespeare-still-shock

Donne, John, *Volume III: Sermons Preached at The Court of Charles I,* ed. by David Colclough (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013)

Donohue, Dan, 'Iago: In Following Him I Follow But Myself', in *Shakespeare's Sense of Character: On the Page and From the Stage,* ed. by Yu Jin Ko and Michael W. Shurgot (London: Routledge, 2016), pp. 141-151.

Dugan, Holly, *The Ephemeral History of Perfume: Scent and Sense in Early Modern England* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2011)

Duggan, Anne E., *Salonnieres, Furies, and Fairies: The Politics of Gender and Cultural Change in Absolutist France* (New Jersey: University of Delaware Press, 2005)

Du Laurens, André, *A Discourse of the Preservation of Sight* trans. Richard Surphlet (London: Felix Kingston, 1599)

Dyson, Jessica, *Staging Authority in Caroline England: Prerogative, Law and Order in Drama 1625-1642* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013)

Edwards, Michael, 'Intellectual Culture,' in *The Ashgate Research Companion to the Counter-Reformation*, ed. by Alexandra Bamji, Geert H. Janssen, and Mary Laven (London: Routledge, 2016), pp. 301-318

Elliott, John H., *Beware the Evil Eye Volume 1: The Evil Eye in the Bible and the Ancient World* (Oregon: Cascade, 2015)

Ellis, Anthony, *Old Age, Masculinity, and Early Modern Drama: Comic Elders on the Italian and Shakespearean Stage* (Surrey: Ashgate, 2009)

Ellman, Maud, *The Hunger Artists: Starving, Writing, and Imprisonment* (Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1993)

Elyot, Thomas, *The Castel of Health* (London: Printed by the Widdow Orwin, 1595)

Enterline, Lynn, *Shakespeare's Schoolroom: Rhetoric, Discipline, Emotion* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012)

Escolme, Bridget, *Emotional Excess on the Shakespearean Stage: Passion's Slaves* (London: Bloomsbury, 2014)

"fate, n.". OED Online. June 2016. Oxford University Press. http://www.oed.com.lcproxy.shu.ac.uk/view/Entry/68488?rskey=Yq57Wa&result=1&isAdvanced=false

Fendt, Gene, *Love Song for the Life of the Mind: An Essay on the Purpose of Comedy* (Washington: The Catholic University of America Press, 2007)

Fenner, William, *A Treatise of the Affections* (London: A.M., 1650)

Ferguson, Gary, *Queer (Re) Readings in the French Renaissance: Homosexuality, Gender, Culture* (Hampshire: Ashgate, 2008)

Fernie, Ewan, *Shame in Shakespeare* (London: Routledge, 2001)

Ferrand, Jacques, *Erotomania* (Oxford: L. Lichfield, 1640)

Ficino, Marsilio, *De Amore* quoted in Berthold Hub, 'Gazes and Flying Images in Ficino and Michelangelo', in *Spirits Unseen: The Representation of Subtle Bodies in Early Modern European Culture,* ed. by Christine Gottler and Wolfgang Neuber, (Boston: Brill, 2008), pp.93-120

Ficino, Marsilio, *Theologia Platonica* quoted in Gary Tomlinson, *Music in Renaissance Magic: Toward a Historiography of Others* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1993)

Findlay, Alison, *A Feminist Perspective on Renaissance Drama* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999)

Fitzpatrick, Joan, *Food in Shakespeare: Early Modern Dietaries and the Plays* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007)

Flather, Amanda, *Gender and Space in Early Modern England* (Suffolk: Boydell Press, 2007)

Fletcher, John, and William Shakespeare, 'The Two Noble Kinsmen', in in *The Complete Works,* ed. by Jonathan Bate and Eric Rasmussen (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2007) pp.2356-2397

Floyd-Wilson, Mary, *English Ethnicity and Race in Early Modern Drama* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003)

Floyd-Wilson, Mary, and Garrett A. Sullivan, eds, Jr, *Environment and Embodiment in Early Modern England* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2007)

Ford, John, *Love's Sacrifice* ed. by A.T. Moore (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002)

Ford, John, 'The Broken Heart', in *The Selected Plays of John Ford,* ed. by Marion Lomax (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. 82-164

Ford, John, *The Broken Heart,* ed. by T.J.B. Spencer (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1980)

Ford, John, 'The Lover's Melancholy', in *'Tis Pity She's a Whore and Other Plays,* ed. by Marion Lomax (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp.1-80

Ford, John, *'Tis Pity She's a Whore* (London: Bloomsbury, 2003)

Ford, John, *'Tis Pity She's a Whore and Other Plays,* ed. by Marion Lomax (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008)

Ford, John, *Love's Sacrifice* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002)

French, John, *The Art of Distillation* (London: Printed by E. Cotes, for Thomas Williams, 1653)

Frey, Christoper and Leanore Lieblein, "My Breasts Sear'd": The Self Starved Female Body and A Woman Killed with Kindness' *Early Theatre,* 7.1 (2004), 45-66

Galen, *On Diseases and Symptoms* ed. by Ian Johnston (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006)

Gentilcore, David, 'The Fear of Disease and the Disease of Fear', in *Fear in Early Modern Society,* ed. by William G. Naphy and Penny Roberts (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997), pp. 184-208

Gibbons, Brian, 'Introduction', in *Six Elizabethan and Jacobean Tragedies* (London: Metheun, 2008), pp. viii-xx

Gill, Meredith J., *Augustine in the Italian Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005)

Goldberg, Jonathan, *James I and the Politics of Literature: Jonson, Shakespeare, Donne, and their Contemporaries* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1989)

Gosson, Stephen, *Playes Confuted in Five Actions,* 2nd edn (London: T. Dawson, 1582)

Gouk, Penelope, and Helen Hills, eds, *Representing Emotions: New Connections in the Histories of Art, Music, and Medicine* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005)

Gowing, Laura, *Gender Relations in Early Modern England* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2014)

Gowland, Angus, 'The Problem with Early Modern Melancholy', *Past and Present,* 191 (2006), 77-121 (103)

"grace, n.". OED Online. June 2016. Oxford University Press. http://www.oed.com.lcproxy.shu.ac.uk/view/Entry/80373?rskey=bUst4k&result=1

Gray, Catharine, 'Republics', in *Early Modern Emotions: An Introduction,* ed. by Susan Broomhall (London: Routledge, 2017) pp. 182-185

Greg, Melissa, and Gregory J. Seigworth, eds, *The Affect Theory Reader* (London: Duke University Press, 2010)

Green, Reina, 'Open Ears, Appetite, and Adultery in *A Woman Killed with Kindness', English Studies in Canada,* 31.4 (2005), 53-74

Green, Reina 'Poisoned Ears and Parental Advice in *Hamlet', Early Modern Literary Studies,* 11.3 (2006), 1-31

Greenberg, Marissa, "The Tyranny of Tragedy: Catharsis in England and *The Roman Actor*", *Renaissance Drama,* 39 (2011), 163-196.

Greenblatt, Stephen, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1980,2005)

Griffin, Aurelie, 'Love Melancholy and the Senses in Mary Wroth's Work', in *The Senses in Early Modern England 1558-1660,* ed. by Simon Smith, Jackie Watson, and Amy Kenny (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015)

Gristwood, Sarah, *Arbella: England's Lost Queen* (London: Bantam, 2003)

Grossberg, Lawrence, 'Affect's Future: Rediscovering the Virtual in the Actual', in *The Affect Theory Reader,* ed. by Melissa Greg and Gregory J. Seigworth (London: Duke University Press, 2010), pp.309-339

Grossman, Allen, *True Love: Essays on Poetry and Valuing* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009)

Gutierrez, Nancy A., *Shall She Famish Then? Female Food Refusal in Early Modern England* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003)

Gyer, Nicholas, *The English Phlebotomy* (London: By William Hoskins and John Danter, 1592)

Hadfield, Andrew, *A Routledge Literary Sourcebook on William Shakespeare's Othello* (London: Routledge, 2003)

Hall, Marcia B., 'Introduction', in *The Sensuous in the Counter-Reformation Church,* ed. by Marcia B. Hall and Tracy E. Cooper (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), pp.1-20

Hartley, Andrew James, 'Philip Massinger's *The Roman Actor* and the Semiotics of Censored Theatre', *English Literary History,* 68.2 (2001), 359-76

Harvey, Elizabeth D., ed, *Sensible Flesh: On Touch in Early Modern Culture* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003)

Hendrix, John Shannon, and Charles H. Carman, eds, *Renaissance Theories of Vision* (London: Routledge, 2010)

Heywood, Thomas, *Apology for Actors* (London: printed by G.E. for W. Cartwright, 1658)

Heywood Thomas, *A Woman Killed with Kindness: Revised Edition,* ed. by Frances E. Dolan (London: Bloomsbury, 2012)

Heywood, Thomas, 'A Woman Killed with Kindness', in *Plays on Women,* ed. by Kathleen E. McLuskie and David Bevington (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2014), pp. 349-4416

Hobgood, Allison P., *Passionate Playgoing in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014)

Hoffman, Tiffany, 'Coriolanus's Blush', in *Embodied Cognition and Shakespeare's Theatre: The Early Modern Body Mind,* ed. by Laurie Johnson, John Sutton, and Evelyn Tribble (London: Routledge, 2014), pp. 173-190

Hopkins, Lisa, *Christopher Marlowe, Renaissance Dramatist* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2008)

Hopkins, Lisa, *Drama and the Succession to the Crown, 1561-1633* (London: Routledge, 2016)

Hopkins, Lisa, *John Ford's Political Theatre* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994)

Hopkins, Lisa, 'Knowing their Loves: Knowledge, Ignorance and Blindness in *'Tis Pity She's a Whore*', *Renaissance Forum,* 3.1 (1998), 1-27

Hopkins, Lisa, 'Spartan boys : John Ford and Philip Sidney', *Classical and Modern Literature,* 17.3 (1997), 217-229

Hopkins, Lisa, 'Staging Passion in Ford's The Lover's Melancholy', *Studies in English Literature,* 45.2 (2005), 443-459

Hopkins, Lisa, *'Tis Pity She's a Whore: A Critical Guide* (London: Bloomsbury, 2010)

Hub, Berthold, 'Gazes and Flying Images in Ficino and Michelangelo', in *Spirits Unseen: The Representation of Subtle Bodies in Early Modern European Culture,* ed. by Christine Gottler and Wolfgang Neuber (Boston: Brill, 2008), pp.93-120

Hultquist, Aleksondra, 'The Passions', in *Early Modern Emotions: An Introduction,* ed. by Susan Broomhall (London: Routledge, 2017), pp.71-73

Imorde, Joseph, 'Tasting God: The Sweetness of Crying in the Counter-Reformation', in *Religion and Senses in Early Modern Europe,* ed. by Wietse de Boer and Christine Gottler (Boston: Brill, 2013), pp. 257-272

James I, *Basilikon Doron* (Edinburgh: Robert VValde-graue , 1603)

James I, 'The True Law of Free Monarchies', in *The Political Works of James I,* ed. by Charles Howard McIlwain (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1918)

Jankowski, Theodora A., *Women in Power in the Early Modern Drama* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1992)

Jonson, Ben, *The Alchemist,* ed. by Elizabeth Cook (London: New Mermaids, 2007)

Jowitt, Claire, 'New Worlds and Old Worlds', in *Voyage Drama and Gender Politics 1589-1642* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002), pp. 191- 230

Karim- Cooper and Tiffany Stern, eds, *Shakespeare's Theatres and the Effects of Performance* (London: Bloomsbury, 2015)

Kastan, David Scott, ed, *The Oxford Encyclopaedia of British Literature Volume 1* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006)

Kastan, David Scott, and Peter Stallybrass, eds, *Staging the Renaissance* (London: Routledge, 1991)

Kehler, Dorothea, *Shakespeare's Widows* (London: Macmillan, 2009)

Kelsall, Malcolm Miles, *Christopher Marlowe* (Leiden: Brill, 1982)

Kennedy, Gwynne, *Just Anger: Representing Women's Anger in Early Modern England* (Illinois: Southern Illinois University Press, 2000)

Kern-Stahler, Annette, and Kathrin Scheuchzer, 'Introduction' in *The Five Senses in Early Modern England,* ed. by Annette Kern-Stahler, Beatrix Busse and Wietse de Boer (London: Routledge,2016), pp.1-21

Kerrigan, John, *On Shakespeare and Early Modern Literature: Essays* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001)

King, Ros, 'Introduction', in *Doctor Faustus,* ed. by Roma Gill (London: Methuen, 2008), pp. 4-9

Kingsley Smith, Jane, *Cupid in Early Modern Literature and Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010)

Kyd, Thomas, *The Spanish Tragedy,* ed. by Andrew Gurr (London: Methuen, 2009)

Lander, Jesse M., '"Faith in Me Unto this Commonwealth": Edward IV and the Civic Nation', *Renaissance Dramatic Culture,* 27 (1996), 47-76

Leech, Clifford, 'Marlowe's Humour', in *Marlowe: A Collection of Critical Essays,* ed. by Clifford Leech (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall Inc., 1964), pp.167-178

Lehmann, Johannes F., 'Feeling Rage: The Transformation of the Concept of Anger in Eighteenth Century Germany', in *Discourses of Anger in the Early Modern Period,* ed.by Karl A.E. Enenkel, Anita Traninger (Boston: Brill, 2015), pp. 16-48

Levine, Carol, and Joseph P. Ward, 'Introduction', in *Violence, Poltiics, and Gender in Early Modern England,* ed. by Joseph P. Ward (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008)

Lewcock, Dawn, *Sir William Davenant, The Court Masque and English Seventeenth Century Scenic Stage* (New York: Cambria Press, 2008)

Leys, Ruth, 'The Turn to Affect: A Critique', *Critical Inquiry,* 37.3 (2011), 434-472

Liliequist, Jonas, ed, *A History of Emotions, 1200-1800* (London: Routledge, 2017)

Lomax, Marion, ed, *'Tis Pity She's a Whore and Other Plays* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995)

Lublin, Robert I., *Costuming the Shakespearean Stage: Visual Codes of Representation in Early Modern Theatre and Culture* (Surrey: Ashgate, 2011)

Lund, Mary Ann, *Melancholy, Medicine, and Relgion in Early Modern England: Reading the Anatomy of Melancholy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010)

MacDonald, Michael, *Mystical Bedlam: Madness, Anxiety and Healing in Seventeenth Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981)

MacKinnon, Dolly, '"Ringing of the Bells by Four White Spirits": Two Seventeenth-Century English Earwitness Accounts of the Supernatural in Print Culture', in *Religion, the Supernatural and Visual Culture in Early Modern Europe,* ed. by Jennifer Spinks and Dagmar Eichberger (Leiden: Brill, 2015), pp. 83-104

Marlowe, Christopher, 'Dido, Queen of Carthage', in *Christopher Marlowe: The Complete Plays,* ed. by Frank Romany and Robert Lindsey (London: Penguin, 2003), pp.1-68

Marlowe, Christopher, *Doctor Faustus,* ed. by Roma Gill (London: Methuen, 2008)

Marlowe, Christopher, 'Hero and Leander', in *Christopher Marlowe: Complete Poems* (New York: Dover Thrift Editions, 2013), pp.69-88

Marshall, Cynthia, *The Shattering of the Self: Violence, Subjectivity and Early Modern Texts* (Maryland: John Hopkins University Press, 2002)

Martin, Matthew R., *Tragedy and Trauma in the Plays of Christopher Marlowe* (Surrey: Ashgate, 2015)

Massinger, Philip, 'The Duke of Milan', in *The Selected Plays of Philip Massinger,* ed. by Colin Gibson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), pp.7-97

Massinger, Philip, *The Roman Actor: A Tragedy,* ed. by Martin White (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012)

Massumi, Brian, *Politics of Affect* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2015)

Mattern, Susan P., *The Prince of Medicine: Galen in the Roman Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013)

Mazzio, Carla, 'Acting with Tact: Touch and Theater in the Renaissance', in *Sensible Flesh: On Touch in Early Modern Culture,* ed. by Elizabeth D. Harvey (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003), pp.159-186

McConachie, Bruce, and F. Elizabeth Hart, eds, *Performance and Cognition: Theatre Studies and the Cognitive Turn* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2006)

McConachie, Bruce, *Engaging Audiences: A Cognitive Approach to Spectating in the Theatre* (New York and Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008)

McConnell, Harry, *Psychiatric Comorbidity in Epilepsy: Basic Mechanisms, Diagnosis, and Treatment* (Washington: London Psychiatric Press, 1998)

McMahon, Chris, *Family and State in Early Modern Revenge Drama: Economies of Vengeance* (New York: Routledge, 2012)

Meek, Richard, and Erin Sullivan, eds, *The Renaissance of Emotion: Understanding Affect in Shakespeare and His Contemporaries* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015)

Menzer, Paul, 'The Actor's Inhibition: Early Modern Acting and the Rhetoric of Restraint', *Renaissance Drama,* 35 (2006), 83-111

Miller, J.T., 'The Passions Signified: Imitation and the Construction of Emotions in Sidney and Wroth', *Criticism*, 43.4 (2001), 407-421

Milton, John, 'Aeropagitica', in *John Milton: The Major Works*, ed .by Stephen Orgel and Jonathan Goldberg (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 236-272

Misra, Karuna Shanker, *The Tragic Hero Through the Ages* (New Delhi: Northern Book Centre, 1992)

Molekamp, Femke, *Women and the Bible in Early Modern England: Religious Reading and Writing* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013)

Montaigne, Michel de, *The Complete Essays*, trans. M. A. Screech (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1993)

Mosley, Charles, 'The Literary and Dramatic Contexts of the Last Plays', in *The Cambridge Companion to Shakespeare's Last Plays,* ed. by Catherine M. S. Alexander (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009)

Moss, Stephanie, 'Transformation and Degeneration: The Paracelsan/ Galenic Body in *Othello*', in *Disease, Diagnosis, and Cure on the Early Modern Stage,* ed. by Stephanie Moss and Kaara L. Peterson (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), pp.151-170

Moss, Stephanie, and Kaara L. Peterson, eds, *Disease, Diagnosis and Cure on the Early Modern Stage* (London: Routledge, 2004)

Mukherji, Subha, and Raphael Lyne, *Early Modern Tragicomedy* (Cambridge: D. S Brewer, 2007)

Mullaney, Steven, *The Reformation of Emotions in the Age of Shakespeare* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015)

Munday, Anthony, *A Second and Third Blast of Retrait from Plaies and Theaters* (London: Henrie Denham, 1580)

Munro, Lucy, 'Middleton and Caroline Theatre', in *The Oxford Handbook of Thomas Middleton,* ed. by Gary Taylor and Trish Thomas Henley (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp.164-180

Munson Deats, Sara, 'Dido, Queen of Carthage and The Massacre at Paris', in *The Cambridge Companion to Christopher Marlowe,* ed. by Patrick Cheney (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp.193-205

Neely, Carol Thomas, *Distracted Subjects: Madness and Gender in Shakespeare and Early Modern Culture* (New York: Cornell University Press, 2004)

Neill, Michael, *Putting History to the Question: Power, Politics and Society in English Renaissance Drama* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000)

Nevitt, Marcus, 'The Insults of Defeat: Royalist Responses to Sir William Davenant's *Gondibert*', *The Seventeenth Century,* 24.2 (2009), 287-304

Newman, Karen, *Fashioning Femininity and English Renaissance Drama* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991)

Newton, Hannah, 'Holy Affections', in *Early Modern Emotions: An Introduction,* ed. by Susan Broomhall (London: Routledge, 2017), pp.67-70

Ngai, Sianne, *Ugly Feelings* (Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2005)

Noble, Louise, *Medicinal Cannibalism in Early Modern Literature and Culture* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2011)

Nordlund, Marcus, 'Theorising Early Modern Jealousy: A Biocultural Perspective on Shakespeare's Othello', *Studia Neophilologica,* 74.2 (2002), 146-160

Olson, Rebecca, '"Too Gentle": Jealousy and Class in *Othello*', *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies,* 15.1 (2015), 3-25

Panek, Jennifer, *Widows and Suitors in Early Modern English Comedy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004)

"parasite, n.". OED Online. December 2016. Oxford University Press. http://www.oed.com.lcproxy.shu.ac.uk/view/Entry/137636?rskey=WRIUvF&result=1&isAdvanced=false

Parmigianino, 'Cupid Making his Bow', Oil on panel (Vienna: Kunsthistorisches Museum, c.1533-35)

Paster, Gail Kern, Katherine Rowe, Mary Floyd-Wilson, eds, *Reading the Early Modern Passions: Essays in the Cultural History of Emotion* (Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004)

Paster, Gail Kern, *Humoring the Body: Emotions and the Shakespearean Stage* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004)

Paster, Gail Kern, 'Melancholy Cats, Lugged Bears and Cosmology' in *Reading the Early Modern Passions: Essays in the Cultural History of Emotion* ed. by Gail Kern Paster, Katherine Rowe and Mary Floyd-Wilson (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), pp. 113-129

Paster, Gail Kern, *The Body Embarrassed: Drama and the Disciplines of Shame in Early Modern England* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1993)

Paster, Gail Kern, 'The Tragic Subject and Its Passions', in *The Cambridge Companion to Shakespearean Tragedy,* ed. by Claire McEachern (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), pp. 152-171

Pearson, Jacqueline, *Tragedy and Tragicomedy in the Plays of John Webster* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1980)

Peltomaa, Sari Katajala, 'A Good Wife? Demonic Possession and Discourses of Gender in Late Medieval Culture', in *Gender in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe,* ed. by Marianna G. Muravyeva and Raisa Maria Toivo (London: Routledge, 2013), pp. 73-88

Pender, Stephen, 'Subventing Disease: Anger, Passions, and the Non-naturals', in *Rhetorics of Bodily Disease and Health in Medieval and Early Modern England,* ed. by Jennifer C. Vaught (Surrey: Ashgate, 2010), pp. 193-218

Perry, Curtis, ed, *Eros and Power in English Renaissance Drama* (North Carolina: McFarland and Co, 2008)

"pestilence, n. and adv." *OED Online*. Oxford University Press, September 2016. Web. 4 November 2016

Plamper, Jan, *The History of Emotions: An Introduction,* trans. Keith Tribe (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015)

Plutarch, 'On Listening to Lectures', trans. Amyot, quoted in Gary Ferguson, *Queer (Re)readings in the French Renaissance: Homosexuality, Gender, Culture* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008)

Pollard, Tanya, *Drugs and Theatre in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005)

Preedy, Chloe, '(De)valuing the Crown in *Tamburlaine, Dido, Queen of Carthage,* and *Edward II', SEL Studies in English Literature 1500-1900,* 54.2 (2014), 259-277

Price, Merrall L., *Consuming Passions: The Use of Cannibalism in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (London: Routledge, 2003)

Primaudaye, Pierre de La, *The French Academie* (London: John Legat, 1618)

Prynne, William, *Histrio-mastix* (London: Edward Allde, 1633)

Rafanelli, Lisa M., and Erin E. Benay, eds, *Faith, Gender and the Senses in Italian Renaissance and Baroque Art* (Surrey: Ashgate, 2015)

Reddy, William M., *The Navigation of Feeling: A Framework for the History of Emotions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001)

Reynolds, Edward, *A Treatise of the Passions and Faculties of the Soule of Man,* 2nd edn (London: Printed by R. Hearne and John Norton, 1640)

Rickman, Johanna, *Love, Lust and License in Early Modern England: Illicit Sex and the Nobility* (Hampshire: Ashgate, 2008)

Robson, Mark, 'Looking with ears, hearing with eyes: Shakespeare and the ear of the early modern', *Early Modern Literary Studies,* 7.1/Special Issue 8 (2001), 1-23

Rochester, Joanne, *Staging Spectatorship in the Plays of Philip Massinger* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2010)

Rosenwein, Barbara H., *Generations of Feeling: A History of Emotions, 600-1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016)

Rowe, Katherine, 'Humoral Knowledge and Liberal Cognition in Davenant', in *Reading the Early Modern Passions: Essays in the Cultural History of Emotion,* ed. by Gail Kern Paster, Katherine Rowe, and Mary Floyd-Wilson (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), pp. 169-191

Rudnik, Michal Altbauer, 'Love for All: The Medical Discussion of Lovesickness in Jacob Zahalon's *The Treasure of Life',* in *Knowledge and Religion in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Asaph Ben-Tov, Yaacov Deutsch and Tamar Herzig (Leiden: Brill, 2013), pp. 87-118

Ruff, Julius R., *Violence in Early Modern Europe 1500-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001)

Salzman, Paul, 'Royalist Epic and Romance' in *The Cambridge Companion to Writing of the English Revolution,* ed. by N. H. Keeble (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp.215-167

Sambursky, Samuel, *The Physical World of the Greeks* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987)

Sanday, Peggy Reeves, *Divine Hunger: Cannibalism as a Cultural System* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986)

Schoenfeldt, Michael C., *Bodies and Selves in Early Modern England: Physiology and Inwardness in Spenser, Shakespeare, Herbert, and Milton* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999)

Scot, Reginald, *The Discoverie of Witchcraft*, 3rd edn (London:1665)

Seaton, James, *Literary Criticism from Plato to Postmodernism: The Humanistic Alternative* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014)

Sedgwick, Eve, *Touching Feeling: Affect Pedagogy, Performativity* (London: Duke University Press, 2003)

Senault, Jean François, *The Use of Passions*, trans. Henry Earl of Monmouth (London: J. L. and Humphrey Moseley, 1649)

Shagan, Ethan H., *The Rule of Moderation: Violence, Religion and the Politics of Restraint in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011)

Shakespeare, William, *The Complete Works*, ed. by Jonathan Bate and Eric Rasmussen (London: Macmillan, 2007)

Shannon Hendrix, John, and Charles H. Carman, *Renaissance Theories of Vision* (London: Routledge, 2010)

Shapiro, James, *1606: William Shakespeare and the Year of Lear* (London: Bloomsbury, 2015)

Shepard, Alexandra, *Meanings of Manhood in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006)

Showalter, Elaine, 'Representing Ophelia: Women, Madness, and the Responsibility of Feminist Criticism', in *Hamlet* ed. Susanne L. Wofford (New York: Bedford Books, 1994), pp.220-240

Sibbes, Richard, *A Breathing After God* (London: 1639), p.193

Simons, Patricia, *The Sex of Men in Premodern Europe: A Cultural History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011)

Sinfield, Alan, *Literature in Protestant England 1560-1660* (London: Routledge, 1983)

Smith, Bruce R., *The Acoustic World of Early Modern England: Attending to the O-Factor* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999)

Smith, Bruce R., *Homosexual Desire in Shakespeare's England: A Cultural Poetics* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994)

Smith, Bruce R., ‘Within, Without, Withinwards: The Circulation of Sound in Shakespeare’s Theatre’, in *Shakespeare’s Theatres and the Effects of Performance*, ed. by Farah Karim-Cooper and Tiffany Stern (London: Bloomsbury, 2015), pp.171-194

Smith, Simon, Jacqueline Watson, Amy Kenny, eds, *The Senses in Early Modern England, 1558-1660* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015)

Snow, Edward, ‘Sexual Anxiety and the Male Order of Things in Othello’, *English Literary Renaissance*, 10.3 (1980), 384-412

Solomon, Julie R., ‘You’ve got to Have Soul: Understanding the Passions in Early Modern Culture’, in *Rhetoric and Medicine in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Stephen Pender and Nancy S. Struever (London: Routledge, 2012), pp.195-228

Spivack, Charlotte, 'Alienation and Illusion: The Play-Within-the-Play on the Caroline Stage', *Medieval and Renaissance Drama in England*, 4 (1989), 195-211

Stavig, Mark, *John Ford and the Traditional Moral Order* (London: University of Wisconsin Press, 1968)

Steggle, Matthew, *Laughing and Weeping in Early Modern Theatres* (Hampshire: Ashgate, 2007)

Steggle, Matthew, ‘New Directions: Othello, the Moor of London: Shakespeare’s Black Britons’, in *Othello: A Critical Reader*, ed. by Robert C. Evans (London: Bloomsbury, 2015), pp.103-124

Stolberg, Michael, *Uroscopy in Early Modern Europe* (New York: Routledge, 2015)

Streete, Adrian, ‘Passions, Politics, and Subjectivity in Philip Massinger’s *The Emperor of the East*’, in *Passions and Subjectivity in Early Modern Culture* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013)

Struther, William, *A Treatise of Fasting* (Edinburgh, 1628)

Stubbes, Philip, *The Anatomie of Abuses* (London: John Kingston, 1583)

Sullivan, Garrett A., ‘Subjectivity and the Mind-Body: Extending the Self on the Renaissance Stage’, in *Embodied Cognition and Shakespeare’s Theatre: The Early Modern Body-Mind*, ed. by Laurie Johnson, John Sutton and Evelyn Tribble (London: Routledge, 2014), pp. 67-70

Sullivan, Erin, ‘Shakespeare and the History of Heartbreak’, *The Art of Medicine Series, The Lancet*, 382 (2013), 933-934

Sutton, John, *Philosophy and Memory Traces: Descartes to Connectionism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998)

Targoff, Ramie, *Common Prayer: The Language of Public Devotion in Early Modern England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001)

Tassi, Marguerite A., *Women and Revenge in Shakespeare: Gender, Genre and Ethics* (Selinsgrove: Susquehanna Press, 2011)

Taverner, Richard, *Erasmus Desiderius, Proverbes* (1539)

Taylor, Gary, *Moment by Moment by Shakespeare* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1985)

Thorpe, William, *The Examinacion of Master William Thorpe* (Antwerp: J. van Hoochstraten, 1530)

Thorssen, M.J., 'Massinger's Use of *Othello* in *The Duke of Milan*', *Studies in English Literature 1500-1900,* 2 (1979), 217-35

Tilmouth, Christopher, 'Passion and Intersubjectivity in Early Modern Literature', in *Passions and Subjectivity in Early Modern Culture,* ed. by Brian Cummings and Freya Sierhuis (Abingdon: Routledge, 2013), pp.13-32.

Totaro, Rebecca, 'Introduction', in *Representing the Plague in Early Modern England,* ed. by Rebecca Totaro and Ernest B. Gilman (London: Routledge, 2012)

Udall, Nicholas, *Desiderius Erasmus- Apothogemes* (London: R. Grafton, 1542)

Unknown, *Arden of Faversham* (London: Bloomsbury, 2007)

Van Elk, Martine, *Early Modern Women's Writing: Domesticity, Privacy, and the Public Sphere in England and the Dutch Republic* (California: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017)

Vaught, Jennifer C., *Masculinity and Emotion in Early Modern Literature* (Surrey: Ashgate, 2008)

Virgil, *The Aeneid,* trans. David West (London: Penguin Classics, 2003)

Vives, Juan Luis, *The Instruction of a Christian Woman* (London: Thomas Berthelet, 1529)

Waith, Eugene M., *Patterns and Perspectives in English Renaissance Drama* (London: University of Delaware Press, 1988)

Walker, Garthine, *Crime, Gender, and Social Order in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003)

Walters, Lisa, *Margaret Cavendish: Gender, Science and Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014)

Warner, Marina, *Alone of All Her Sex: The Myth and the Cult of the Virgin Mary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016)

Webster, John, *The Duchess of Malfi,* ed. by Michael Neill (London: Norton, 2015)

Webster, John, 'The Duchess of Malfi', in *The Duchess of Malfi and Other Plays,* ed. by Rene Weis (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), pp.103.201

Welch, Evelyn, 'The Senses in the Marketplace: Sensory Knowledge in a Material World', in *A Cultural History of the Senses in the Renaissance,* ed. by Herman Roodenburg (London: Bloomsbury, 2014), pp.61-86

Wells, Marion. A., *The Secret Wound: Love Melancholy and Early Modern Romance* (California: Stanford University Press, 2006)

Wetherell, Margaret, 'Trends in the Turn to Affect: A Social Psychological Critique', *Body and Society,* 21.2 (2014), 139-166

Whatley, William, *A Bride-Bush* (London: Felix Kyngston, 1619)

White, Martin, 'Introduction', in *The Roman Actor: A Tragedy* by Philip Massinger (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007)

Wiesner, Merry. E., *Early Modern Europe 1450-1789* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006)

Wiggins, Martin, *British Drama 1533-1642: A Catalogue* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015)

Wiggins, Martin, ed, *A Woman Killed with Kindness and Other Domestic Plays* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008)

Wilkinson, Kate, 'The Performance History', in *'Tis Pity She's a Whore* ed. by Lisa Hopkins (London: Continuum, 2008)

Woods, Gillian, 'New Directions: The Confessional Identities of *'Tis Pity She's a Whore*', in *'Tis Pity She's a Whore: A critical Guide,* ed. by Lisa Hopkins (London: Continuum 2010), pp. 114-135

Woodbridge, Linda 'Renaissance Bogeymen: The Necessary Monsters of the Age', in *A Companion to the Worlds of the Renaissance,* ed. by Guido Ruggiero (Oxford: Blackwell, 2002), pp. 444-459

Wright, Thomas, *The Passions of the Minde in Generall*, 2nd edn (London: Valentine Simmes, 1604)

Wynne-Davis, Marion, '"The Swallowing Womb": Consumed and Consuming Women in *Titus Andronicus*', in *The Matter of Difference: Materialist Feminist Criticism of Shakespeare,* ed. by Marion Wynne-Davies (New York: Cornell University Press, 1991)

"wanton, adj. and n.". OED Online. March 2016. Oxford University Press. http://www.oed.com.lcproxy.shu.ac.uk/view/Entry/225544?rskey=fKzvNT&result=1&isAdvanced=false

Appendix

A pie chart to show the different categories of the references to sight in Marlowe's *Dido, Queen of Carthage.*