“MORTAL TIMES”: EMBODIMENTS OF TIME AND THE SUCCESSION CRISIS IN SHAKESPEAREAN DRAMA

by

DOROTHY TODD

(Under the Direction of Sujata Iyengar)

ABSTRACT

This dissertation examines the fraught relationship between depictions and descriptions of time in Shakespeare’s drama and the final years of Queen Elizabeth I’s reign. This reading of Shakespeare’s drama emerges from an understanding of early modern England’s attempts to make sense of and to mark time in a specific historical moment that was fascinated with looking both to its own past and toward its uncertain future. As the last of the Tudor monarchs, Queen Elizabeth represented at once a seamless continuation of the past and a critical break from the future. This dissertation considers how Shakespeare’s drama engages with England’s anxiety concerning how the nation would conceive of both its history following the death of the childless Queen and its unknown future in a rapidly changing religious, political, and economic world. I argue that Shakespeare’s drama articulates the anxiety concerning Queen Elizabeth I’s aging body and her lack of a biological heir, an anxiety that manifests itself in a cultural obsession with marking and measuring time through objects, texts, bodies, and the environment. Even upon the death of the Queen and the accession of James I, an

obsession with time and nostalgia for Queen Elizabeth I persists in Shakespeare's late plays.

INDEX WORDS: Early Modern Drama, William Shakespeare, Elizabeth I, Time, Temporality, Timekeeping, Succession, Mortality, Historiography

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B.A., Washington and Lee University, 2010

A Dissertation Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of The University of Georgia in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

ATHENS, GEORGIA

2017

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May 2017

# DEDICATION

To my parents, Mary Lane and Danny Todd, and to my grandmother, Ninny, for fostering my love of learning, for being my ultimate cheerleaders and number one fans, and for teaching me that laughter really is the best medicine.

# ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I thank my committee members, Drs. Sujata Iyengar, Cynthia Turner Camp, Miriam Jacobson, and Frances Teague, for their insightful feedback and unflagging support throughout this project. A special word of thanks goes to Dr. Iyengar, my advisor and major professor, who made my time at the University of Georgia unforgettable. From the halls of Hilsman Middle School to the streets of Montpellier, France, she provided me with once-in-a-lifetime opportunities that greatly enriched my experiences as a student and scholar. I am especially thankful for Dr. Iyengar's enthusiasm for my dissertation, her patience when I submitted early drafts, her detailed suggestions and feedback for my project as it developed, and her willingness to challenge me to become a more conscientious and engaged scholar. Even when it was slow going, Dr. Iyengar had faith in me and in my dissertation.

I would also like to thank the University of Georgia Graduate School for their support of my dissertation through the Innovative and Interdisciplinary Research Grant, which allowed me to conduct research at Harvard University's Collection of Historical Scientific Instruments. Dr. Sarah J. Schechner's enthusiasm for and knowledge of sundials, sand clocks, and astrolabes helped get my project off the ground when it was little more than a series of thoughts about the materiality of time.

I am also extremely grateful for the UGA at Oxford Program for the opportunity to research, write, and live in Oxford. Without the hard work of Dr. James McClung, these experiences would not have been possible. Thanks and great respect go to

Professor Emma Smith of Hertford College for her genuine responses to drafts of chapters 3 and 4, which helped strengthen and reinvigorate my project.

Thanks to my colleagues and friends in the Department of English who were always willing to read my work, to join me in stimulating conversations, and to listen to me think aloud as I tried to conceptualize my project. I am also extremely grateful for my PhD friends, Jessie Barnett, Nancy Moore, and Kalika Sands, who not only showed me that I could make it to the finish line, but were there, cheering for me, the entire way.

Finally, I thank the seminar leaders and participants at the 2015, 2016, and 2017 annual meetings of the Shakespeare Association of America, as well as the organizers and attendees of the 2016 Southeastern Renaissance Conference, for providing me with stimulating and collegial forums in which I could share research from this project.

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# INTRODUCTION

At a 1602 pageant at Harefield Place, a personification of Time, carrying an hourglass, approached Queen Elizabeth I and declared: "[M]y glasse runnes not: indeed it hathe bine stopt a longe time."[1] Employing the image of the hourglass, an object frequently employed in early modern images of time, Time reports to Elizabeth that time has stopped; the sand in Time's hourglass does not flow from one segment of the glass to the other. Yet only one year after this pageant, Queen Elizabeth I is dead.

This juxtaposition of Queen Elizabeth I and conceptions of time in Elizabethan England sits at the center of my dissertation. More specifically, my project explores the fraught relationship between depictions and descriptions of time in Shakespeare's drama and the final years of Queen Elizabeth I's reign. I argue that anxiety concerning Queen Elizabeth I's aging body and her lack of a biological heir, as well as concerns about the turn of a new century and an end to the period of peace that had defined the majority of the Queen's reign, contributed to a cultural obsession with marking and measuring time through objects, texts, bodies, and the environment, especially in the final decade of the Queen's life. Shakespeare's drama participates in and responds to this interrogation of time through its multifaceted and, at times, contradictory depictions of time. Even upon the death of the Queen and the accession of James I, an obsession with time as a vehicle for nostalgia for Queen Elizabeth I persists in Shakespeare's late plays.

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[1] *The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth*, ed. John Nichols, 3 vols. (1823; rpt. New York: Burt Franklin, [1966]), 3: 589.

**Queen Elizabeth I, the last Tudor**

This reading of Shakespeare's drama emerges from an understanding of early modern England's attempts to make sense of and to mark time in a specific historical moment that was fascinated with looking both to its own past, including the classical past, and toward its uncertain future. As the last of the Tudor monarchs, Queen Elizabeth I represented at once a seamless continuation of the past and a critical break from the future. The War of the Roses between the houses of Lancaster and York drew to a close at the Battle of Bosworth Field in which Henry Tudor, second earl of Richmond, defeated and killed Richard III and became the first of the Tudor monarchs as Henry VII. The year of the Battle of Bosworth Field, 1485, also coincided with the introduction of the printing press to England. Henry VIII's six marriages, his separation from the Catholic Church and dissolution of the monasteries, and his establishment of the Church of England rewrote the religious and political rules of England and in the process redefined the relationship between England and the Continent. Following Henry VIII's death, Edward VI, Lady Jane Grey for a mere nine days, and Mary I all inherited the throne between 1547 and 1553. A return to Catholicism and a crackdown on Protestant practices and beliefs accompanied Mary I's bloody reign, but the country returned to the Church of England upon the succession of Elizabeth I to the throne in 1558.

Queen Elizabeth I's reign was by no means a time defined by concord—there were threats against the Queen's life and the possibility of a Spanish invasion loomed large in the minds of the English people—but it was during Elizabeth I's time upon the throne that English trade expanded substantially and England began its colonial

enterprise, the Church of England found a middle way, and the arts and sciences, including the English theater, flourished. Perhaps most important of all, Queen Elizabeth I's reign was marked by a period of stability. Between her father Henry VIII's accession to the throne in 1509 and Elizabeth I's own accession to the throne in 1558, England had changed state religions twice and had seen eight Queens (Catherine of Aragon, Anne Boleyn, Jane Seymour, Anne of Cleves, Catherine Howard, Katherine Parr, Lady Jane Grey, Mary I). Once upon the throne, however, Queen Elizabeth I would rule England as a Protestant nation for the next forty-five years.

While the Queen's reign of nearly half a century did provide stability to the nation, Elizabeth I, as Carole Levin has demonstrated, faced unique challenges as a female ruler in a political, religious, and cultural milieu dominated by men.[2] Jean-Christophe Mayer, echoing Levin, argues that "[f]rom the very beginning of her reign to the last days of her life, Elizabeth was never allowed to forget that she was a woman, that she was unmarried and childless, and that in the opinion of many—especially the members of her Privy Council—this created a situation which was of much concern."[3] As soon as Queen Elizabeth I came to the throne, both Parliament and her Privy Council began to consider potential marriages for the Queen. A well-matched marriage would ultimately result in both a political Protestant alliance for England and an heir to succeed to the throne after Elizabeth I. For many years, Parliament saw the Queen's marriage as the only way to ensure the stability of the state because "barren succession promised an

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[2] See Carole Levin, *The Heart and Stomach of a King*, 2nd ed. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 2013).

[3] Jean-Christophe Mayer, introduction to *Breaking the Silence on the Succession: A Sourcebook of Manuscripts & Rare Elizabethan Texts (c. 1587-1603)*, ed. Jean-Christophe Mayer (Montpellier: Astræa Texts, 2003), 1.

unstable political future."[4] From the start, however, Elizabeth I seemed to want to have little to do with debates and political maneuvers that were rooted in controlling her virginal body. Three years after her accession to the throne, Queen Elizabeth I reportedly told Parliament, "When I am dead they shall succeed that have the most right."[5] While the Queen's quip acknowledges the right to rule as a divine right, her statement cleverly avoids any discussion of how this right would be transferred to the inheritor. Even at this early point in the succession debates, Queen Elizabeth I was not willing to concede that her successor will come to the throne via lineal descent.

While debates concerning whom the Queen should marry and with whom she should produce an heir were centered in Parliament, these conversations spilled beyond the closed doors of Parliament and the Privy Council.[6] The public, not surprisingly, took a keen interest in the Queen's suitors and courtships. As Henry Hook wrote in 1601, the issues of succession became "common, [...] handled and dandled trivyally, [...] chatting and chapping matter for tavernes and alehouses."[7] Pamphlets, letters, and even dramatic performances, both those addressed to the Queen and those intended for members of the public, took up the issue of the nation's need for the Queen to marry and produce an heir.

During the summer progresses of 1565, the Recorder of Coventry greeted the Queen with an oration that included a blessing of fertility and longevity:

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[4] Kimberly Anne Coles, "'Perfect hole': Elizabeth I, Spenser, and Chaste Productions," *English Literary Renaissance* 32, no. 1 (2002): 36.

[5] Elizabeth I, "Queen Elizabeth's Conversations with the Scottish Ambassador, William Maitland, Laird of Lethington, September and October 1561," in *Elizabeth I: Collected Works,* ed. Leah S. Marcus, et al. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000): 65.

[6] For detailed accounts of the courtships of the Queen and Parliament and the Privy Council's involvement in these courtship, see Levin, *The Heart and Stomach of a King*, 39-65; J. E. Neale, *Elizabeth I*, (1934; repr., Chicago: Academy Chicago Publishers, 2005), 69-84, 137-156, 243-264.

[7] Henry Hooke, *Of succession to the Crowne of England* in *Breaking the Silence on the Succession*, ed. Jean-Christophe Mayer (Montpellier: Astræa Texts, 2003), 275; British Library Royal 17B 11, f. 5$^{v}$.

> [L]ike as you are a mother to your kingdom, and to the subjects of the same, by justice and motherly care and clemency, so you may, by God's goodness and justice, be a natural mother, and, having blest issue of your princely body, may live to see you children's children unto the third or fourth generation.[8]

While the Recorder's blessing employs the traditional rhetoric of the Queen as the mother of the nation, a rhetorical trope that the Queen herself introduced and propagated, the Recorder also seems to use this image of the Queen as the mother of England to emphasize that Elizabeth I has not yet fulfilled her duty of producing an heir. The Recorder's evocation of the "third or fourth generation" further emphasizes the importance of lineal succession in the minds of the English. After all, affronts to the tradition of patrilineal succession define much of England's medieval history prior to the Tudor monarchy.

In 1560, Sir Thomas Chaloner presented Queen Elizabeth I with a New Year's gift, a book praising Henry VIII. The book about the Queen's father concluded with the following phrase, pleading with the Queen to produce an heir: "[B]estow the bonds of your modesty on a husband…For then a little Henry will play in the palace for us, a handsome child who happily will bring to mind his grandfather."[9] By connecting the appeals to the Queen to produce an heir with praise for her father via the figure of "a little Henry," the book that Chaloner presents to the Queen draws on both Elizabeth I's sense of duty to the nation and her own status as a member of the Tudor line in order to encourage her to marry and bear children. The standard trope of drawing attention to and

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[8] *The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth*, 1: 197.
[9] Thomas Chaloner, *Thomas Chaloner's "In Laudem Henrici Octavi,"* trans. and ed. J.B. Gabel and C.C. Schlam (Lawrence, KS: Coronado Press, 1979), 99.

praising the Queen's lineage is infused with a sense of anxiety concerning the Queen's lack of a husband and heir.

While Elizabeth I maintained that she preferred the life of a maiden, she did acknowledge that her Privy Council or Parliament might force her to marry to form a political alliance or to assuage fears about succession. In a 1564 letter addressed to the Duke of Württemberg, the Queen, in the third person, admits that she might have to alter her lifestyle for the future well-being and stability of the nation: "Although shee never yet was weaire of her maiden and single life, yet in regarde shee was the laste issue her father left, and only of her house, the care of her kingdome, and love of posteritie did ever councell her to alter this course of life."[10]

Yet as Parliament, her Privy Council, and many of her subjects urged the Queen to wed, others begged her to stay single and childless, especially during the courtship between Elizabeth I and Francis, Duke of Alençon and Anjou.[11] After the Queen had refused marriage for nearly twenty years, people began to worry that marriage and pregnancy were simply too dangerous for a women of Elizabeth I's age.[12] John Stubbes, in his 1579 pamphlet *The discoverie of a gaping gulf vvhereinto England is like to be swallovved by an other French mariage*, suggests that the marriage between Elizabeth I and Alençon could result in the death of both Elizabeth I and a potential future heir. He argues that her physicians, if they could speak of a potential pregnancy without the fear of displeasing her, would tell the Queen " how excedingly dangerous they find it, by theyr learning for her maiestie at these yeeres to haue hyr first chyld, yea, hovv fearfull

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[10] John Somers. *Somers Tracts: A collection of scarce and valuable tracts, on the most interesting and entertaining subjects: but chiefly such as relate to the history and constitution of these kingdoms*, ed. Walter Scott (1809; rpt. New York: AMS Press, [1965]), 1:175.
[11] Levin, *The Heart and Stomach of a King,* 64.
[12] Ibid, 61.

the expectation of death is to mother and chyld."[13] Stubbes even goes so far as to argue that Alençon's motivations for courting the Queen were rooted in the danger Elizabeth I would face bearing children at her age; if the Queen died in childbirth, France would be perfectly positioned for a takeover of Protestant England.

The unpopular and ultimately unsuccessful marriage negotiations between Queen Elizabeth I and Francis, Duke of Alençon and Anjou, which occurred from 1578 to 1581, mark the closest Elizabeth I ever came to marriage.[14] These failed negotiations also marked a change in iconography as emblems of virginity shifted from representing a marriageable maiden to a queen whose power was rooted in her chastity.[15] As the years passed and Queen Elizabeth I did not marry, the virginal identity that the Queen and her advisors carefully fashioned had to be reconfigured to remain powerful. The Queen's body, once a symbol of her virginal availability for political alliances and marriage, became a symbol of her dedication to the people and of her mystique as an exceptional woman worthy of respect and praise. Furthermore, as Levin has demonstrated, the Queen's continued employment of a chaste, virginal maiden was a "political strategy, and one with considerable merit."[16] Unmarried and childless, Elizabeth I worried about neither the personal and political implications of a possible lack of fertility, which had plagued both her father and her sister Mary, nor the risk of death related to childbirth and subsequent diseases, fates to which Jane Seymour and Katherine Parr had succumbed.[17]

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[13] John Stubbes, *The discoverie of a gaping gul vvhereinto England is like the be swallovved by an other French mariage*. (London: Printed by H. Singleton for W. Page, 1579), C8$^{v}$.
[14] Levin, *The Heart and Stomach of a King*, 63-64.
[15] Susan Doran, "Why Did Elizabeth Not Marry?," in *Dissing Elizabeth: Negative Representations of Gloriana*, ed. Julia M. Walker (Durham, NC, Duke University Press, 1998), 37; Thomas S. Freeman and Susan Doran, introduction to *The Myth of Elizabeth,* ed. Susan Doran and Thomas S. Freeman (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 10.
[16] Levin, *The Heart and Stomach of a King*, 65.
[17] Ibid.

Because the construction of Queen Elizabeth I's identity as the Virgin Queen is in and of itself a complex topic to which countless books and articles have been dedicated, I will only broadly touch on portrayals of the Queen that emphasize her virginity and chastity in order to demonstrate how what Roy Strong terms the "Cult of Elizabeth" intersects with renewed interest in the question of succession in the 1590s.[18] The Queen's appropriation of Marian imagery in order to replace the Catholic cult of Mary with a Protestant Cult of Elizabeth is one of the key features of Elizabeth I's identity as the Virgin Queen.[19] The Queen took advantage of the fact that her birthday, September 7, fell on the same day as the feast of the Nativity of the Virgin Mary in order to demonstrate a virginal symbolic relationship between the mother of Christ and the Queen of England.[20] By drawing on the associations between herself and the Virgin Mary, the Queen was also able to emphasize, in the face of her lack of a biological heir, her "metaphorical maternity" as she depicted herself as the mother of England and its citizens.[21]

While the succession debates that defined the early years of Queen Elizabeth I's reign have been well documented, only recently have historians begun to consider how the succession debate reared its head once more in the final decade of the Queen's

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[18] Roy Strong, *The Cult of Elizabeth: Elizabethan Portraiture and Pageantry* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977). See also Stephen Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare,* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), 166-68; Louis A. Montrose, "'Shaping Fantasies': Figurations of Gender and Power in Elizabethan Culture," *Representations* 1, no. 2 (1983): 61-94; Helen Hackett, *Virgin Mother, Maiden Queen: Elizabeth I and the Cult of the Virgin* (London: Macmillan, 1995).
[19] Roy Strong, *The Cult of Elizabeth*, 16, 125; Carole Levin, *The Heart and Stomach of a King*, 26-8.
[20] Doran, "Why Did Elizabeth Not Marry?," 36-37.
[21] Christine Coch, "'Mother of my Contreye': Elizabeth I and Tudor Constructions of Motherhood," *English Literary Renaissance* 26, no. 3 (1991): 424-25.

reign.[22] Joel Hurstfield shows that the succession crisis did not end after the failed marriage negotiations between Elizabeth I and Alençon and the execution of Mary Stuart.[23] Succession debates reemerged as members of Elizabeth I's Privy Council passed away and were replaced, factionalism in the court increased, and discontent among religious minorities increased.[24] More recently, Susan Doran and Paulina Kewes's edited collection *Doubtful and Dangerous: the question of succession in late Elizabethan England* demonstrates that the succession question in the years following the Spanish Armada shaped religious discourse, international policy, and governmental reforms, and that many Elizabethan texts—including Shakespeare's *Hamlet*—take up the issue of the succession.[25]

A defining element of the Cult of the Virgin Queen that Elizabeth I constructed was the emphasis on and literalization of the Queen's motto *semper eadem*: always the same. To appear constant and steadfast, the Queen presented an image of herself that did not age. Even in the later years of her life, she employed iconography and language that emphasized her youthfulness and virginity. In addition to wearing heavy cosmetics and a wig when she appeared for public events, the Queen also exercised great control over her portraiture; every few years, she would sit for a court artist whose portrait would then

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[22] See Mortimer Levine, *The Early Elizabethan Succession Question, 1558-1568* (Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1966); J.E. Neale, *Elizabeth I*, 117-36.
[23] Joel Hurstfield, *Freedom, Corruption, and Government in Elizabethan England* (Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 1976), 369.
[24] Patrick Collinson, "Ecclesiastical Vitriol: religious satire in the 1590s and the invention of puritanism," in *The Reign of Elizabeth I: Court and Culture in the Last Decade*, ed. John Guy (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 153.
[25] See Susan Doran and Paulina Kewes, eds. *Doubtful and dangerous: the question of succession in late Elizabethan England* (New York, Manchester University Press, 2014).

serve as the model upon which other artists based their portraits.[26] Paintings created during the final decades of her life, thus, continued to depict the Queen with a young, fresh face. Artists such as Isaac Oliver who made the mistake of depicting the Queen as she actually appeared, as an old lady, found that the Privy Council summarily confiscated and destroyed the offensive pictures.[27] Elizabeth I's construction of a specific identity that was rooted in the notion of time standing still highlights the contradictions she embodied. The Queen insisted on the identity of a virginal maid who did not age, but at the same time, her citizens recognized that this image of the Queen was irreconcilable with the reality the nation faced. Regardless of the identity that the Queen embraced and disseminated, that the Queen was approaching death and that she had not provided her people with a biological heir were undeniable facts, even if most expected James VI to succeed peacefully following the Queen's death.

My dissertation argues that England's continued concerns about succession in the last decade of the Queen's life became intertwined on Shakespeare's stage with broader concerns about the marking, managing, and measuring of time in the early modern period. The nearly continuous tolling of bells, the increased availability of printed almanacs, an abundance of miniature time-finding and time-keeping tools from sundials to watches, an influx of people moving from the country to the city and thus away from the seasonal rhythms of the land, and the aging body of the Queen all encouraged an acute awareness of time. By pairing investigations of these diverse ways of making sense of time with Shakespearean plays that engage with the historical and mythological past,

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[26] Catherine L. Howey, "Dressing a Virgin Queen: Court Women, Dress, and Fashioning the Image of England's Queen Elizabeth I," *Early Modern Women* 4 (2009): 202; James Shapiro, *A Year in the Life of William Shakespeare, 1599* (New York: HarperCollins, 2005), 157.
[27] Shapiro, *A Year in the Life of William Shakespeare*, 157.

my dissertation argues that Shakespeare's drama both communicated and sought to assuage England's anxiety about historicizing its Tudor past and comprehending its uncertain future. My dissertation considers how Shakespeare's drama, through its multiple iterations of time, engages with debates about succession and concerns about the Queen's aging body. As England struggled to conceive of its identity following the death of the childless Queen and to prepare for an unknown future in a rapidly changing religious, political, and economic world, Shakespeare's plays join the conversation through their depictions and descriptions of time as multifaceted, contradictory, and unwieldy.

**Succession and Time**

Since the concepts of succession and time figure so largely in this dissertation, a few definitions are in order. "Succession," as an early modern legal term, meant "[t]he process by which one person succeeds another in the occupation or possession of an estate, a throne, or the like."[28] In its legal meaning, succession defined Queen Elizabeth I's reign in many ways. Even before Elizabeth I even rose to the throne, questions concerning succession swirled around her. After all, both Mary and Elizabeth were technically Henry's illegitimate children due to his divorces, annulments, and remarriages. Though a 1544 act of parliament named Edward, then Mary, then Elizabeth as successors to the throne, there were people who did not want to see Elizabeth on the throne, especially after England had reverted to Catholicism under Mary I.[29] Discussions about Elizabeth I's right to rule continued following her accession; Queen Elizabeth I's

[28] OED, "succession," n., 5a.
[29] Neale, *Elizabeth I*, 9.

first Parliament passed a law in 1559 forbidding people to question Elizabeth I's legitimacy. The legislation, in part, reads:

> yf any person or person [...] shall maliciously, advisedly, and dyrectly say, publishe, declare, mainteine, or hold opinion, that the Queenes Majestie that now is, during her lyfe, is not or ought not to be the Queen of this Realme [...] then euery suche offendour [...] shall forfaite and lose to the Queenes highnesse, her heyres and successours, al his & theyr goodes and cattels, and the whole issues and profites of his and their lands, tenementes, and hereditamentes, for tearme of the lyfe of euery such offendour or offendours, and also shall haue and suffer duryng his and theyr lyues perpetuall imprisonment.[30]

Yet even as people debated whether or not Elizabeth I had the right to rise to the throne and to rule England due to her lineage, her sex, and a whole other host of factors, questions about who would follow in the Queen's footsteps had already begun to circulate and to gain traction. As I have demonstrated above, these concerns about succession manifested themselves during the early years of her reign. Parliament and the Privy Council arranged courtships for Elizabeth I, and a host of texts urged the Queen to marry, produce offspring, and ensure the continued stability of the Protestant Nation. In the last two decades of her reign, after the failed courtship between Alençon and Elizabeth I, continued requests for the Queen to name an heir and unofficial conversations with James VI of Scotland, including the "maternal and tutorial correspondence that [the Queen] had maintained for years with James," became the primary means through which Elizabeth and her government tried to address the

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[30] *Anno primo Reginæ Elizabethe at the Parliament begunne at Westminster, the xiij of Januarie* (London: By Richarde Iugge and Iohn Cawood, Printers to the Queenes Maiestie, 1559 [1573]), D1$^{r}$.

succession question.[31] At the end of the day, Elizabeth I and England were lucky. Elizabeth I outlived Mary Stuart, the dangerous rival claimant to the throne, the attempts on the Queen's life were unsuccessful, and Spain's threats of invasion never materialized on English soil. It is my contention, however, that these concerns about Elizabeth I's succession both prior to and after her accession reveal an early modern interest in an even more foundational meaning of succession. "Succession" can also mean "the course, lapse, or process *of* time," and the phrase "in succession" means "one after another in regular sequence."[32] Both of these additional meanings of succession were in use by the beginning of the sixteenth century. These meanings of "succession" that are not connected to legal issues of heirs and inheritance work to demonstrate this dissertation's central point concerning the connection between succession in its legal meaning and the diverse temporalities in Shakespeare's plays that destabilize and problematize time as a concept that proceeds in clear, linear succession.

Related to these notions of succession as the uniform, forward movement of time is the basic understanding of time as a forward marching, unstoppable flow of blank time. Yet neither early modern England nor we in the twenty-first century experience time merely as the uniform, linear march of time as the earth revolves around the sun and simultaneously spins on its axis. Time is a lived experience, and at the core of this notion is the reality that we experience moments of time differently. Even though we know that all moments of time are equal in length, we experience them as though these moments are of different lengths. Some moments seem to last forever, while others are indescribably

[31] Neale, *Elizabeth I*, 403.
[32] OED, "succession," n., 3; phr., 2a.

short. Augustine, in the fourth century, looks to God for help in reconciling these two contradictory but coexisting experiences of time:

> Nevertheless, O Lord, we do perceive intervals of time; we compare them among themselves, and we say that some are longer and others shorter. We even measure how much longer or shorter one period of time is than another; we can answer that this period is double or triple, while that is single, that is, just as long as another. But, we measure periods of time as they are passing by; we do this measure at the time of sense perception. So, who can measure the past period which are already out of existence, or the future one which do not yet exist—unless, perhaps, someone is going to dare to say that the non-existent can be measured? Therefore, while time is passing into the past, it can be perceived and measured; but when it has passed away, it cannot, for it does not exist.[33]

More than a thousand years later, Shakespeare, through the character of Rosalind who is dressed as Ganymede, articulates this same truism concerning our experience of lived time: "Time travels in divers paces with divers persons. I'll tell you who time ambles withal, who time trots withal, who time gallops with, and who he stands still withal."[34]

At odds with the Queen's motto, *semper eadem*, which emphasizes the arrest of time, are both of these understandings of time. It should come as no surprise, then, that the Queen's continued emphasis on her young, virginal body, her disinterest in marriage and childbirth, and her deferral of questions concerning who would succeed her on the throne led to anxiety concerning the passage of time. Shakespeare's drama, I argue,

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[33] Augustine, *Confessions*, trans. Vernon J. Bourke (1953; repr., Washington D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 2008), 347.
[34] William Shakespeare, *As You Like It*, The Arden Third Series, ed. Juliet Dusinberre (London: Arden Shakespeare, 2006), 3.2.313-17.

functioning as the "abstract and brief chronicles of the time," demonstrates an acute awareness of this temporal anxiety and recreates this dislocation in time through its multiple and contradictory depictions of time.[35]

**Time in Shakespeare's Drama**

This dissertation focuses specifically on Shakespeare's drama. Shakespeare's plays, of course, are not the only early modern texts that demonstrate a growing interest in how we experience and mark time nor are they the only plays from the period that engage with concerns about Queen Elizabeth I, historiography, nationalism, memory, or nostalgia. Because of the robust scholarship that argues that Shakespeare is particularly invested in time both as a thematic concern and as a structural element in his plays, however, Shakespeare's drama serves as a natural case study for this project that is particularly interested in understandings of time during the last years of Elizabeth I's and the first years of James I's reigns.[36] As James Shapiro argues in *A Year in the Life of Shakespeare, 1599*, Shakespeare was especially "alert to the factional world of contemporary politics" and was uniquely positioned between two generations of great playwrights.[37] For these reasons, Shakespeare's works provide a uniquely rich, nuanced, and multifaceted view of time that is intimately connected to the time in which they were produced.

Furthermore, I limit this dissertation to the study of Shakespeare's drama because of the inextricability of the theater from time. As Davis Scott Kastan in *Shakespeare and the Shapes of Time* has demonstrated, the theater is necessarily bound up in time in ways

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[35] William Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, Arden Third Series, eds. Ann Thompson and Neil Taylor (London: Arden Shakespeare, 2006), 2.2.462-63.
[36] For a review of the scholarship on Shakespeare and time, see below.
[37] Shapiro, *A Year in the Life of Shakespeare*, 17.

that are unique to the stage.[38] Shakespeare famously threw caution to the wind when it came to the classical unity of time; only *The Tempest* makes any attempt to match the amount of time that passes on stage with the passage of time beyond the walls of the theater. The "two hours' traffic of our stage" of Shakespeare's plays almost always depends upon the compression and telescoping of time, and as Matthew D. Wagner argues in *Shakespeare, Theatre, and Time*, time forms an essential part of Shakespeare's stage praxis.[39]

Additionally, the six plays that this dissertation examines in detail all contain moments of metatheatricality. Through plays within the plays, moments in which characters consciously perform the roles and identities of other characters, and the plays' self-awareness of their status as staged and performed entertainments, the plays under consideration in this dissertation all acknowledge their status as time-bound performances and draw attention to the performativity of the Queen's continued self-fashioning in the final decades of her reign.

My dissertation progresses from Shakespeare's early comedies, through his great tragedies and English histories, and finally to his late romances. In this way, my dissertation provides a cross-section of Shakespeare's dramatic works as I consider plays across genres and periods of composition. I have also selected these six plays to serve as my case studies because each of these plays, though to varying degrees, engages with concerns about heirs and lineal succession. Each play also articulates a unique, multi-

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[38] See David Scott Kastan, *Shakespeare and the Shapes of Time* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1982).

[39] William Shakespeare, *Romeo and Juliet* , Arden Third Series, ed. René Weiss (London: Bloomsbury, 2012), prologue 12 ; Matthew D. Wagner, *Shakespeare, Theatre, and Time* (New York: Routledge, 2012), 2.

dimensional relationship with time that is mediated through both the succession debates of the 1590s and through the theatricality that defines drama.

My first chapter argues that the rhetoric of seasonal and festive time is inscribed upon women's bodies in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* to suggest an alternate reality, a world outside of the Elizabethan court, that supports the continued unruliness of the female sexual body. Building upon *Shakespeare's Festive Comedy* in which C.L. Barber identifies the connection between the festive occasions and the natural cycles of the seasons in Shakespeare's comedies, I argue that the woods beyond Athens function as a heterotopia in which festive and natural time is inverted and interrogated in a feminine space.[40] The play's use of lunar symbolism, as well as markers of seasonal and sylvan time, emphasizes the failures of attempts to bend both female sexuality and the natural world to men's needs and desires. We see Elizabeth I's attempts at self-containment amidst marriage negotiations and parliamentary debates reflected in Titania's actions as she wants to adopt the changeling boy as her own, makes herself sexually unavailable to Oberon, and disrupts the seasons in a show of female sexual power.

The second chapter of this dissertation considers the unwieldy telescoping of time in *Julius Caesar* and argues that the absence of days in the play's timeline both reveals the play's interest in the Gregorian calendar controversy and contributes to the play's development of an uncanny temporality. This chapter builds upon the temporal scholarship of Sigurd Burckhartd in *Shakespearean Meanings* and Steve Sohmer's *Shakespeare's Mystery Play*, as well on Marjorie Garber's *Shakespeare's Ghost Writers*, to suggest that the play's uncanny temporality recreates the cognitive dislocation that undoubtedly occurred when competing calendar systems vied for adherence across

[40] C. L. Barber, *Shakespeare's Festive Comedies* (Princeton: Princeton University Press,) 15.

Protestant and Catholic Europe.[41] The uncanny temporality in which the past, present, and future come to haunt one another suggests that even in the final years of Queen Elizabeth I's reign, England was already thinking of itself in post-Tudor terms.

The two middle chapters of my dissertation, which address *Richard II* and *Henry IV, Parts 1 and 2*, most obviously engage with questions of succession because they are histories that examine the passing of the crown from one head to another. Building on Ricardo J. Quinones's argument in *The Renaissance Discovery of Time* that in the Renaissance, "progeny is one [...] value that emerges from silence and contends with the more sharply defined pressures of time," these chapters examine both how procreation can function as a means of countering time and what happens when others do not respect the line of succession that one's offspring is supposed to ensure.[42] In *Richard II*, we see the King not respecting the laws of inheritance when he takes the inheritance of Bolingbroke following John of Gaunt's death. It should come as no surprise then, that when Richard II has no son of his own and proves himself to be a weak king, Bolingbroke shows no interest in respecting the rule of patrilineal descent and seizes the crown from the heirless Richard. My chapter on *Richard II* argues that the clock jack to which Richard compares himself serves as an image through which we can access the play's primary epistemologies of time; Richard's horological metaphor reveals the play's interest in querying the divine right of kings and queens specifically with regards to the crown's ability to shape and manipulate time.

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[41] Sigurd Burckhardt, *Shakespearean Meanings* (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1968); Steve Sohmer, *Shakespeare's Mystery Play: The opening of the Globe theatre 1599* (New York: St Martin's, 1999); Marjorie Garber, *Shakespeare's Ghost Writers*, (New York: Routledge, 1987).
[42] Ricardo J. Quinines, *The Renaissance Discovery of Time* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1972), 17.

*The Henry IV* plays are most centrally concerned with the issue of succession. They revolve around Hal's waywardness and the ways in which he must prepare himself to take the throne following the death of his father. *Henry IV*, *Parts 1 and 2* examine the education and preparation of a prince who is preparing to be king. My chapter on the *Henry IV* plays adds a temporal dimension to Patricia Parker's *Literary Fat Ladies* in order to argue that both the characters Hotspur and Falstaff and the structure of the plays, in which characters constantly perform future events or recapitulate past events, develop historical time in the Elizabethan theater as full of deferrals and digressions.[43] Furthermore, these false starts, amplifications, deferrals, and digressions in the structure of the plays' narrative serve to illustrate that though the time in which the crown passes hands is always charged with anxiety and fear, the smooth transition of power ultimately defines these times.

*The Winter's Tale* stages questions of succession in quite a different way, as Leontes has heirs at the play's opening, but through his own actions, seemingly eradicates those heirs. The death of Mamillius and supposed deaths of Hermione and Leontes's baby girl (Perdita) leave Leontes heirless. Only when Perdita appears in Sicilia with Florizel, the wayward youth who is to be the heir of the Kingdom of Bohemia, is the future of both kingdoms secured. In my final chapter, I extend my project to the Jacobean period and consider how *The Winter's Tale* interrogates the notion of embodied time through emblems of time that create nostalgia both for the dead Queen and for the Tudor dynasty.

My project does not seek to overturn foundational texts on time in Shakespeare but instead builds on these germinal texts in order to develop a reading of time in

[43] Patricia Parker, *Literary Fat Ladies* (New York: Methuen, 1987).

Shakespeare's drama as multifaceted, contradictory, in constant flux, and intimately connected to the monarchy's attempts to slow down or even stop time in the Queen's final decade. I explore how diverse understandings and conceptions of time rooted in the body, the environment, material objects used for finding and keeping time, and notions of history coexisted in the early modern period, and I argue that the multiplicity of ways of marking and keeping time in early modern England underscores the material reality of the passing of time in the final years of Elizabeth I's reign and the early years of the reign of James I. To varying degrees, the six plays that I examine pick up, stage, and examine the question of succession. These plays also develop complex, multifaceted, and contradictory notions of time and its passing. Moments of metatheatricality and an emphasis on performance often bring these depictions and descriptions to the forefront by drawing attention to the theater's unique engagement with time. Through notions of time rooted in the seasons, in bodies, in time-telling tools and instruments, in memory, and in the theater itself, Shakespeare's drama repeatedly acknowledges and stages England's obsession with time as the country anxiously anticipates and accepts the end of Tudor time.

# CHAPTER ONE

## "THE SEASONS ALTER": UNRULY SEASONS, FEMALE SEXUAL BODIES, AND HETEROCHRONIES IN *A MIDSUMMER NIGHT'S DREAM*

Shakespeare's *A Midsummer Night's Dream* is a play deeply interested in questions of gender and sex. More specifically, as numerous scholars have noted, Shakespeare's play addresses anxieties about female authority through male attempts to control, circumscribe, and conquer female unruliness.[44] Queen Elizabeth I's unwillingness to marry and to secure an heir undoubtedly led to and exacerbated such anxiety throughout her reign. From the play's first act to the fairies' final blessings in Act Five, *A Midsummer Night's Dream* points to marriage and to the submission of women to male control as the primary means through which to neutralize female authority, especially female sexual authority, and to preserve male dominance. Indeed, the impetus for the central action of the play is the impending marriage of Theseus and Hippolyta. From Theseus's own words, "I woo'd thee with my sword, / And won thy love doing thee injuries" (1.1.16-7), and from classical and medieval sources, we know that this marriage marks the union of two individuals whose pasts and futures are riddled with gendered systems of dominance and subjugation.[45] Shakespeare could have encountered accounts of Theseus and Hippolyta in Chaucer's *The Knight's Tale*, North's

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[44] For a succinct review of scholarship on female authority and its potential subversiveness, see Jennifer Clement, "'The Imperial Vot'ress': Divinity, Femininity, and Elizabeth I in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*," *Explorations in Renaissance Culture* 34, no.2 (2008): 163-84.

[45] All references to *A Midsummer Night's Dream* come from the following edition unless otherwise noted: William Shakespeare, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, ed. Harold F. Brooks, Arden Shakespeare (New York: Bloomsbury, 1979).

translation of Plutarch's *Lives of the Noble Grecians and Romans*, or in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, which Arthur Golding translated into English in 1561. Chaucer reports a battle between Theseus and Hippolyta's Amazons, not a romantic wooing:

> How wonnen was the regne of Femenye
>
> By Theseus and by his chivalrye;
>
> And of the grete bataille for the nones
>
> Bitwixen Atthenes and Amazones;
>
> And how asseged was Ypolita,
>
> The faire, hardy queene of Scithia;
>
> ...
>
> And of the tempest at hir hoom-comynge.[46]

Nowhere in this account does the Knight suggest that love or wooing were a part of Theseus's winning of Hippolyta. Similarly, the Theseus we meet in Ovid and Plutarch has a history of abandoning, raping, and otherwise mistreating women.[47] A long textual history surrounds this marriage, one that does not suggest that this marriage will be built upon equality and fair treatment.

The first act introduces also introduces us to Egeus, another man in Athens attempting to exert his will over a woman and her sexuality. Distraught that his daughter Hermia will not marry Demetrius, the man whom he has selected for his daughter's hand

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[46] Geoffrey Chaucer, *Knight's Tale*, in *The Riverside Chaucer*, ed. Larry D. Benson, 3rd ed. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1987) lines 877-82, 884.

[47] Plutarch, *The lives of the noble Grecians and Romanes*, trans. Thomas North (London: Thomase Vautroullier and John VVight, 1579); Ovid, *The xv. bookes of P. Ouidus Naso, entytuled Metamorphosis*, trans. Arthur Golding (London: Willyam Seres, 1567); Comparing Theseus to Romulus, Plutarch writes, "The one and the other were reuishers of women; and neither thone nor thother coulde auoyde the mischiefe of quarrell and contention with their frendes, nor the reproch of staining them selues with the blood of their nearest kinsmen." Plutarch, *The lives of the noble Grecians and Romanes*, trans. Thomas North (London: Thomase Vautroullier and John VVight, 1579).

in marriage, Egeus threatens his daughter with death unless she submits to his will. To enforce his threat, he asks Theseus to intercede on his behalf. In Act Two, we learn of the discord between the Fairy Queen and King as Oberon attempts to subdue his wife Titania and claim the changeling Indian boy as his page. Yet by the end of Act Four, and after a wild romp in the woods outside Athens, Puck's incantatory declaration that "Jack shall have Jill" (3.2.490) has come to pass and Theseus and Hippolyta, Lysander and Hermia, and Helena and Demetrius are all joined in a trio of marriages.

While scholarly debate continues concerning the degree to which male dominance effectively conquers female authority in the action of this play, much recent scholarship focuses on the ways in which male control fails to contain the play's females and their sexuality despite the play's conclusion in marriage.[48] Pointing to moments of queerness and to Hippolyta as a narrative frame for the tale, some scholars argue that *A Midsummer Night's Dream* does not in fact present male dominance over female sexuality as a foregone conclusion. As Jennifer Clement persuasively maintains, "the anxieties surrounding female unruliness and authority refuse to go away, even when the female characters have seemingly submitted to their husbands and have resumed their subordinate positions."[49] Even as the trio of imminent marriages suggests the containment of female authority in the play, female sexuality continues to represent a

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[48] See Clement, "'The Imperial Vot'ress'"; Jo Eldridge Carney, "'Honoured Hippolyta, Most Dreaded Amazonian:' The Amazon Queen in the Works of Shakespeare and Fletcher," in *"High and Mighty Queens" of Early Modern England: Realities and Representations* eds. Carole Levin, Jo Eldridge Carney, and Debra Barrett-Graves (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003); Kathryn Schwarz, *Tough Love: Amazon Encounters in the English Renaissance* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2000); Philippa Berry, *Of Chastity and Power: Elizabethan Literature and the Unmarried Queen* (London: Routledge, 1989); Theodora Jankowski, *Pure Resistance: Queer Virginity in Early Modern English Drama*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000); Louis Adrian Montrose, "*A Midsummer Night's Dream* and the Shaping Fantasies of Elizabethan Culture: Gender, Power, Form," in *Rewriting the Renaissance: The Discourse of Sexual Difference in Early Modern Europe*, eds. Margaret W. Ferguson, Maureen Quilligan, and Nancy J. Vickers (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986), 65-87.

[49] Clement, "'The Imperial Vot'ress,'" 167.

potent force. Elizabeth I, the Queen who never married despite her council's numerous attempts to arrange a political marriage for her, who failed to give birth to an heir and to secure the future of the nation, and who wielded her virginity as both a political tool and a symbol of her dedication to her country, was a living, breathing embodiment of this unbridled and potentially dangerous sexuality in the 1590s.

In addition to the question of if and how society can conquer female sexuality, the multidimensional relationship between the city of Athens and the space of the woods is also a central feature of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. The forest outside of Athens, and the events that take place in these woods, play an integral role in solving the problems that plague the city of Athens—namely the dispute over "true love" (1.1.134) and the proscribed marriage that manages to entangle Hermia, Lysander, Demetrius, Helena, Egeus, and even Theseus. Northrop Frye's notion of the green world has been instrumental in shaping the discourse surrounding the woods in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. In defining the drama of the green world, Frye focuses on the triumph of love, the symbolic victory of summer over winter, and the appearance of a new form of society, often ushered in by festival, ritual, or marriage. Also integral to Frye's definition of the green world is a second world apart from the normal world to which characters go and return: "the action of the comedy begins in a world represented as a normal world, moves into the green world, goes into a metamorphosis there in which the comic resolution is achieved, and returns to the normal world."[50] While Frye's assessment of the fairy's domain of the woods outside of Athens as a green world does provide a useful structure for considering the role of the woods in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, it fails to consider how time functions differently in the woods and in Athens.

[50] Northrop Frye, *The Anatomy of Criticism*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957), 182.

Time functions and is conceived of in two distinct ways in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. While the city of Athens marks the passing of time through the "iron tongue" (5.1.349) of clock strikes and the measured risings and settings of the sun, time in the woods becomes uneven and unpredictable as festive elements that relate to specific calendar dates begin to merge and meld, the "wandering moon" (4.1.97) seems to abandon her normal lunar cycle, and the seasons become discordant and unpredictable. To help make sense of the juxtaposition of the two distinct ways in which time functions and is conceived, I turn to Michel Foucault's heterotopia because the heterotopia offers a way to think about an alternative space that has its own unique temporal dimension. Foucault contrasts the heterotopia to the utopia. While utopias are "sites with no real place," heterotopias are places that do exist.[51] In addition to being real places, they are sites in which "the real sites, all the other real sites that can be found within the culture, are simultaneously represented, contested, and inverted."[52] Most significant to my understanding of the woods in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* is Foucault's principle that heterotopias are temporal:

> Heterotopias are most often linked to slices in time—which is to say that they open onto what might be termed, for the sake of symmetry, heterochronies. The heterotopia begins to function at full capacity when men arrive at a sort of absolute break with their traditional time. The situation shows us that the cemetery is indeed a highly heterotopic place since, for the individual, the

[51] Michel Foucault, "Of Other Spaces," trans. Jay Miskowiec, *Diacritics* 16, no.1 (1986): 24.
[52] Ibid.

> cemetery begins with this strange heterochrony, the loss of life, with this quasi-eternity in which her permanent lot is dissolution and disappearance.[53]

In other words, the notion of the heterotopia allows us to consider the woods as a counter-site to Athens, a counter-site that has its own, unique temporality. The physical characteristics of the woods contribute to its temporal dimension. In addition to its status as the domain of the fairies, the land beyond the walls of Athens is also land that has not yet been cleared for agriculture or settlement. Natural features such as native flora and fauna define the woods: the woods are connected to nature and natural rhythms in a way that the city of Athens is not.

As I will demonstrate throughout this chapter, the woods of the fairies function as a heterotopia to Athens. As such, the woods become a space in which the ideas of the city, including the male Athenian obsession with marriage and with otherwise controlling women's bodies, are contested and inverted. The delineation of time in the woods beyond Athens through images and details of moon cycles, festivals, plants, and agricultural patterns, and in the intersection of the wood's seasonality with female sexuality and fertility establishes the woods outside Athens as a spatial and temporal counter-site to Athens, making the woods not just a heterotopia but also a heterochrony. As a heterotopic space with its own unique temporal landscape, the woods present an alternate world or dream world in which women and their bodies are not subjugated to the temporal demands of men including marriage, sex, and procreation. But even as *A Midsummer Nights' Dream* presents a space and time in which women can become independent governors of their bodies, the fact that this slice of time and space is within the domain of the fairies and not of humans warns that women's attempts to govern their

[53] Ibid., 26.

own sexuality can be as ephemeral as the fairy's woods. For many of the play's female characters who conclude the play in paired heterosexual unions, the feminine temporality of the woods is only temporary, contingent, and at the margins. Yet as both Titania, who concludes the play with no progeny of her own, and Queen Elizabeth I, who withstands constant demands to marry and to produce offspring, demonstrate, the notion of a time ruled by women is more than just the stuff of fairies.

**The Play's Two Time Systems**

The play begins by introducing us to the system of time in Athens. Theseus's opening speech to Hippolyta is saturated with words related to time. In addition to using actual measurements of time such as "hour" (1.1.1) and "days" (1.1.2), Theseus also uses several words that we use to describe our perception of the passing of time including "apace" (1.1.2), "slow" (1.1.2), "wanes" (1.1.4), "lingers" (1.1.4) and "long" (1.1.6). Hippolyta then replies, also using words and images related to time and the measurement of time:

> Four days will quickly steep themselves in night;
> Four nights will quickly dream away the time;
> And then the moon, like to a silver bow
> New bent in heaven, shall behold the night
> Of our solemnities. (1.1.7-11)

Like Theseus's, Hippolyta's opening lines are chock full of words that relate to time. In addition to echoing Theseus's "four happy days" (1.1.2) in her "Four days" and "Four nights" (1.1.7,8), Hippolyta also uses the word "quickly" (1.1.7,8) twice in her first two lines and makes the play's first mention of "time" (1.1.8). Theseus and Hippolyta's

opening conversations established time in Athens as a central force around which life is organized. The law, time, and an acute awareness of the passage of time all play a crucial role in the organization of society in Athens. The connection between law and time in Athens is most evident in Theseus's exchange with Hermia about her unwillingness to marry Demetrius. After explaining to Hermia her options to marry Demetrius, become a nun, or die, Theseus concludes his meeting with Hermia with the words, "Take time to pause, and by the next new moon / … Upon that day either prepare to die / … Or else to wed Demetrius" (1.1.85-90). Through this opening conversation between Athens's royal couple, Shakespeare quickly establishes the temporality of Athens as one of exact measurements, defined by an acute awareness of time's passing.

While time is exact and precise like the law in Athens, time in the space of the fairies' woods is full of compression and expansion. Referring to the woods outside of Athens in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, Barber writes, "[t]he woods are established as a region of metamorphosis, where in liquid moonlight or glimmering starlight, things can merge and melt into each other. Metamorphosis expresses both what love sees and what it seeks to do."[54] Barber builds upon this characterization of the woods as a space of melting and merging in order to argue that Shakespeare imbues *A Midsummer Night's Dream* with a festive atmosphere.

My primary interest in the festive atmosphere lies in how the play's festive elements demonstrate the ubiquity of events and occasions in early modern culture that exercise control over women and circumscribe their bodies. Most of these festive events happen in the country and in the woods, outside of the city walls, in early modern England, so there is a sense in which these festive occasions and spaces serve as their

[54] C.L. Barber, *Shakespeare's Festive Comedy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1959), 133.

own type of heterotopia in contrast to the quotidian happenings within the city walls. When Theseus and his fellow hunters stumble upon the four lovers asleep on the ground in Act Four, Theseus remarks, "Saint Valentine is past: / Begin these wood-birds but to couple now?" (4.1.139-40). The custom of Saint Valentine's Day was that people were to fall in love with the person that they saw upon waking in the morning. Additionally, young men and women would draw lots the night before Saint Valentine's Day to determine their valentine. Because the drawing of lots almost always created unbalanced couples, it was not at all unusual on Saint Valentine's Day for Girl A to chase Boy B who chases Girl C who chases Boy D, a pattern we see recreated in the plot of *A Midsummer Night's Dream.*[55]

Theseus's mention of "wood-birds" in the play's single line about Saint Valentine's Day is suggestive. According to festive tradition, birds in the wild chose their mates on Saint Valentine's Day. The tradition, however, has no root in actual mating patterns among birds in England. The notion of lovebirds is a familiar one to readers of Middle English poetry; Chaucer, Gower, and Lydgate all incorporate this tradition into their poetry. In his *Parliament of Fowls*, Chaucer writes "The noble emperesse, ful of grace, / Bade every foul to take his own place, As they were woned alwey fro yet to yeere, / Seynt Valentynes day, to stonden there."[56] This idea of a parliament of birds, seeking their mates in the woods on Saint Valentine's Day, also helps explain the numerous references to birds throughout the play. Immediately after the mechanicals encounter the transformed Bottom, Bottom begins to sing the song that will awaken

[55] David Wiles, *Shakespeare's Almanac* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1993), 72.
[56] Geoffrey Chaucer, *Parliament of Fowls*, in *The Riverside Chaucer*, ed. Larry D. Benson, 3rd ed. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1987) lines 319-22.

Titania. Bottom's song is full of birds, and Wiles argues that the birds that populate the first stanza are "explicitly masculine, and implicitly phallic":[57]

> The woosel cock so black of hue,
>
> With orange-tawny bill,
>
> The throstle with his note so true,
>
> The wren with little quill— " (3.1.125-8)

Contrasting with Bottom's overtly masculine song of love is the tune to which Titania falls asleep. Titania's train of fairies sing to her a lullaby that includes the lyrics "Philomele, with melody, / Sing in our sweet lullaby" (2.2.13-4). In addition to populating Bottom and Titania's initial encounter with images of birds, this reference to Philomele also calls to mind Chaucer's telling of the story of Tereus, Procne, and Philomela in his *Legend of Good Women*.

The slipperiness of festival days is not solely Shakespeare's creation. In fact, precedent exists for the conflation of festivals in Chaucer's *Legend of Good Women*. Referencing his love of the daisy, the dreamer explains, "That made me to ryse er it wer day – / And this was now the firste morwe of May –."[58]. Yet less than 50 lines later, the dreamer describes birds singing about Saint Valentine's Day: "'…bless be Seynt Valentyne, / For on his day I chees yow to be myne, / Withouten repenting, myn herte swete."[59] While traditions of May Day include dancing around the maypole and women dreaming of the men with whom they would fall in love, more important to this discussion of festival days is the general atmosphere of festival days. For Shakespeare

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[57] Wiles, *Shakespeare's Almanac,* 69.
[58] Geoffrey Chaucer, *Legend of Good Women*, in *The Riverside Chaucer*, ed. Larry D. Benson, 3rd ed. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1987), 107-08.
[59] Ibid., lines 145-47.

recreates in his play this general festive atmosphere, more so than the individual feast days. Shakespeare does explicitly connect May Day with the woods in *A Midsummer Night's Dream,* however*,* when Lysander, in Act One, scene one, describes to Hermia where they will rendezvous to elope. Describing the location in the woods outside of Athens where they will meet, Lysander says to Hermia, "And in the wood a league without the town / (Where I did meet thee once with Helena / To do observance to a morn of May), / There will I stay for thee" (1.1.166-170).

Several texts that are contemporary with *A Midsummer Night's Dream also* describe the general atmosphere of festival days in which men and women would abandon their daily activities, leave the confines of the city, and dally in the woods and countryside. Phillip Stubbes, a puritan pamphlet writer, argued against these kind of festive atmospheres in *The Anatomie of Abuses*, yet even his description of what he perceives as pagan and irreverent practices depicts the joy and excitement of these rites: "Against May, Whitsunday, or other time all the yung men and maides, olde men and wiues, run godding ouer night to the woods, groues, hills, and mountains where they spend the night in pleasant pastimes, and in the morning they return bringing with them birch and branched of trees."[60] Thomas Nashe similarly describes the festive elements of these holidays in his comedy *Summer's Last Will and Testament*:

> Spring, the sweete spring, is the yeres pleasant King,
> Then bloomes eche thing, then maydes daunce in a ring,

[60] Phillip Stubbes, *The Anatomie of Abuses* (London: Richard Jones, 1583), M3r.

Cold doeth not sting, the pretty birds doe sing,

Cuckow, iugge, iugge, pu we, to witta woo.[61]

*A Midsummer Night's Dream* conflates revels and festivals into a general festive atmosphere in which the characteristics of the festivals are more important than the specific festival. Young maintains that Shakespeare "deliberately created a blurring of time in the play in order to dismiss calendar time and establish a more elusive festival time."[62] While this festival time might be elusive in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, the ways in which these festive elements suggest traditions intended to contain women and their sexuality become increasingly clear when we consider how these festive elements function in other English texts and how these texts themselves function. Several of Chaucer's texts are unique within the medieval canon for their treatment of women. Chaucer's *The Legend of Good Women* is especially relevant in this context. *The Legend of Good Women* begins with Alceste, the god of love's queen, chastising the poet for his negative depictions of women in his other works. To appease the queen, the poet recounts the lives of ten virtuous women in a sort of secular martyrology. The accounts of Dido, Cleopatra, and others are reconstituted such that women are only good when they exhibit complete fidelity in love, which often results in disfigurement, abandonment, and death. In other words, *The Legend of Good Women* seems to say that in order to be a good woman, a woman must strip herself of all agency and give herself completely to men. These traces of *The Legend of Good Women* and other texts within *A Midsummer Night's*

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[61] Thomas Nashe, *A Pleasant Comedie, called Summers last will and Testament* (London: Simon Stafford for Water Burre, 1600), B3r.

[62] David P. Young, *Something of Great Constancy: the art of "A Midsummer Night's Dream"* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968), 24.

*Dream* inflect Shakespeare's play with a long literary history of women and point to the ways in which these texts explore and participate in the circumscription of women.

These festive elements associated with the woods outside of Athens also call to mind the medieval and early modern festive tradition of "beating the bounds" in which parishioners would walk around the boundaries of the parish in order to delineate and clear the parish's borders. James Stokes describes the tradition of beating the bound as one of "many non-theatrical customs, ceremonies, and rituals that involved processional movement over the landscape in ways that made statements of ownership, control, and use."[63] This practice also became common for the landed property owners as a means of festively celebrating one's ownership of property and demonstrating one's control over the land.

This overview of festive traditions in medieval and early modern literature and in popular traditions functions to demonstrate how the woods often function as spaces that secure the pairing off of men and women. Even as a space outside of the city, the woods function as a space that reinforces the ideas and customs of the city. The woods in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, however, work against this pairing off of men and women into couples for most of the play. The Lovers are mismatched, they become angry with one another, and the plans that they made in Athens go terribly awry. In this sense, the woods in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* function not only as heterotopia to the city of Athens but also a heterotopia to the space of the woods as it is presented in English customs, traditions, and literature.

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[63] James Stokes, "Landscape, Movement, and Civic Mimesis in the West of England," *Early Theatre* 6, no. 1 (2003): 36.

**Seasonal Discord and Female Bodies**

Titania and Oberon's encounter in Act Two, scene one, more than any other moment in the play, reveals how the woods has its own feminine timescape that is not bent to the will of man. Furthermore, this scene also helps establish the woods in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* as a heterotopic space that counters or inverts the space of the woods in traditional English customs and texts. Foucault identifies heterotopias in some societies that he terms crisis heterotopias. These places are "privileged or sacred or forbidden" and are often designed for individuals who in one way or another are in a state of crisis with relation to their society.[64] "[A]dolescents, menstruating women, pregnant women, the elderly, etc." are members of society who might be found in one of these such heterotopias.[65] What strikes me about Foucault's understanding of crisis heterotopias is the function of the heterotopia to cordon off from the rest of society or otherwise contain the female body.

While Act One introduces the play's central concern about controlling female sexuality, Act Two marks both the transition from Athens to the woods and the introduction of a new way of speaking about female sexuality by connecting it to the land, seasons, and moon. While there are moments in Act One that gesture at this language of plants and seasonal cycles, it is Titania and Oberon's argument in Act Two, scene one that develops fully the rhetoric of nature and of the seasons as a means of engaging with the female body. Theseus's warning to Hermia "But earthlier happy is the rose distill'd / Than that which, withering on the virgin thorn, / Grows, lives, and dies, in single blessedness" (1.1.77-78) uses the image of the withering rose to threaten Hermia

[64] Foucault, "Of Other Places," 24.
[65] Ibid.

with the possibility of a nun's enforced chastity. Later in Act One, Hermia employs a meteorological metaphor to respond to Lysander's observation that the roses that color her cheeks have faded. Hermia's meteorological metaphor also participates in the ideology of the liquid-producing woman: "Belike for want of rain, which I could well / Beteem them from the tempest of my eyes" (1.1.130-1). Yet unless we first recognize that Titania and Oberon's disagreement is rooted in concerns about the sexual submission of women to male control, we are at risk of missing the sexual overtones of later evocations of nature and of the seasons:

Oberon: Ill met by moonlight, proud Titania.

Titania: What, jealous Oberon? Fairies, skip hence;
I have forsworn his bed and company.

Oberon: Tarry, rash wanton; am I not thy lord? (2.1.60-3)

Informing us that Titania has forsworn Oberon's bed and will not have him in her company, the play immediately brings sexuality to the forefront. As punishment for Oberon's jealousy, Titania has stopped having sex with her fairy king husband. Oberon's response to Titania, "Am not I thy lord?" (2.1.63), quickly makes clear that this fight is not simply about the changeling boy but also about who has power over female sexuality. Through his curt question, Oberon communicates his belief that as "lord" of the fairy realm and of his household, he should have control over his wife's body.

The disagreement between Titania and Oberon revolves around not only around Titania's claim to the changeling boy but also about the female body's ability to produce offspring. Titania describes the changeling boy's mother, a vot'ress in Titania's order, in a way that foregrounds both her sexuality and her ability to procreate: "her womb then

rich with my young squire" (2.1.135). Titania, who has no child of her own, wants to claim the changeling boy as her own as a means of memorializing the boy's mother and as a means of securing an heir for the fairy kingdom that does not involve sexual procreation with Oberon.

This initial interaction between Titania and Oberon prepares us to understand how Titania's speech function on two levels simultaneously. He speech is both a catalogue of meteorological events that have transpired as a result of the fairy couple's disagreement over the changeling boy and a reappropriation of contemporary theories of the female body. Titania's speech declares that in the time and space of the woods in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, the female body, like the land, cannot always be circumscribed and bent to man's will. I quote the fairy queen's speech in its entirety to trace more easily the shifts that occur in Titania's manipulation of seasonal tropes and humoral imagery that are inscribed upon the female sexual body:

> These are the forgeries of jealousy;
> And never, since the middle summer's spring,
> Met we on hill, in dale, forest, or mead,
> By pavèd fountain or by rushy brook,
> Or in the beachèd margent of the sea,
> To dance our ringlets to the whistling wind,
> But with thy brawls thou hast disturbed our sport.
> Therefore the winds, piping to us in vain,
> As in revenge have sucked up from the sea
> Contagious fogs, which, falling in the land,

Hath every pelting river made so proud

That they have overborne their continents.

The ox hath therefore stretched his yoke in vain,

The plowman lost his sweat, and the green corn

Hath rotted ere his youth attained a beard.

The fold stands empty in the drownèd field,

And crows are fatted with the murrain flock.

The nine-men's-morris is filled up with mud,

And the quaint mazes in the wanton green,

For lack of tread, are undistinguishable.

The human mortals want their winter here.

No night is now with hymn or carol blessed.

Therefore the moon, the governess of floods,

Pale in her anger, washes all the air,

That rheumatic diseases do abound.

And thorough this distemperature we see

The seasons alter: hoary-headed frosts

Fall in the fresh lap of the crimson rose,

And on old Hiems' thin and icy crown

An odorous chaplet of sweet summer buds

Is, as in mockery, set. The spring, the summer,

The chiding autumn, angry winter, change

Their wonted liveries, and the mazèd world

By their increase now knows not which is which.

And this same progeny of evils comes

From our debate, from our dissension;

We are their parents and original. (2.1.81-117)

Aside from a mention of "middle summer's spring" in the second line of the speech (2.1.82), Titania does not specifically refer to the seasons until more than half way through her speech. Not until she has catalogued the events that have ravaged the landscape does she acknowledge that "the seasons alter" (2.1.107). Titania's only other specific reference to the seasons occurs near the conclusion of her speech and serves to illustrate that the events of seasonal discord have rendered the world unable to determine the actual season: "the spring, the summer, / The childing autumn, angry winter, change / Their wonted liveries; and the mazed world, / By their increase now knows not which is which" (2.1.111-14). Recognizing the seasons and other natural cycles was of critical importance during the early modern period because many modes of organizing society were through various interactions with the natural world.

Seasons and other natural cycles played a crucial role in determining when to plant crops, when to harvest, when to bathe, and even when to shave one's face. Because of the primacy of the seasons as an organizing principle for all sorts of social actions, clearly the seasonal dislocation that Titania describes in her speech would indeed be a source of anxiety for members of early modern English society. *A Prognostication euerlasting*, an astronomical and meteorological text printed several times in the second half of the sixteenth century, reveals the most important aspects of the seasons in helping early modern England define, determine, and distinguish seasons. *A Prognostication*

*euerlasting* reveals that seasons were primarily understood in terms of astrological sign, temperature and moisture:

> The summer is hote and drie, counted from the beginning of Cancer, to the ende of Virgo, that is from the twelfth of June to [the] fourteenth of September…
>
> Winter is cold and moyst, continued from the beginning of Capricornus, to the end of Pisces, that is, from the twelfth of December, to the tenth of March.[66]

In addition to describing the seasons in humoral terms, *A Prognostication euerlasting* also demonstrates the social importance of moon cycles and the weather in performing seemingly mundane tasks. The best times for purging and bathing were determined not just by the calendar but also by the astrological sign: "The meetest time to take purgations, &c. is neither in hote, nor cold dayes: that is, from the tenth of March, to the twelfth of June...The Moon in these Signes following, very good to bathe: Aries, Leo, Sagittarius, Cancer, Scorpius, and Pisces. These ensuing are euill to bathe, Taurus, Uirgo, Capricornus."[67] Similarly, considerations of the moon's phase is necessary for determining the best time to harvest timber according to this astronomical text:

> By common experience ioyned with learning I knowe, at the full, the Moone lodeth all bodies with humors: and so are emptied, growing to the hange. Of this some father the fall of timber at the chaunge, more to the purpose then other times, wanting the superfluous moisture, the cause of putrification, *Omnis putredo ab aqueo humido. ortum habet. Schoner* willeth from the 15. day vnto the 22. day

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[66] Leonard Digges, *A Prognostication euerlasting...Published by Leonard Digges Gentleman. Lately corrected and augmented by Thomas Digge hi sonne*, (London: Thomas Orwin, 1592), 7v-8r.
[67] Ibid., 20r.

> of the Moone trées to be felled, and that after Midsomer to Ianuary. So timber is strong, sound, and voyd of wormes.[68]

This deferral to the phases of the moons and the seasons in determining when to carry out a variety of tasks demonstrates an early modern understanding of the world in which the moon played an integral role not just in humoral understandings of the seasons but also in personal, agricultural, and economic activities.

Titania's description of seasonal discord and *A Prognostication euerlasting*'s accounts of the seasons find common ground in their interests in temperature and moisture. In late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century England, Galenic humoral theory continued to dominate medical and physiological understandings of the body and its environs.[69] Galenism was built upon the belief that the body consisted of four humors—blood, phlegm, yellow bile, and black bile. The health of a body depended upon an appropriate balance of these four humors, and consequently, the men and women of early modern Europe believed that illness was both caused by and a result of an imbalance of humors. Because they believed the body was semipermeable and thus always at risk of absorbing and releasing humors, early modern Europeans believed that health had to be constantly maintained through evacuations of excess or noxious humors.[70] Women's bodies were associated with liquid more so than were men's, in part because of the association of women with phlegm, the humor that corresponded to water and was known for its coldness and moisture. [71] Gail Kern Paster's germinal book *The Body Embarrassed* clearly articulates this humoral connection between the female body

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[68] Ibid.
[69] Gail Kern Paster, *The Body Embarrassed*, (Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1993,) 8.
[70] Ibid.
[71] Paster, *The Body Embarrassed*, 41; Sujata Iyengar, *Shakespeare's Medical Language*, (London: Continuum, 2011), 253.

and liquids: "That women's bodies were moister than men's and cyclically controlled by that watery planet, the moon, was a given of contemporary scientific theory. Their bodies were notable for the great production of liquids---breast milk, menstrual blood, tears and great P's. Both popular and medical discourse, moreover, conceptualized all these fluids as related forms of the same essential substance."[72] The images of coldness, water, and excessive dampness that permeate Titania's monologue thus not only help to develop a sense of seasonal discord but also begin to resonate with the female body.

The landscape that Titania remembers at the opening of her monologue is full of water, but unlike the muddy, rotting fields that Titania later describes, this landscape is defined by living, moving water. Titania's speech begins with Titania remembering a time when the fairy queen and king were not fighting and the seasons were not in discord. "Paved fountain," "rushy brook," and "the sea" (2.1.84-5) all suggest water that is flowing rather than standing stagnant, and when paired with the image of "danc[ing] ringlets to the whistling wind" (2.1.86), these images seem highly suggestive of sexual activity. While orgasm or climax is achieved through the release of fluids, the movements of intercourse are often compared to the motions of dancing. Jacques Guillemau writes in his 1612 *Child-birth* or *The Happy Deliverie of Women* that at the moment of conception, the womb experienced "a shaking or quivering (such as we commonly find presently upon making of water)," thus similarly connecting the liquid of orgasm to the shaking or dancing of the body.[73] The "we" in line 83 is ambiguous and could refer to the fairy queen and king or the fairy queen and her retinue of fairies. In

[72] Paster, *The Body Embarrassed*, 39-40.
[73] Jacques Guillemeau, *Child-birth* or *The Happy Deliverie of Women* (London: Printed by A. Hatfield, 1612), 4.

either case, the first personal pronoun, suggesting coupling, paired with images that suggest intercourse, help foreground female sexuality as a symbol of harmony and fecundity in Titania's first sentence.

The line "But with thy brawls though hast disturbed our sport" (2.1.87) marks not only a change in Titania and Oberon's relationship, but also a shift in the way female sexuality and water are paired. Images of moving, fecund water are replaced with images of oppressive water that takes, rather than gives, life. The phrase "contagious fog" (2.1.93) immediately evokes the excess of moisture that the female body was accused of having, and paired with the phrase "rheumatic diseases" (2.1.108), suggests both the disease that plagues the crops later in Titania's speech and the disease that could accompany an excess of liquid in the human body.

While water was firmly under control in the opening sentence of Titania's speech and consequently did not threaten disease, in subsequent sentences water becomes a source of destruction through its excess and its ability to overflow its containment. In the beginning of Titania's speech, each of the three mentions of water is paired with a boundary or container of sorts that kept the water in its proper place. While a fountain is already a man-made structure that contains and regulates the flow of water, the fountain is additionally described as "paved." suggesting that rocks or pebbles line the bottom of the fountain to prevent the leakage of water (2.1.84). Similarly, "rushy" as an adjective used to describe the brook helps define the bank or edge of the body of water (2.1.84). The growth of rushes helps demarcate the boundary between the land and the water. Lastly, the "beached margent of the sea" provides the clearest delineation between land and water in Titania's speech (2.1.85). While the other two boundaries are implied, this

border is explicitly named; "margent" is an archaic and now obsolete variant of "margin."[74] These images of margins help establish the landscape prior to the fairy king and queen's disagreement as enclosed and bounded, but as Titania's speech progresses and the impact of Titania and Oberon's fight intensifies, water does not remain contained within its boundaries. Water begins to leak beyond its boundaries as falling rain "hath every pelting river made so proud / That they have overborne their continents" (2.1.91-2). Given that the royal fairy couple's disagreement centers around the changeling boy and Titania's exercise of authority over her own body as she withholds it from her husband as punishment for his jealousy, it is easy to trace the connection between the insubordination that the overflowing water portends and Titania's shirking of male authority over her body.

If water overflowing its boundaries represents female control not under the authoritative control of a man, then it seems a natural extension that the tilled fields and groomed greens that the water threatens are an expression of masculine control, reason, and order. I do not intend to suggest that land is coded masculine in the early modern period; indeed, the land itself is often figured as feminine. What is done unto the land, however, is often seen in the early modern period as an expression of masculinity. The act of enclosing and cultivating land that once was wild and unruly demonstrates the mastery of man over Mother Nature.

What we see occurring in Titania's speech is seasonal disorder reclaiming land that was previously enclosed. As water inundates the land, the "drowned field" (2.1.96) can no longer support its flock of sheep. Crops, coded male through both Titania's

[74] OED, "margent, n. and adj.".

reference to the corn's tassel as a beard and the male possessive pronoun, are likewise destroyed by excess water: "green corn / Hath rotted ere his youth attain'd a beard" (2.1.94-5). As the winds roar and the waters rise, the natural world slowly reclaims the land that man set aside for his own purposes. Perhaps most illustrative of nature's reclamation of cultivated land are the "nine-men's-morris fill'd up with mud" (2.1.98) and "quaint mazes" (2.1.99) that have become "undistinguishable" (2.1.100) in the bad weather. Both the morris and the maze are common images of order forced upon nature. Nature, through wind and rain, has erased almost all traces of man's interactions with the land.

**England's Unseasonal Weather**

The unseasonable weather that Titania describes in her speech appears to have historical basis, creating havoc for England in 1596. John Stow, writing in his *A Summarie of the Chronicles of England*, reports on the especially wet weather that England faced throughout the spring and summer of 1596:

> In this moneth of May (as afore) fell continuall raines euery day or night, wherethrough the waters, growne deepe, brake ouer the high ways, namely betwixt Olford & Stratford the bow, so that market people riding towards London, hardly escaped, but some were drowned…this moneth of June and also the moneth of July was euery day raine (as afore).[75]

The wet and cold weather, which resulted in a dearth of corn, paired with discontent amongst villagers across the country who had been negatively impacted by the enclosure of land for private property, resulted in growing tensions both in London and in the countryside. After the worst weather in years, the government had to raise the price of

[75] John Stow, *A Summarie of the Chronicles of England* (London: Richard Bradocke, 1598), Ffl$^{r}$-Ff1$^{v}$.

corn, an act outlined in the 1596 *A Proclamation for the dearth of corne*. The proclamation also gives insight into the practice of price gouging that occurred when a small number of private land-holding individuals controlled the market for corn. The royal proclamation reads in part, "the sellers of Corne, as rich Farmers, and Ingrossers, do pretend to raise the prices by colour of the unseasonableness of the Sommer: yet that being no iust cause to raise the prices of their olde corne of the last yeeres growth."[76] This proclamation simultaneously gives evidence to the horrible weather of 1596 and to the unfair economic practices that in large part stemmed from the enclosure of arable land. According to the proclamation, once the bad weather of 1596 had set in, corn growers and sellers raised the price on all corn. Corn growers and sellers tried to charge more for corn harvested during the dearth of 1596 and for corn that was harvested during the previous years of plenty.

The combination of the continued enclosure of land and rampant price inflation led to mounting anger and anxiety among the people, and after the very poor harvest in 1596, this discontent began to reach a boiling point. In his *Anatomie against Abuses*, Stubbes articulates the main complaints that unlanded commoners levied against landholders:

> …they take in, and inclsoe Commons, Moores, Heathes, and other common pastures wher out the poore commonaltie were wont to have all their forage and feeding for their Cattell, and (which is more) Corne for themselves to live upon: all which are now in most places taken from them, by these greedie Puttockes, to

[76] Elizabeth I, *A Proclamation for the dearth of corne* (London: The deputies of Christopher Baker, printer to the Queenes most excellent Maiestie, 1596).

> the great impoverishing and utter beggarying of many whole Townes and parishes.[77]

Stubbes argues that the enclosure of land has not only deprived community members of land on which to graze cattle and grow corn but has also led to the economic ruin of an entire class of people. Food riots occurred throughout the mid 1590s, culminating in the apprentice-led riots in London in 1595. In 1596 in Oxfordshire, not far from Shakespeare's Warwickshire home, Bartholomew Steer, the leader of an attempted rising, told his neighbors that "there would be a rising of the people to pulle down the enclosures, whereby waies were stopped up, and arable lands inclosed, and to laie the same open againe."[78] Though the Oxfordshire rising ultimately failed because Steer could neither consolidate leadership under a member of the gentry nor gather the number of supporters required, this failed rising nevertheless demonstrates both the severity of the effects of the bad weather of 1596 and the connection between the enclosing of land and the repeated affronts to authority.[79]

**The Subversion of the Female Body**

Within early modern discourse, the connections between nature, agricultural practices, and gender scaffold together, and as the mastery of uncultivated land comes to be perceived as a virile act, the enclosed field or land holding becomes an analogue for the enclosed female body. As seen in Toste's notes that accompany his translation of Varchi's *The Blazon of Jealousie*, just as enclosed land develops its value simply through

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[77] Philip Stubbes, *The Anatomie of Abuses* (London: Printed by Richard Jones, 1583), 69r-69v.
[78] Public Records Office, London, S.P. 12/262/4 (exams. Js. Bradshaw, Rog. Symonds and Barth. Steer), cited in John Walter, "A 'Rising of the People'? The Oxfordshire Rising of 1596," *Past & Present*, 107 (May 1985): 100.
[79] John Walter, "A 'Rising of the People'? The Oxfordshire Rising of 1596," *Past & Present*, 107 (May 1985): 119-20.

its unavailability for public use, the female body loses its value when it becomes a common property: "when this our high-pris'd Commoditie chanceth to light into some other merchants hands, and that our priuate Inclosure proueth to be a Common for others, wee care no more for it."[80] Participating in the same trope as the female body as an enclosed piece of property that needs the hand of its owner in order to yield fruit, texts from the period also describe the act of sex as a form of land cultivation. In Marlowe's *The Massacre at Paris*, a soldier describes the sexual threat that Mugeron poses to Guise's wife in terms of cultivating land: "and whereas he is your landlord, you will take upon you to be his, and till the ground which he himself should occupy which is his own free land."[81] Agricultural cultivation is not simply a metaphor for sexual activity, however; the metaphor operates in the other direction as well, with the conquering and cultivation of land also described in terms of sexual acts. As scholars have noted, the circularity of these metaphors, in which unexplored land stands for women and maiden women stand for land, is best illustrated in Ralegh's often-quoted description of Guiana in *The discoverie of the large, rich, and beatifull Empire of Guiana*:

> To conclude, *Guiana* is a Countrey that hath yet her Maydenhead, neuer sackt, turned, nor wrought, the face of the earth hath not beene torne, nor the vertue and salt of the soyle spent by manurance, the graues haue not beene opened for golde, the mines not broken with fledges, not their Images puld down out of their temples. It hath neuer been entred by any armie of strength, and neuer conquered or possessed by anie Christian Prince.[82]

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[80] Benedetto Varchi, *The blazon of Jealousie*, trans. R.T. (Lodon: Printed by TS for John Busbie, 1615), 20.
[81] Christopher Marlowe, *The Massacre at Paris* in *Dido, Queen of Carthage,* and *The Massacre at Paris*, ed. H. J. Oliver (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1968), 4.5.4-9.
[82] Sir Walter Ralegh, *The discoverie of the large, rich, and beautifull Empire of*

Although these circular metonymies might seem to lock down any potential for the subversive use of the seasonal and feminine time of the wood as a means of engaging with women's bodies, I hope that my examination of Titania's speech about the seasonal discord, especially her use of images of water and moisture to overwhelm images of male authority, demonstrates that the inscription of nature upon women's bodies does in fact have the potential and the power to subvert.

Even before the fifth act, we receive hints that it will be the rude mechanicals' play and the weddings their play celebrates that will allow for the coexistence of Athens's and the wood's temporalities in the play's final act. For example, when the rude mechanicals first venture into the woods to practice their play, they enter into a debate about whether or not the moon will be visible on the evening of their performance. Given that the city is their home environment, it comes as no surprise that they call upon an almanac to settle the debate: "A calendar, a calendar! Look in the almanac. Find out moonshine, find out moonshine" (3.1.52-3). After all, an almanac is a tool for engaging with time that navigates the territory between a mechanized time-keeping tool and a way of keeping time that is completely rooted in the natural world.

The woods function as a heterotopia not only through its simultaneous images of unruly and uncircumscribed seasonality but also through its engagement with medieval texts, its inversion of Athens's temporality, and its intermixing of the seasons. Similarly, the rude mechanicals' production in Act Five, which they previously practiced in the woods, is also a heterotopic moment. Foucault points to the theater as a heterotopic

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*Guiana...Performed in the yeere 1595 by Sir Walter Ralegh,* In Richard Hakluyt, *The Prinicpal Navigations Voyages Traffiques & Discoveries of the English Nation*, (Glasgow: James MacLehose and Sons, 1903-05), 96.

space: "The heterotopia is capable of juxtaposing in a single real place several spaces, several sites that are in themselves incompatible. Thus it is that the theater brings onto the rectangle of the stage, one after the other, a whole series of places that are foreign to one another."[83] Yet it is not simply because the mechanicals engage in theater that I contend their performance represents a heterotopic moment. The production of *Pryamus and Thisbe* in Act Five of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* is heterotopic, because it unites the temporality of Athens and the temporality of the woods beyond Athens in the moment of performance. The play simultaneously shows the suffocating order of the city and the seasonal, sylvan unruliness of the woods. Furthermore, the rude mechanical's production is one of false starts, interruptions from both the audience and the players, tragic characters who seemingly return from the dead, and a prologue that reveals the entire action of the play before the play has even truly begun.

Following the rude mechanicals' production of *Pyramus and Thisbe*, Theseus acknowledges the ringing of a bell and encourages all of the people attending the festivities to retire for the night. Immediately after speaking about time in strictly Athenian terms, "the iron tongue of midnight hath told twelve" (V.i.380), Theseus goes on to say "'Tis almost fairy time" (5.1.350). Robin Goodfellow, Oberon, and the other fairies promptly take the stage, bringing with them a distinctly festive sense of time to the court of Athens. As the fairies spread their blessings throughout the house, the timescape of Athens and the timescape of the woods begin to fold into one another, just as the waking world and the dream world become blurred through Robin Goodfellow's final speech; at the play's conclusion, we find ourselves unsure if we are awake or dreaming, if we are in fairy time, Athens time, or in the timelessness of a dream.

[83] Foucault, "Of Other Spaces," 25.

"Upon waking from the 'dream' of the woods the lovers find that they are able to see differently from the way that they had before. They are able, for a moment, to stand in the two worlds of dreaming and waking, of the wood and Athens."[84] Just as the lovers can stand simultaneously in the world of the woods and the world of Athens, another set of dreamers, Shakespeare's audience, find themselves in a heterotopic theatrical space at the play's conclusion. Like Hermia who sees "things with parted eye, / When everything seems double" (4.1.187-88), we can also see in multiples.

In a discussion on the unique experience of time that emerges in the theater, Wagner describes the experience of time as spatial, as being influenced by the space of the theater:

> This is not to imply an 'atemporality', an experience that is without time, but rather a 'heterotemporality', another time that is separate from, but in dialogue with, the time of our everyday lives. I'm borrowing here from Michel Foucault's 'heterotopia', and I think the spatial analogy is useful as it draws a geographical picture of the relationship between the time of the play and that of the 'world.'[85]

Wagner's use of the term 'heterotemporality' to describe the space and time that one experiences in the theater fits well with my own argument that both the woods and the production of *Pyramus and Thisbe* are heterotopic because of their engagement with time and their willingness to reflect and refract the world around them.[86] By connecting the performative space of the woods with the performative space of the theater, the woods

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[84] Laurel Moffatt, "The Woods as Heterotopia in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*," *Studia Neophilologica* 76 (2004): 186.
[85] Matthew D. Wagner, *Shakespeare, Theatre, and Time*, (New York: Routledge, 2012), 79.
[86] Moffatt has argued that the woods are an antithesis to Athens, and even deems the woods a heterotopia, but to my knowledge, no one has considered the temporal aspects of this heterotopia and the profound impact that time has in the shaping of this counter-site of Athens.

outside Athens become a space in which more than just pairing off of couples and the curbing of unfettered female bodies occurs. The woods are also a performative space in which the potency of female sexuality is made manifest.

As a way of concluding, I want to look briefly at the final three lines of Titania's speech in which Titania identifies Oberon and herself as the parents or creators of this destructive seasonal discord: "And this same progeny of evil comes / From our debate, from our dissension; / We are their parents and original" (2.1.115-7). Looking forward to Act Five, we see Oberon blessing the beds of the three newly married couples:

> And the blots of Nature's hand
> Shall not in their issue stand:
> Never mole, hare-lip, nor scar,
> Nor mark prodigious, such as are
> Despised in nativity,
> Shall upon their children be. (5.1.395-400)

Scholars commonly interpret this moment of the fairies blessing the wedding beds as yet another instance in which male authority over the female sexual body is reaffirmed through the pairing off of heterosexual marriages and the play's ending "upon the threshold of another generational cycle."[87] I would like to suggest, however, that the fact that Oberon and Titania have no children beside the "progeny of evil" that their dispute caused (2.1.115), paired with Oberon's attempt to prevent the three married couples from giving birth to prodigies, suggest that the play ends with Oberon still lacking control over Titania's sexual body. After all, Titania speaks no blessing over the wedding beds. The barrenness of Titania's womb and of the fields come to represent both the impotence of

[87] Montrose, "*A Midsummer Night's Dream* and the Shaping Fantasies of Elizabethan Culture," 74.

man and the potency of female sexuality under the control of the woman. Titania's reappropriation of the inscription of seasonal language on women's bodies in Act Two, scene one to communicate female sexual autonomy suggests that neither women nor Mother Nature are fully bent to the will of men, at least in the heterotopic space and time of the woods outside Athens. We need look no further than the historical records of the foul and unseasonable weather of the 1590s to see the power of Titania's unchecked female sexual authority, and in a similar vein, we need look no further than the proliferation of images and words venerating Queen Elizabeth I's virginity even in her old age in order to see how Elizabeth I has fashioned her sexuality into a powerful political tool that transcends time.

# CHAPTER TWO

## "TIME IS COME ROUND": CALENDAR CONTROVERSIES, UNCANNY TIMES, AND THE POST-TUDOR FUTURE IN *JULIUS CAESAR*

Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar* is full of characters losing track of time. They ask, "Is this a holiday?" (1.1.2), "What is't o'clock?" (2.2.114), and "Doth not the day break here?" (2.1.100), and they lament, "I cannot by the progress of the stars / Give guess how near to day" (2.1.5).[88] At the center of these repeated temporal dislocations are absent days in the play's timeline. The dramatic events of the play begin on Lupercalia, a pastoral festival on February 15 associated with fertility and with the purification of the city of Rome. The events of Caesar's assassination occur on the Ides of March, March 15. Yet in Shakespeare's play, only one night passes between the Lupercal and the Ides of March. This temporal dislocation due to the absence of days is most clearly highlighted in the exchange between Brutus and Lucius following the discovery of the paper Cassius threw in Brutus's window:

> BRUTUS. Is not tomorrow, boy, the first of March?
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> LUCIUS. I know not, sir.
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> BRUTUS. Look in the calendar and bring me word.
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> LUCIUS. I will, sir. (2.1.40-3)
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> …
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> LUCIUS. Sir, March is wasted fifteen days. (2.1.59)

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[88] All references to *Julius Caesar* come from the following edition unless otherwise noted: William Shakespeare, *Julius Caesar*, The Arden Third Series, ed. David Daniell (London: Arden, 1998).

According to Steve Sohmer, Brutus's staged discovery that he has somehow lost fifteen days immediately before the day chosen for Caesar's assassination not only leaves "the indelible impression that the morning of the Ides follows the unruly night of the Lupercal without interval" but also encourages the consideration of how the temporal dislocations caused by the absent days in the play's timeline are related to the conspirators' assassination of Caesar in their attempt to protect Rome's republican ideals.[89] This chapter considers the unwieldy telescoping of time in *Julius Caesar* and examines how the absence of days in the drama's timeline contributes to the play's uncanny temporality. The play's temporal dislocation reveals the play's engagement with sixteenth-century calendrical controversies and recreates the cognitive dislocation that undoubtedly occurred when competing calendar systems vied for adherence across Europe. In its performance in the early modern theater and through its self-awareness as staged performance, *Julius Caesar* further develops an uncanny temporality in which the death of a great man over a thousand years before and the contemporary controversies surrounding the calendar coexist and are continuously reenacted on the stage.

In addition to reenacting the temporal dislocation that the English peopled experienced by living amidst two competing calendar systems, the destabilization of a linear temporality and the privileging of uncanny time in *Julius Caesar* also underscore the divisiveness of the political management of time. Plutarch reports in his *Lives of the Noble Grecians and Romans* that even though Caesar employed the best philosophers and mathematicians to aid in the calculation of the calendar, many still saw Caesar's new calendar as evidence of his tyrannical rule. The pairing in Plutarch's account of Caesar's

[89] Steve Sohmer, *Shakespeare's Mystery Play: The opening of the Globe theatre 1599* (New York: St Martin's, 1999), 61.

overhaul of the calendar with his desire to be called King suggests that in Rome's eyes, the new calendar indicates Caesar's overreach for power, rendered thus in North's translation:

> But *Cæsar* sommitting this matter vnto the Philosophers, and best expert Mathematicians at that time, did set footh an excellent and perfect calendar, more exactly calculated, then any other that was before: the which the ROMANES doe vse vntill this present day, and doe nothing erre as others, in the difference of time. But his enemies notwithstanding that enuied his greatnes, did not sticke to finde fault withall. As *Cicero* the Orator, when one sayd, tomorow the starre Lyra will rise: yea, sayd he, at the commaundement of *Caesar*, as if men were compelled so to say and thinke, by *Caesars* edict. But the chiefest cause that made him mortally hated, as the couetous desire he had to be called king: which first gaue the people iust cause, and next his secret enemies, honest colour to bear him ill will.[90]

The proximity of Caesar's calendar reform and his desire to be called King in Plutarch's account suggest a conflation of these features of Caesar's time as Dictator of the Roman Republic. To many in Rome, Caesar's reform of the calendar became just another marker of his increasingly tyrannical rule and his abandonment of the principles of the Roman Republic. Caesar's overhaul of time thus temporally dislocated Rome in two distinct, but interrelated, ways. Romans knew neither the day nor the time following the reform of the calendar. The systems of telling and marking time on which they had depended were now obsolete. They had to learn new ways of making sense of time. I

[90] Plutarch, *The lives of the noble Grecians and Romans compared together by the graue learned philosopher and historiographer, Plutarke of Chaerona*, trans. Thomas North (London: Thomas Vautroullier and John VVight, 1579), 791.

argue, though, that this literal dislocation in time is not the only temporal displacement experienced following the creation of the Julian calendar. Caesar's calendrical reform also represented an even more meaningful temporal dislocation for the people of Rome; Caesar's actions as calendar reformer signified Rome's unmooring from its historical identity as a republic. The creation of the Julian calendar, we can look back and see, turned the periodization of Rome on its head. Though Rome was still technically a republic when Caesar unveiled his newfangled calendar, it was at this moment that Rome became post-Republic. After all, Rome's greatest fear in the final years of Caesar's rule was that Caesar wanted to be called King or Emperor.

A similar anxiety permeated England in the final decades of the sixteenth century. While the nation's refusal of the Gregorian calendar and continued observance of the Julian calendar was framed to symbolize the continued strength of the Protestant Tudor nation, adherence to a calendar could not, in and of itself, ensure the future livelihood of Tudor England. The only real assurance of the future of Tudor England was an heir, and in 1582, the year of the Gregorian calendar reform and just one year after the failed marriage negotiations between Queen Elizabeth I and Francis, Duke of Alençon and Anjou, it was becoming increasingly clear that there would be no Tudor heir to ascend to the throne following the Queen's death. Just as the Rome of Caesar's final years was already post-Republic, the English, by the time of the Gregorian calendar reforms, were already living in a post-Tudor England. *Julius Caesar*'s uncanny epistemologies of time thus figure the temporal dislocation of both the calendar reform and the recognition that the Tudorless future is already haunting the Tudor present.

Central to my reading of *Julius Caesar*'s temporality is Sigmund Freud's articulation of the uncanny. In his essay "The Uncanny," Freud recounts that in trying to leave a small Italian town's red light district into which he had inadvertently stumbled, he found himself repeatedly returning to the same street by different routes. Reflecting on this "unintentional return" to that same piazza via disparate routes, Freud writes, "[o]ther situations share this feature of the unintentional return with the one I have just described, but different from it in other respects, may nevertheless produce the same feeling of helplessness, the same sense of the uncanny."[91] The notion of the uncanny, as an unsettling moment of return "back to what is known and had long been familiar," figures prominently in my reading of *Julius Caesar*.[92] "[D]eath, dead bodies, revenants, spirits, and ghosts," which according to Freud all evoke the aesthetics of the uncanny, are also fundamental to my reading of the temporal dislocation in *Julius Caesar*.[93] In my use of the uncanny to interrogate the temporal dynamic of *Julius Caesar*, I follow in the tradition of Marjorie Garber, but I build on Garber's work by arguing that the focus on repetitive performance, both in the play's text and in the repertory theater practices of the early modern Globe, further develops the uncanniness of time in *Julius Caesar*.[94] When Cassius and Brutus imagine the future reenactments of the conspirators washing their hands in Caesar's blood as a means of memorializing the conspirators' protection of the Republic, they fail to recognize that the Republic has already come and gone. The conspirators, just like Caesar before them, fail in their attempts to manage time politically. *Julius Caesar*'s uncanny temporality warns that adherence to the Julian

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[91]Sigmund Freud, *The Uncanny*, trans. David McLintock, (New York: Penguin, 2003), 144.
[92] Ibid., 124.
[93] Ibid., 148.
[94] Marjorie Garber, *Shakespeare's Ghost Writers*, (New York: Routledge, 1987).

calendar and the Queen's continuous reenactment of her chaste and virginal identity, long after she passed the age of child-bearing, will not make time stand still for the Protestant Tudor nation. In 1599, the year of the first performance of *Julius Caesar*, and the last year before the turn of the century, the reality of a post-Tudor England haunts the nation, even while the Queen still lives.

**The Calendar Controversies of the Sixteenth Century**

The roots of the calendar controversies of the sixteenth century reach all the way back to the time of Julius Caesar, a fact not lost on Shakespeare as he wrote his Roman tragedy.[95] As documents from early modern England attest, Caesar's reform of the calendar was also well known among those participating in and impacted by the debates concerning late sixteenth-century calendar reforms.[96] When Caesar came to power, Rome's calendar was built on a year of 355 days. One of Caesar's most famous acts was his reform of the calendar; Caesar's new calendar, the Julian calendar, expanded the year from 355 to 365 days and, in redistributing the days across the months, introduced the aptly named month of July. While these reforms substantially improved the accuracy of Rome's calendar, they did not necessarily improve Caesar's standing among his people because many saw these reforms as "arbitrary and tyrannical interference with the course of nature."[97]

When Pope Gregory XIII proposed a new calendar in 1577 that would attempt to correct for a faulty system for determining the date of Easter and would in the process

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[95] Sigurd Burckhardt first identities the *Julius Caesar*'s engagement with the calendar controversies in Sigurd Burckhardt, *Shakespearean Meanings* (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1968).
[96] For an example of almanac that displays the almanac maker's knowledge about the Julian calendar reforms and the institution of leap year, see John Harvey, *Leape Yeere. A compendious prognostication for the yeere of our Lorde God. M.D.LXXXIIII* (London: Richard Watkins and James Robertes, 1584).
[97] Burckhardt, *Shakespearean Meanings,* 6.

overturn the Julian calendar, the early modern Christian world was forced to acknowledge not only the scientific basis, but also the political, religious, and ideological underpinnings of time and time reckoning.[98] From the beginning, the Pope's new calendar was religiously motivated; August Ziggelaar goes so far as to call the calendar reform "an act of the counter-reformation."[99] The new calendar's improved accuracy is more happy coincidence than underlying motivation for the reform. To adopt a Catholic calendar would have seemed especially dangerous to England, a nation who had only recently found peace under the reign of Elizabeth following the bloody reign of her fervently Catholic sister Mary I. On February 24, 1582, Pope Gregory XIII established this new calendar, which would come to be known as the Gregorian calendar, with the signing of a papal bull. To calibrate the calendar so that the calendrical equinoxes once again matched the astronomical equinoxes, Pope Gregory advanced his calendar ten days. The day after October 4, 1582 was declared October 15, 1582. For many reasons, not least of which was that Pope Gregory XIII signed his papal bull several months after the almanacs for the year 1583 had already been printed, Catholic Continental Europe adopted the Gregorian calendar in hodge-podge fashion during the next several years.[100] Sigurd Burckhardt aptly characterizes the political, cultural, and temporal milieu of Europe at the turn of the seventeenth century when Shakespeare was writing *Julius Caesar*: "[i]t was a time of confusion and uncertainty, when the most basic category by which men order their experience seemed to have become unstable and untrustworthy,

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[98] Robert Poole, *Time's Alteration: Calendar Reform in Early Modern England* (London: University College London Press, 1998), 38.
[99] August Ziggelaar, "The papal bull of 1582 promulgating a reform of the calendar," in *Gregorian Reform of the Calendar*, ed. G.V. Coyne, M.A. Hoskin, and O. Pedersen (Vatican City: Specola Vaticana, 1983), 227.
[100] See Poole, *Time's alteration*, 39 for a thorough list on when different countries across Europe officially adopted the Gregorian calendar.

subject to arbitrary political manipulation."[101] In fact, this confusion persisted in England for quite some time. It would take until the mid-eighteenth century for England to adopt the Gregorian calendar.

While scholarly accounts of English responses to the Gregorian calendar reform in the context of *Julius Caesar* tend to present a uniformed English response to the Pope's reforms—to adopt the Pope's calendar was to undo the work of the Reformation and to slide back into the religious upheaval that defined Mary Tudor's reign—the documents from the period and research by scholars who focus on these calendar reforms tell the story of a more complex and varied response from England. In his discussion of the Gregorian calendar reforms, Steve Sohmer writes, "the three consecrated documents of [Elizabeth's] reign were the Bible, the book of Common Prayer, and that invisible finger turning the pages of both, the Julian calendar."[102] Arguing that the Church of England saw the calendar itself as revelatory, Sohmer maintains that the revelatory status of the calendar and the books based on this calendar was even displayed through the color of ink used in their printing: these books were often printed in red ink, the ink usually reserved for Christ's own words in the Bible.[103]

While what Sohmer reports about the Church of England's official stance toward the Julian calendar in the late sixteenth century is by all accounts accurate, it is important to note that the nation and Church did not come to this official position overnight. In fact, what is perhaps most startling about England's response to the Gregorian calendar

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[101] Burckhardt, *Shakespearean Meanings,* 6.
[102] Sohmer, *Shakespeare's Mystery Play,* 20.
[103] Ibid., 20. See also Daniell's introduction in Shakespeare, *Julius Caesar*, 17-8 and Burckhardt, *Shakespearean Meanings*, 6 for other accounts of the Gregorian calendar reforms within the context of *Julius Caesar.* All three of these texts gloss over the decisiveness of the calendar debates among the ruling elite in England.

reforms is just how close the country came to adopting the Pope's newfangled calendar. The decision to refuse the Gregorian calendar was a long and complex process that involved the nation's most powerful leaders. John Dee found fault with the Gregorian calendar, not simply because it was the Pope's calendar, but also because it restored the calendar to its state at the Council of Nice in 325 A.D. rather than restoring it to its first-century state.[104] Dee ultimately wrote a 63-page treatise for the Queen entitled *A playne Discourse and humble Advise for our Gratious Queen Elizabeth, her most Excellent Majestie to peruse and consider, as concerning the needful Reformation of the Vulgar Kalendar for the civile years and daies accompting, or verifying, according to the time truely spent* in which he maintained that the Julian calendar had slipped not ten but eleven days out of line. Dee argued that to reform the calendar truly, England would first need to adopt a special calendar that would realign the days in 1583 and then lead the way in a sort of Protestant counter-reformation of the calendar Pope Gregory had approved.[105] Eventually, the Queen and Dee settled on the adoption of the Gregorian calendar because an internationally uniform calendar would prove useful in trade, commerce, and politics. Yet the calendar debate does not end here. Archbishop Grindal along with three other bishops ultimately defeated the proposal to adopt the Gregorian calendar, citing the papal origin of the calendar as the main source of opposition.[106] One of the Queen's most important legacies, England's continued adherence to the Julian calendar until 1752, resulted because church officials, not the Queen, refused to entertain a calendar that came from Rome.

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[104] Alison A. Chapman, "The Politics of Time in Edmund Spenser's English Calendar," *Studies in English Literature* 42, no. 1 (2002): 5; Poole, *Time's alteration*, 47.
[105] Poole, *Time's alteration*, 47.
[106] Chapman, "The Politics of Time," 6.

Yet even after the state settled on an official stance on the Gregorian calendar, responses to the creation of the Gregorian calendar and to England's continued adherence to the Julian calendar remained varied and polyvocal. Texts from the period reveal that even after the official cloture of the debate following the four bishops' decision, the calendar controversy lived on in England. Two documents, a 1587 almanac and a 1599 pamphlet, reveal both the extensive knowledge of the workings of calendars that many English individuals had and the widespread call for calendar reform despite England's official continued adherence to the Julian calendar. While publicly disagreeing with the state's decision to continue using the Julian calendar could conceivably be construed as an act of either religious or civil disobedience, most were not afraid to let their opinions on the calendar controversy be known. In fact, even in the title of his 1587 almanac, William Farmer reveals his stance on the calendar controversies. His title reads:

> *The Common Almanacke or Kalender, drawn Foorth for this yeere. 1587. beyng the thyrde from the Leape yeere. Whereunto is annexed, and diarily compared the new Kalender of the Romans, which is very pleasaunt, and also necessarie for all estates, whosoever that hath cause to trauel, trade, of traffique into any Nation which hath alreadie receyued this new Kalender, as wyll more playne appeare by the dayly vse thereof.*[107]

Farmer's use of the words "pleasaunt" and "necessarie" to describe the new Gregorian calendar, referred to as the "Roman calendar" because it was issued by the Pope, suggests that the new style calendar is both soundly constructed and all but required in most interactions between England and the rest of Europe. In addition to his argument on

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[107] William Farmer, *The common almanacke or kalender, drawen foorth for this yeere. 1587. beyng the thyrde from the leape yeere* (London: Richarde Watkins and Iames Robertes, 1587), A1r.

behalf of the Gregorian calendar due to its use in international affairs and its scientific accuracy, Farmer also demonstrates why the Julian calendar, despite its revelatory status, cannot continue to function as the marker of time in England; it does not maintain the integrity of the Christian calendar:

> And it hath ben consydered many yeeres agone, that this anticipation, or foregoyng of the Equinoctium, woulde in processe of tyme, so wynde the monthes and dayes about, that the Natiuitie of Christ, which is thought by most to haue been the. Xxv. day of December, and was then the shortest day of Winter, shoulde come to the place of June, at the longest day in Sommer. And this shoulde happen about 16805 yeeres to come, if God would that the worlde should continue so long.[108]

Farmer articulately highlights the contradictions of holding onto the Julian calendar for religious reasons when the calendar clearly does not accurately mark sacred days. To bolster his claims that adhering to the Julian calendar is detrimental to both international affairs and England's state religion, Farmer even includes a chart in his almanac to demonstrate the variance between the days of the Julian calendar and the Gregorian calendar on a yearly basis.

While Farmer's 1587 almanac represents a clear call for England's switch to the Gregorian calendar, Pont's 1599 pamphlet *A newe treatise of the right reckoning of yeare, and ages of the world, and mens liues, and of the estate of the last decaying age thereof* presents a more nuanced depiction of the complexity of the Elizabethan calendar debates and highlights the fact that Elizabeth was not fully in control of her subjects' experiences

[108] Ibid., C2v.

of time. Pont begins his pamphlet by giving a detailed account of the creation of the Julian calendar, as well as its shortcomings:

> The chiefe cause hereof (besides the prevention of the Equinoctial) is that the Iulian yeare, reckoned by Casar, to conteine 365. dayes & six od hours, conteineth somewhat more, then the just calculation For by true Astronomical reckoning, there wil be every yeare, taking off the sixe odde houres, elleven minutes of an houre, and certaine secondes: The which, in the space of 130. yeare, or thereby, will make vp an whole daye. And so in the space of 1645. yeares, which is the time since *Iulius Casar* set out his *Kalendar*, there will be more then the space of thrittene dayes accressed, to be taken away from the count of the odde six houres, about the 365. dayes of the *Iulian* year. For this cause, sundrie learned men of our memory and time, haue earnestly desired, that some Reformation of the *Iulian Kalendar* might be made to bring the same to the old estate and institution thereof, as it was firste set foorth, by reason of divers inconvenients, that by processe of time, occure by neglecting thereof.[109]

Like Farmer, Pont does not hesitate to use his knowledge of the calculations used for calendars to demonstrate that England's Julian calendar is inaccurate. Yet Farmer and Pont's ideas diverge here. While Farmer argues for a wholesale adoption of the Gregorian calendar, Pont finds fault with the Gregorian calendar, calling it a "pretended correction."[110] Pont also identifies the Gregorian calendar as a source of confusion for English citizens because it "putteth many men in doubt what to follow, whether the olde

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[109] Robert Pont, *A newe treatise of the right reckoning of yeare, and ages of the world, and mens liues, and of the estate of the last decaying age thereof* (Edinbvrgh: Robert Walde, 1599), 54.
[110] Ibid., 55.

style of counte or the new."[111] Because matters of state and matters of religion were one and the same in Queen Elizabeth I's England, the confusion concerning which calendar to follow could quickly become potentially dangerous thoughts about the legitimacy of the Queen and the validity of the true Protestant faith. To question the calendar was to question the state and the church. That being said, in matters of business, especially business with other countries, English individuals needed to use the Gregorian calendar. Yet for religious and festival days, the Julian calendar still reigned supreme in England. Having identified the scientific inaccuracies of the Julian calendar, the weaknesses of the Gregorian calendar, and the conflict that occurs when two calendars are consulted simultaneously, Pont assumes the position of calling for a new reformation of the Julian calendar:

> Yee see the distance betweene the one calculation and the other, is more than the space of a Moneth: what errour it may growe to by proces of time, it is easie by this example to perceiue: And so wee must confesse indeede, that the olde Kalendare in this poynt, hath need of reformation."[112]

Farmer's almanac and Pont's pamphlet clarify that the debate over which calendar to use was about much more than determining the day of the year. The controversy over the Julian and Gregorian calendars became a conversation about who was allowed to manage and curate an individual's, and the nation's, sense of time.

**Polyvocal and Reenacted Time**

While the absent days in the play's timeline mirror the days in October that disappeared in 1582 as a result of the Pope's recalibration of the calendar, the play's

[111] Ibid., 56.
[112] Ibid., 61.

opening scene, in which the tribunes and workers debate holidays, creates a polyvocal sense of time that is evocative of the coexisting conceptions of time in England found both among the religious and political elite and in the cheaply produced almanacs and pamphlets in the years following the introduction of the Gregorian calendar. In the opening of *Julius Caesar*, this unstable and potentially polyvocal sense of time is rooted in competing hermeneutics of time based on social class. The play opens with Flavius and Murellus, the tribunes of the people, arguing with a cobbler and a carpenter about whether or not the day is a holiday. Given the competing calendars during Shakespeare's day, Flavius and Murellus's questioning of the tradesmen at the play's opening would have resonated with audience members and might have even provoked a few chuckles. As England's political and economic interactions with Continental Europe and beyond increased during the years following the introduction of the Gregorian calendar, many in England held at least two calendars in their minds, and perhaps in their pockets, simultaneously.[113] Yet it is not merely the banter between the tribunes and the tradesmen that suggests the calendar controversies. It is with whom the tribunes are talking that suggests Shakespeare's attunement to debates about the adoption of the Gregorian calendar. Cobblers, shoemakers, and apprentices are frequently associated with holidays in early modern English texts.[114] Through the association of popular holidays with the lower classes, these "early modern texts raise pressing questions about who should be the

[113] Many almanacs contained more than one calendar. The fact that England started the year on a different day than the rest of Europe also contributed to the English having to think about multiple calendars simultaneously.

[114] See Alison A. Chapman "Whose Saint Crispin's Day Is It? Shoemaking, Holiday Making, and the Politics of Memory in Early Modern England," *Renaissance Quarterly* 54, no. 4, part 2 (2001): 1467-1494 for an analysis of shoemakers and holidays in the opening scene from *Julius Caesar,* the Saint Crispin's Day speech in *Henry V*, and scenes from plays by Dekker, Deloney, and Rowley.

custodians of England's historical and liturgical memory."[115] Part of managing the collective memory of a nation is determining onto which calendar these memories should be inscribed. In chapter three, I will argue that similar questions concerning whether or not the divine right of monarchs give kings and queens the authority to shape time and to curate the nation's memories are mediated in *Richard II* by the image of the clock jack.

While the opening scene in *Julius Caesar* clearly functions to evoke laughs through its puns on "soul" and "sole," the debate between the cobbler and the tribunes also suggests the reality that in the Rome of the play's opening scenes, prior to the assassination of Caesar, the curation of memory, history, and time is reserved for the ruling elite. In most plays from the period, shoemakers and their patron saint, St. Crispin, are associated with upward mobility as shoemakers tend to the soles of shoes and to the soul of the body politic; the typical trajectory of the cobbler in these plays is that of tradesman to gentleman.[116] In *Julius Caesar*, however, Flavius and Murellus deny the cobbler his holiday and thus prevent him from ascending to a new position in society in which he can play a role in the curation of time and memory as is typically the case in the plays that Chapman analyzes. Instead, they send him home "tongue-tied," a pun on both his profession and his inability to answer the tribunes' questions (1.1.63). While new holidays (notably Caesar's changes to the Lupercal and the transformation of Romulus's festival into Caesar's) do in fact emerge in *Julius Caesar,* Chapman argues that "*Julius Caesar* ultimately suggests that the ability to shape the calendar and ritual memory inheres not in the 'gentle' shoemaker but in the 'true' gentility of the play's elite, for

[115] Ibid., 1468.
[116] Ibid., 1469-71.

where the cobbler fails to create a holiday in Caesar's honor, Caesar himself succeeds."[117] While Caesar succeeds in establishing a holiday in his honor, he must die at the hands of some of his closest friends and confidantes in order to do so.

Caesar's killers succeed in shaping the calendar and the memories of Rome, yet they do so in ways that they never could have imagined or anticipated. The conspirators become the custodians of Rome's history and assume a new social position in the wake of Caesar's death as the Ides of March assumes a new calendrical significance following Caesar's assassination. Immediately following the stabbing of Caesar, Brutus directs his fellow assassins to "[s]toop, Romans, stoop" and to bathe their hands in Caesar's blood before marching to the marketplace (3.1.105). He instructs them to show off the "red weapons" (3.1.109) that they have used to protect "'Peace, Freedom and Liberty'" (3.1.110). Cassius immediately responds: "Stoop, then, and wash. How many ages hence / Shall this our lofty scene be acted over / In states unborn and accents yet unknown?" (3.1.111-3). Brutus and Cassius's speeches are reminiscent of *Henry V*'s St. Crispin's Day speech in which Henry misrepresents the memorialization of the future soon-to-be past. Just as Henry claims that the foot soldiers will be celebrated despite the fact that the battle marks his own memorialization, Caesar's assassins similarly present the assassination as an act carried out for the public good even as they seek personal gain and hope to be recognized as the "men who gave their country liberty" (3.1.118). Brutus, responding to Cassius, recapitulates Cassius's imagined future dramatization of the events of the Ides of March: "How many times shall Caesar bleed in sport / That now on Pompey's basis lies along, / No worthier than the dust?" (3.1.114-16). Cassius's lines are in and of themselves uncanny in the sense that the audience who hears them are in fact

[117] Ibid., 1481.

reaffirming the conspirator's declaration; to audiences filling the newly constructed Globe Theater in 1599, the scene of Caesar's assassination is indeed "acted over / in states unborn" and in "accents yet unknown" to classical Rome. Yet these scenes are reenacted, not to celebrate the giving of liberty to Rome's men, but to memorialize the tragic death of one of Rome's greatest rulers. Brutus's recapitulation of Cassius's lines further emphasizes the uncanny and destabilizing nature of this re-imagined performance of an act that the audience experiences simultaneously as the "now" of the real event (the historical assassination of Caesar) and as the "now" of the performance on the stage.[118] Through this telescoping of the past, present and future, the text creates "a kind of vertigo" in which the audience finds themselves intimately familiar with the event of Caesar's assassination and yet shocked by the gruesome horror of the scene.[119] This uneasiness is reinforced as Brutus transforms Cassius's "lofty scene" to Caesar bleeding "in sport," downgrading the scene of Caesar's assassination from a scene integral to the future of the Roman Republic to one of theatrical entertainment and folly.[120] Brutus's claim that in death Caesar is "no worthier than the dust" also adds to this sense of the uncanny as audiences know, both from their familiarity with the story of Caesar's assassination and from their experience of watching the play, that Brutus severely underestimated the power of Caesar, and Caesar's body, in death (3.1.116). As I will demonstrate in Chapter 5, Queen Elizabeth I, like Caesar, continues to shape time even in death.

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[118] Jonathan Goldberg, *James I and the Politics of Literature*, (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1983), 166.
[119] M. W. MacCallum, *Shakespeare's Roman Plays and their Background* (1910, repr., T. J. B. Spencer, 1967), 280.
[120] David Daniell, ed. *The Winter's Tale*, by William Shakespeare (London: Arden, 1998), 147.

Goldberg argues that the aforementioned scene—Brutus and Cassius's consecutive speeches—"demonstrates an 'acting over' in its own cumulative repeating rhetorical patterns" as Cassius echoes Brutus's use of "stoop" and then Brutus in turn echoes Cassius's "how many ages hence" with "how many times."[121] This "acting over" is literalized in *Julius Caesar* not just in the echoes of language between Brutus and Cassius but also in the performance of the play on the early modern stage. Garber perceptively notes the effect of the disconnect between Brutus and Cassius's imagined future performances and the performance that the audience attends:

> Brutus and Cassius imagine a time when their words, gestures and actions will be both quoted and imitated, and they imagine, as well, the context and effort of that quotation. Within the play, this is immediately ironic; they are not portrayed, nor are they immediately received as men who give their country liberty.[122]

As Garber identifies, the irony of this moment is that Brutus and Cassius imagine that future performances will venerate the conspirators' actions. While the historical scene of Caesar's assassination has undoubtedly been acted over and over again as Brutus and Cassius anticipated, it has also been "acted over" in Goldberg's sense of the phrase. Calling to mind the notion of the palimpsest, in which traces of a previous text that has been effaced are still visible through a more recent text, Goldberg's "acting over" suggests a rewriting or a re-performing of the conspirators' dramatic act while traces of the original act nonetheless remain.[123] While the conspirators might have conceived of their act of killing Caesar as an act of "purgers, not murderers" (2.1.179), this act is acted

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[121] Goldberg, *James I and the Politics of Literature*, 167.
[122] Garber, *Shakespeare's Ghost Writers*, 56.
[123] See Jonathan Gil Harris, *Untimely Matter in the Time of Shakespeare*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009) for a discussion of the palimpsest, the uncanny, and the untimely in early modern England.

over throughout history so that it comes to represent the tragic fall of a man at the hands of his political enemies rather than the actions of men aiming to protect the liberty of Rome. In Shakespeare's play, this scene is once more acted over as the play simultaneously enacts the fall of Caesar and encodes the temporal dislocation of the sixteenth century calendar debates within the reenactment of the events of Caesar's death.

While the Soothsayer's singular line, "Beware the Ides of March," is uncanny via its act of prophecy, the line becomes increasingly unsettling through its function as a quotation in the text (1.2.18). Garber draws a strong parallel between Freud's definition of the uncanny and the function of quotations in texts: "the use of quotation is itself already doubled, already belated, since it cites a voice or an opinion that gains force from being somehow absent, authority from the fact of being set apart."[124] In other words, the quotation is both at home and not at home in its new text; it is familiar via its repetition and yet utterly unfamiliar in its new context. On the most literal of levels, "Beware the Ides of March" functions as a quotation in *Julius Caesar* because the Soothsayer utters the phrase twice. The first time that he warns Caesar about the Ides of March, Caesar does not hear him. Caesar asks the Soothsayer to "[s]peak once again," and the Soothsayer responds by quoting himself, once again saying, "Beware the Ides of March" (1.2.22, 23). This repetition via quotation of the Soothsayer's foreboding phrase imbues the phrase with meaning, a meaning that the audience already knew it had before it was even uttered the first time in the action of the play due to the popularity of Caesar in learned and popular culture in the medieval and early modern periods.[125] By the time that Shakespeare's play came to the stage, "Beware the Ides of March" was inextricably

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[124] Garber, 52.
[125] See Clifford Ronan, "Caesar on and off the Renaissance English Stage" in *Julius Caesar New Critical Essays*, ed. Horst Zander, (New York: Routledge, 2005) 71-89, esp. 71-76.

entangled with the story of Julius Caesar. As anyone familiar with Caesar's story knows, the Soothsayer's repeated warning proves accurate, yet the very act of adapting the history of Julius Caesar for the stage creates a sense of the uncanny as the audience simultaneously knows what will happen but is still unsure how the performance of Caesar's death will unfold on the stage. In a similar way, Elizabeth's citizens knew in the final years of her reign that their Queen's death was imminent, but there was still much anxiety about who would rule and about the peacefulness of the transition of power. The play stages the Soothsayer's original utterance of the phrase, but the audience might recognize this as a sort of quotation, an utterance they have encountered before in other accounts of Caesar's life and death. In its new context – the stage of the Globe – the fear surrounding the Ides of March is both commonplace and a new phenomenon; it is both recognizable and foreign. This later understanding of "Beware the Ides of March" as a quotation is fundamental to my interpretation of how this phrase functions as an uncanny quotation on a tertiary level. Between when the Soothsayer issues his initial warning and then quotes himself in front of Caesar so that he can be heard, Brutus also quotes the Soothsayer. When Caesar can identify neither the source nor the content of the Soothsayer's shout, Brutus seemingly calmly explains to Caesar, "A soothsayer bids you beware the Ides of March" (1.2.19). Through his quotation of the Soothsayer's warning, Brutus, in his first line in the play, simultaneously warns his beloved Caesar of imminent danger and prefigures his own involvement in Caesar's death. The quotation of the Soothsayer is out of place coming from Brutus, for Brutus is no practitioner of prophecy. Yet at the same time, the Soothsayer's warning is strangely at home on Brutus's lips. As

the play will reveal, and as the audience already knows, Brutus plays a central role in the assassination of the Roman general and statesman.

**Brutus's Untimeliness**

The character of Brutus, and his relationship with Caesar, is central to my reading of the play's uncanny temporality and its relevance to England's own temporal dislocation in the last quarter of the sixteenth century. England found itself not only operating in a different time zone from the majority of Continental Europe but also experiencing a different sort of disorientation as it became increasingly clear that the Tudor reign, after over 100 years in power, was coming to an end. In Brutus and Cassius's initial conversation in Act One, scene two, Cassius insists that Brutus does not know himself. Cassius levies this accusation against his friend as a way of prompting Brutus to consider carefully Caesar's leadership, the future of the Republic, and Brutus's potential role in this future, but Cassius's observation also functions to develop Brutus as a uncanny character, as a man who both does and does not know his own mind or his place in the world. Believing that Brutus only needs a little encouragement to recognize his place in the politics of Rome, Cassius offers to serve as Brutus's mirror, reflecting back to Brutus what Brutus himself is unable to discern:

> And since you know you cannot see yourself
> So well as by reflection, I your glass
> Will modestly discover to yourself
> That of yourself which you yet know not of. (1.2.66-71)

The mirror that Cassius embodies in attempting to help Brutus recognize his own greatness unsettles the scene as mirrors are necessarily peculiar objects with often

uncanny associations. Jacques Lacan employs the mirror as a paradigm for the process of identification. According to Lacan, two concepts, projection and introjection, constitute the process of identification. Projection is the spectator's view of himself based on the "apparently complete and masterful image seen in the mirror."[126] As the subject gazes into the mirror, "what occurs here for the first time, is the anticipated seizure of mastery."[127] This effect is what Cassius thinks will happen if he functions as Brutus's mirror; he believes that he can show Brutus that he is capable of acting on the behalf of the Roman Republic, even if that means acting against Caesar. But what we actually see happen to Brutus is something akin to introjection; as the spectator tries to reconcile what he sees in the mirror with all of the other identifications that have come to comprise the self, what he "sees in the mirror is an image, whether sharp or broken up, lacking in consistency, incomplete."[128] Lacan's process of identification parallels Freud's notion of the uncanny in its repetitive and fractured nature of the self, a self that is at once familiar and unrecognizable. The cognitive dissonance that Cassius identifies in Brutus and that Brutus sees reflected back at himself is suggestive of Lacan's uncanny process of identification.

This uncanniness is compounded by the fact that mirrors made of smooth Venetian glass only begin to make their way to England in the seventeenth century. In Shakespeare's time, and certainly during the classical period, mirrors were convex

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[126] Philip Armstrong, *Shakespeare's Visual Regime: tragedy, psycholoanalysis, and the gaze* (New York: Palgrave, 2000), 10.
[127] Jacques Lacan, *Freud's Papers on Technique 1953-4*, trans. John Forrester, Vol. 1 of *The Seminars of Jacques Lacan*, ed. Jacques-Alain Miller (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 146.
[128] Ibid., 140.

objects, made of metals that produced only partial and distorted reflections.[129] As Cassius tries to reflect to Brutus that which Brutus himself cannot see, he thus reflects an exceedingly distorted, misshapen, and perhaps unrecognizable version of the self and invests the reflected images "with a value which returns to the gazer redoubled and augmented."[130] While Cassius attempts to show Brutus his potential to protect the liberty of the Roman Republic, the reflection Cassius casts at Brutus in fact results in further fragmentation of the self as Brutus must somehow reconcile his love of Caesar with his love for the Republic. Like the reflection from which Narcissus cannot distance himself in classical mythology or the looking glass that the deposed King shatters in a symbolic act of self-fragmentation in Shakespeare's *Richard II*, the mirror of Cassius forebodingly warns of the trouble that awaits Brutus in his attempt to recognize himself and his place in the politics of the Republic.[131]

What Cassius seems to be saying to Brutus throughout this conversation is that Brutus has an "uncanny" resemblance to Caesar. Cassius in fact argues that he, Brutus, and Caesar are all equals, that they are made of the same stuff and all have the same right to lead the Roman people: "I was born free as Caesar, so were you; / We both have fed as well, and we can both / Endure the winter's cold as well as he" (1.2.97-99). Yet Cassius continues, saying that unlike Caesar, Brutus belongs to the "underlings" (1.2.140). Brutus knows about the common people and their plights in a way that Caesar, bestriding " the narrow world / [l]ike a colossus" can never know (1.2.135). In a bizarre speech that

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[129] Herbert Grabes, *The Mutable Glass: Mirror-imagery in Title and Texts of the Middle Ages and the English Renaissance*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 4; Sabine Melchior-Bonnet, *The Mirror: a history*, (New York: Routledge, 2001), 8.
[130] Armstrong, *Shakespeare's Visual Regime*, 9.
[131] See Catherine Stevens, "Uncanny Re/flections: Seeing Spectres in *Macbeth, Hamlet*, and *Julius Caesar*," *Journal of the Northern Renaissance* 3, no. 1 (2011): para. 17.

attempts to appeal to Brutus through sound, text, feel, and even magic, Cassius emphasizes Caesar and Brutus's sameness:

> 'Brutus' and 'Caesar': what should be in that 'Caesar'?
> Why should that name be sounded more than yours?
> Write them together: yours is as fair a name:
> Sound them, it doth become the mouth as well.
> Weigh them, it is as heavy: conjure with 'em
> 'Brutus will start a spirit as soon as 'Caesar'. (1.2.141-46)

Yet even as Cassius tries to convince Brutus of his ability to assume Caesar's role in Roman politics, Brutus still finds himself uncommitted to removing Caesar from power. What Cassius identifies as Brutus's unknowing of the self is in fact Brutus's simultaneous recognition of the self and repulsion at what he sees. Brutus seemingly knows that something must be done about Caesar, but as one of Caesar's closest friends, he has not fully reconciled himself to the reality that he might have to lead the charge against Caesar. Brutus, recognizing that Cassius is trying to position him against Caesar, equivocates to his friend, neither promising to act with the conspirators nor to stand by Caesar's side:

> That you do love me, I am nothing jealous:
> What you would work me to, I have some aim:
> How I have thought of this and of these times
> I shall recount hereafter. For this present,
> I would not, so with love I might entreat you,
> Be any further moved. What you have said

I will consider: what you have to say

I will with patience here, and find a time

Both meet to hear and answer such high things. (1.2.161-69)

This moment, perhaps more than anywhere else in the play, shows Brutus as a fragmented and uncanny character. Brutus toggles between what Cassius did in the past and does in the present and what he, Brutus, will do in the future. He is stuck between past, present, and future, seemingly trying to make time stand still. We see the same impulse in Queen Elizabeth, who insisted on the continued projection of her identity as a youthful, virginal leader of her nation, and in the nation itself, which was willing to consume these images of the Queen rather than consider the uncertainty of a post-Tudor future. Goldberg identifies in this speech not only a conception of time in which past and future events are inextricably bound to the present but also a foreboding use of paralepsis in which Brutus's denials about turning on Caesar only serve to emphasize that he has already begun to turn: "[H]is denials carry hints of revelations, hints of actions. Brutus, not saying what he has thought, or what he will do, admits that he has thought and that he will act; […] he posits a time in the future meet for action and for speech."[132]

The play's presentation of Brutus as an uncanny double to Caesar, while employed by Cassius primarily to urge Brutus to act in Caesar's assassination, also has the effect of presenting Brutus as a quasi-offspring of Caesar. In this non-hereditary lineage between Caesar and Brutus, Shakespeare's text hints at a form of succession built not on bloodlines but on likeness. Caesar's public remarks to Antony during the Lupercal reveal Calphurnia's barrenness, thus making the affairs of the bedroom the concern of the Republic:

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[132] Goldberg, *James I and the Politics of Literature*, 169-70.

Forget not in your speed, Antonio,

To touch Calphurnia; for our elders say,

The barren touched in this holy chase

Shakes off their sterile curse. (1.2.6-9).

Given that Caesar has no biological children, Brutus serves in place of the absent child, replicating the father Caesar as only a biological son do. The common medieval and early modern tradition that Brutus was in fact the bastard son of Caesar further undergirds this reading.[133] Cassius's description of Brutus, paired with Caesar's remarks about his own wife's barrenness, figures Brutus as the parthenogenetic offspring of Caesar in which Brutus is a part of Caesar, and Caesar is a part of Brutus. This conception of Brutus as an offspring of Caear becomes only more evident when the Plebeians, responding to Brutus's funeral oration, rally around Brutus and call for him to be their next leader:

ALL Live Brutus, live, live.

1 PLEBIEAN Bring him with triumph home unto his house.

2 PLEBEIAN Give him a statue with his ancestors.

3 PLEBEIAN Let him be Caesar.

4 PLEBEIAN Caesar's better parts

Shall be crowned in Brutus. (3.2.48-52)

Echoing Cassius's arguments, the Plebeians see in Brutus parts of their former leader. When they look upon Brutus, they see Caesar. The Plebeians articulate an oddly cyclical understanding of time and of succession in which one Caesar can be replaced with another Caesar, a sort of eternal recurrence of Caesars. If we know our Roman history,

[133] Burckhardt, *Shakespearean Meanings*, 11.

this conception of time as utterly cyclical and repetitive is even more striking, for this seemingly eternal recurrence of Caesars is exactly what happens when Octavian, Augustus Caesar, defeats Antony in the Battle of Actium. It is important to note, however, that the arrival of another, second Caesar does not ensure the future of the Republic. Augustus Caesar rules as Rome's first Emperor.

That the play's character who is most concerned with the marking and passing of time is the character of Brutus suggests that time itself is uncanny in *Julius Caesar.* Act Two, scene one, commonly known as the "Orchard Scene," opens with Brutus complaining that he cannot tell time based on the stars: "I cannot by the progress of the stars / Give guess how near to day" (2.1.2-3). As Burckhardt notes, this complaint serves as a nod to the calendar reforms of Caesar's own day.[134] It is highly probable that the Romans of Caesar's day, accustomed to knowing the time based on the movement and location of the stars, would have trouble doing so in the immediate aftermath of the Julian calendar reforms. Brutus's inability to mark the time based on stars also gestures toward what many saw as the tyranny of Caesar's new calendar, a poignant opening to Brutus's deliberations about what role he will play in the overthrow of Caesar, accused tyrant and enemy of Rome's liberty. Having convinced himself that Caesar must die, not because of what he has done but because of what he might do in the future, Brutus once again expresses temporal confusion, asking Lucius, "Is not tomorrow, boy, the first of March?" (2.1.40). The fact that Brutus will kill Caesar because of possible future actions rather than acts committed in the past emphasizes just how disoriented in time Brutus has become. Lucius's response to Brutus that "March is wasted fifteen days" only serves to compound this temporal dislocation. Sohmer comments that this quick telescoping of

[134] Burckhardt, *Shakespearean Meanings,* 6.

time in the orchard scene is not an oversight on the part of Shakespeare but is instead a critical moment in the development of the play's uncanny temporality: "*The point* is that the whole playhouse knows the date but Brutus doesn't […] But it is not Shakespeare's error […] It is *Brutus's* error and reveals him as an 'untimely man.'"[135] Despite the fact that Brutus heard, and even repeated, the Soothsayer's words, "Beware the Ides of March," Brutus still is not able to comprehend the full effects of what will happen following Caesar's death, just as the English cannot fully imagine a future without Elizabeth, without a Tudor on the throne. When the other conspirators join Brutus in his orchard, Brutus convinces them they should not kill Antony, that they should "carve [Caesar] as a dish fit for the gods, / Not hew him as a carcass fit for hounds" (2.1.64). All the while, as the conspirators debate how to carry out their plans, references to time "are thrust into the foreground when much more important business is relegated to the background; and they all testify to confusion and uncertainty—until the fateful decision has been made, when suddenly these groping guesses yield to the countable precision of a novel chronometric device."[136] As soon as the conspirators agree to let Antony live, the famously anachronistic clock tolls and Brutus utters, "Peace! Count the clock" (2.1.191). Burckhardt identifies the decision to spare Antony as a serious miscalculation on Brutus's part, arguing that Brutus embraces an old and obsolete political philosophy in thinking that the populace will band together behind the conspirators rather than rally around Antony.[137] Having agreed on a plan of action with his co-conspirators, Brutus can once again locate himself within time and space. He can count the three strikes of the clock and know he is moving steadily to "the eighth hour," the planned hour of the

[135] Sohmer, *Shakespeare's Mystery Play*, 78.
[136] Burckhardt, *Shakespearean Meanings*, 6.
[137] Ibid., 7-9.

assassination (2.1.212). But this temporal comfort will be short lived. According to Burckhardt, it is Brutus, not Shakespeare, who is "guilty of an anachronism."[138] Indeed, it is both the future and the past that will come to haunt Brutus's present plan.

**Supernatural Signs and Portentous Premonitions**

While Brutus is busy worrying about what day it is and the conspirators are feverishly planning the details of Caesar's death, supernatural events are unfolding across Rome. Thunder and lightening fill the sky (1.3 stage direction), slaves' bodies do not catch fire despite the presence of flames (1.3.15-8), a bird of night appears at noontime (1.3.26-8), and the conspirators even remark on "portentous things" (1.3.31) and "a strange-disposed time" (1.333). Cassius completely misinterprets the supernatural events transpiring around him. Providing Caska with an exhaustive list of the uncanny, weird, and eerie, Cassius argues that it is Caesar's monstrous tyranny that these sights signify rather than Rome's imminent political upheaval:

> But if you would consider the true cause
> Why wall these fires, why all these gliding ghosts,
> Why birds and beasts from quality and kind,
> Why old men, fools, and children calculate,
> Why all these things change from their ordinance
> Their natures and performed faculties
> To monstrous quality, why, you shall find
> That heaven hath infused them with these spirits
> To make them instruments of fear and warning
> Unto some monstrous state. (1.3.62-71)

[138]Ibid., 9.

Cassius believes that he is immune to the power of these prodigious events. He reports that he has "walked about the streets, / Submitting me unto the perilous night" instead of seeking shelter from the violent weather and supernatural beings (1.3.46-7). In fact, Cassius challenges these supernatural events, daring them to single him out.

Despite these supernatural occurrences, no one save Calphurnia senses danger. While Calphurnia believes that the uncanny events of the night portend danger, Caesar remains unconvinced. Calphurnia and Caesar have completely contradictory understandings of man's intervention in time. Calphurnia believes possible future events can be predicted and prevented through the reading of signs. Additionally, her concerns about the dead reemerging from their graves as a foreshadowing of potential danger to Caesar suggest a telescoping of time in which the past revisits the present and forewarns of the future that is yet to come. Trying to convince Caesar to remain home from the Forum on this particular day, Calphurnia beseeches her husband:

> Caesar, I never stood on ceremonies,
> Yet now they fright me. There is one within,
> Besides the things that we have heard and seen,
> Recounts the most horrid sights seen by the watch.
> A lioness hath whelped in the streets,
> And graves have yawned and yielded up their dead.
> Fierce fiery warriors fight upon the clouds
> In ranks and squadrons and right form of war,
> Which drizzled blood upon the Capitol.
> The noise of battle hurtles in the air,

Horses do neigh, and dying men did groan,

And ghosts did shriek and squeal about the streets.

O Caesar, these things are beyond all use,

And I do fear them. (2.2.13-26)

Images of the undead in Calphurnia's speech demonstrate that in *Julius Caesar's* Rome, time can fold back on itself, that the past and the future can inhabit the present. She recounts that "graves have yawned and yielded up their dead" (2.2.18) and that "ghosts did shriek and squeal about the streets" (2.2.24). A body can rise out of its grave and return from the dead, just as the early modern stage brings Caesar back to life on a daily basis, merely in order to kill him once more. The return of Caesar in the form of a ghost in the later action of the play is foreshadowed in the play's foreshadowing of his own death. Even the grammar of Calphurnia's recounting of the events of the previous night suggests that time has become compressed, repetitive, and cyclical. She switches back and forth between the past and present tenses in her verbs, suggesting that the events of the past and present, the heaven and the earth, have become confused.

While Calphurnia believes that signs and dreams can reveal the future, Caesar ascribes to a sense of time in which human interaction with the surrounding world is unnecessary and in fact, ineffective. Caesar believes in the complete opacity of the future and is uninterested in interfering with the future. In the hours before Caesar's assassination, Cassius presents his fellow conspirators with the possibility that Caesar might not make an appearance at the Capitol:

But it is doubtful yet

Whether Caesar will come forth this day or no,

For he is superstitious grown of late,

Quite from the main opinion he held once

Of fantasy, of dreams and ceremonies. (2.1.192-6).

While the play makes it abundantly clear that Calphurnia has become superstitious of late, Shakespeare provides us with no real evidence of such a transformation in Caesar, at least not in his exchange with his wife. After Calphurnia tells Caesar about the foreboding events that took place overnight, Caesar responds that in the face of the gods' wishes, nothing can be done: "What can be avoided / Whose end is purposed by the mighty gods?" (2.2.26-7). Caesar believes in right timing and its inescapability:

Cowards die many times before their deaths;

The valiant never taste of death but once.

Of all the wonders that I yet have heard,

It seems to me most strange that men should fear,

Seeing that death, a necessary end,

Will come when it will come (2.2.35-7).

As if to heighten his sense of perfect timing, Caesar speaks these lines in perfect iambic pentameter until the line "will come when it will come," which is comprised of six, single-syllable words that do not scan uniformly. This diversion from the pattern of iambic pentameter suggests that death's coming is ultimately as unpredictable and as unexpected as the rhythm of Caesar's words.

**The Uncanniness of Caesar in Death and in Life**

In "The Uncanny," Freud declares that the "souls in Dante's *Inferno* or the ghostly apparitions in Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, *Macbeth*, or *Julius Caesar* may be dark and

terrifying, but at the bottom they are no more uncanny than, say, the serene world of Homer's gods."[139] Freud makes this claim based on the distinction he draws between fiction and reality: "*many things that would be uncanny if they occurred in real life are not uncanny in literature, and* […] *in literature there are many opportunities to achieve uncanny effects that are absent in real life*."[140] What Freud forgets to consider in his discussion of Shakespeare's ghosts, though, is that Shakespeare's plays, though fictional, find their expression via real people on a real stage in front of a real audience. Even if the early modern audience did not believe that the ghost on stage was real, it is still likely that they believed that ghosts were real. Though the Protestant church had banned Purgatory and thus the existence of the living dead, the English of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries still routinely believed in ghosts, and these beliefs are articulated in a wide variety of pamphlets, ballads, oral storytelling and other forms of folklore.[141] More to the point, the ghost of Caesar is undoubtedly uncanny to Brutus, within the fictional world of the play, during their first exchange in Act Four, scene three.[142] Elaine Freedgood writes about the coexistence of the literal and allegorical ghost, not in terms of the stage, but in terms of the ghost story. She argues that even if the narrator of the ghost story does not believe in ghosts, the ghost story itself believes in the ghost:

> The 'ghost' problem is not solved: we are left with two distinct ontological realms at the end of the ghost story: the one in which ghosts do exist and the one in which they do not. We inhabit that ruptured space, and so do many characters who do not know what they have seen, or if what they have heard of what

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[139] Freud, *The Uncanny*, 156.
[140] Ibid., 155-56; emphasis in original.
[141] Diane Purkiss, "Shakespeare, Ghosts and Popular Culture," in *Shakespeare and Elizabethan Popular Culture*, eds. Stuart Gillespie and Neil Rhodes, (London: Arden, 2006), 138.
[142] Garber, *Shakespeare's Ghost Writers*, 63.

> someone else has seen is true. The ghost story is metaleptically ruptured by the intrusion of belief into disbelief and of disbelief into belief. There is a kind of play between these two levels, a heterotopic for which no resolution is offered, or even attempted.[143]

The two distinct ontological realms that Freedgood describes are brought together on the liminal space of the early modern stage. The stage, the space between real life and fiction, between belief and disbelief, imbues the ghost in *Julius Caesar* with a sense of the uncanny.

Garber argues that the ghost of Caesar may not initially appear as uncanny to the audience because the audience knows "it is one costumed actor among others."[144] She goes on to say that though the ghost might not be uncanny, it nonetheless raises "the whole question of uncanniness: it put the uncanny in quotation."[145] In other words, the audience sees the uncanniness of the ghost via Brutus's recognition of the ghost as uncanny. But the ghost of Caesar puts the uncanny in quotation in a second way as well. Shakespeare draws extensively from North's translation of Plutarch's account of Caesar, making use of both the structure and language of the passage, in the scene in which the ghost appears to Brutus before the Battle of Philippi. The ghost of Caesar, then, is uncanny to the audience not just because he is uncanny to Brutus but also because he is comprised of quotations. He is a classical ghost, developed in classical language, inhabiting an early modern play. Though the ghost might be familiar in its function on the stage as ghost, it is unfamiliar and unsettling because it is anything but the standard ghost of the English Renaissance stage. E. Pearlman argues that the ghost of Caesar in

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[143] Elaine Freedgood, "Ghostly Reference," *Representation*s 125, no. 1 (Winter 2014): 45.
[144] Garber, *Shakespeare's Ghost Writers*, 63.
[145] Ibid.

Shakespeare's play is unlike any Elizabethan theatrical ghost before it.[146] If "true uncanniness […] arises from a slippage in expectation," the ghost of *Julius Caesar* is undoubtedly uncanny because it neither does nor says what the audience expects of an early modern theatrical ghost. Early modern ghosts in the tradition of Don Andrea's ghost in Kyd's *The Spanish Tragedy* enter the stage, at the beginning of the play, with great spectacle and bombast. Caesar's ghost on the other hand, does not appear until Act Four. When the ghost finally does appear, it is on stage for less than fifteen lines and speaks far fewer than those fifteen lines. The ghost is neither named nor identified until the last scene of the play when Brutus tells Volumnius, "[t]he ghost of Caesar hath appeared to me / […] I know my hour is come" (5.5.17, 20). This deferral of the identity of the ghost is atypical of early modern drama, but is even more pronounced in North's translation of Plutarch in which the identity of the ghost is never explicitly stated.[147] In appearance as well, the ghost of Caesar does not resemble the standard ghost of Elizabethan drama. Though Brutus does blame his eyes for shaping "a monstrous apparition" (4.3.275), neither Plutarch nor Shakespeare suggests that the ghost appeared in a winding sheet, covered in blood, or with a deathly pallor. Based on the fact that Brutus easily identifies the apparition to Volumnius in Act Five as "the ghost of Caesar" (5.5.17), we must assume that Caesar's ghost inhabits the form of Caesar's body in Act Four, scene three.

The induction of the 1599 play *A Warning for Fair Women* satirically describes the Elizabethan stage ghost of tragedy as "a filthie whining ghost, / Lapt in some fowle

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[146] E. Pearlman, "Shakespeare at Work: The Invention of the Ghost," in Hamle*t New Critical Essays*, ed. Arthur F. Kinney (New York: Routledge, 2002), 74.
[147] Compare this to *The Spanish Tragedy* in which the ghost identifies itself, "My name was Don Andrea" in the fifth line of Act One.

sheet, or leather pelch" (1.55).[148] *A Warning for Fair Women*'s metatheatrical commentary on the conventions of tragedy suggests that by 1599, the shrieking ghost, wrapped in its winding sheet or garment, was commonplace on the early modern stage. Though the texts suggests that the ghost of Caesar does not appear in this form in Act Four, scene three, there are traces of the traditional ghost of the early modern stage in *Julius Caesar*. These traces suggest that just as Rome is post-republic even in the final years of Caesar's Republic, Caesar's death, even while Caesar is still alive, is haunting Rome. Brutus has a "veiled" countenance in Act One, scene two as though he is already shrouded in the winding sheet that will envelop him in death at the play's end (1.2.38). That Brutus's look is veiled on account of the internal conflict he feels concerning the futures of Caesar and the Republic suggests that the ghost of the man he has not yet killed already haunts him. The cloak upon which Antony meditates following Caesar's death also has a striking resemblance to the sheet or garment that belonged to the ghost of early modern tragedy.

> You all do know this mantle. I remember
> The first time ever Caesar put it on.
> 'Twas on a summer's evening in his tent,
> That day he overcame the Nervii. (3.2.168-71).

The winding sheets used on a corpse were often the deceased's wedding sheets. Though this practice is most likely on account of the limited amount of fabric in an early modern home, it also suggests the circularity of life and death. Similarly, the mantle that shrouds Caesar's body in death is the same garment that covered Caesar when he was most virile and powerful, immediately after victory in battle. Though not technically a winding

[148] C.D. Cannon, ed. *A Warning for Fair Women*. (The Hague: Mouton, 1975).

sheet, the mantle functions in a similar way to the winding sheet of the typical theatrical ghost. Both the winding sheet and garment have an uncanny aspect to them as they simultaneously signify the living and the dead, the past and the future.

The ghost of Caesar and traces of this ghostly form are not the only uncanny aspects of Caesar in Shakespeare's play. Even in life, Caesar's body, like the Queen's, is untimely. While the Queen's body is uncanny because of her self-fashioning as an available virginal maiden even when the age of marriage and childbearing has long passed, Caesar's body prophesizes future events and figures prominently in the play's staging of time as cyclical and subject to repetition. In Act Two, Caesar recounts to Decius a dream that Calphurnia had about her husband:

> She dreamt tonight she saw my statue,
> Which, like a fountain with an hundred spouts,
> Did run pure blood; and many lusty Romans
> Came smiling and did bathe their hands in it. (2.2.76-9)

While Calphurnia understands this dream literally, that Caesar's life is in danger, Decius reinterprets Calphurnia's dream so that the outpouring of Caesar's blood represents not literal blood but "reviving" (2.2.88) pap that will renew the strength of the Republic. Yet even as Decius tries to posit a positive interpretation of Calphurnia's dream, he still continues to use images that revolve around death. In language that echoes both the sacrificed Redeemer and the sacred physical tokens associated with martyrs, Decius tells Caesar that Calphurnia's dream reveals that "great men shall press / For tinctures, stains, relics, and cognizance" (2.2.88-9). In addition to the fact that Calphurnia's dream accurately prognosticates Caesar's death, the central image of this dream suggests the

collapse of past, present, and future. The image of Romans bathing their hands in Caesar's blood, an image that is repeated in Cassius and Brutus's exhortations immediately following Caesar's death, is first described in Calphurnia's dream. This event is thus imagined and imprinted on the audience on two separate occasions before Caesar even dies. The future of Caesar's death haunts the present. Calphurnia's dream prefigures the event, Brutus's direction of his fellow conspirators in Act Three, scene one enacts the event, Cassius's declaration in response to Brutus's direction calls for the recurrence of this event, and meta-theatrically, our continued reading and performance of Shakespeare's tragedy ensures its repetition.

**The Uncanny Time of the Theater**

Peter Stallybrass, in examining the etymological development of the word "haunt," argues that as the early modern theater more frequently staged ghosts and supernatural beings, the theater increasingly became attacked as "familiar 'haunts' of ill resort."[149] Those who levied attacks against the theater saw the playhouse as a place of loose morality, subversive sexuality, and alternative religious ideas. But as Stallybrass notes the "theater ironically incorporated this sense of itself as a dangerous haunt."[150] The early modern theater began to use its haunting identity to its own advantage. We see this reappropriation of the theater as "haunt" in *Julius Caesar* in which the specter of Caesar – his calendar, his death, his return from the dead – is employed to reflect critically on the apparition of the Tudorless future. The theatricality of *Julius Caesar*, in which several of the characters conceive of their actions in terms of a theatrical performance, contributes to this sense of the theater as both as a space of haunts and a

[149] Peter Stallybrass, "Hauntings: The Materiality of Memory on the Renaissance Stage" in *Generation and Degeneration*, eds. Valeria Finucci and Kevin Brownlee (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2001), 303.
[150] Stallybrass, "Hauntings," 303.

space that haunts. In directing his fellow conspirators prior to Caesar's assassination, Brutus employs the language of the theater:

> Good gentleman, look fresh and merrily.
>
> Let not our looks put on our purposes,
>
> But bear it as our Roman acts do,
>
> With untired spirits and formal constancy. (2.1.223-26)

The attack on Caesar as theatrical event is even further emphasized by the fact that the event unfolds in none other than Pompey's Theater. Even as Caesar's ghost haunts the early modern theater, both the classical and early modern theater haunt the action of *Julius Caesar*. The metatheatricality of Shakespeare's play, this emphasis on both past and future performances, foregrounds *Julius Caesar* as a text that looks both backward and foreword. The play stages an historical event, but it draws this event from the past and into the present in order call attention to the future. This Janus-like effect of *Julius Caesar* dislocates us in time; it makes time uncanny. In its destabilization of time, *Julius Caesar* not only reenacts the calendar controversies that would come to define time during the Queen's reign but also demands that even in remembering and memorializing the past, we must look forward to and prepare for a time in which Elizabeth, the last of the Tudors, is no longer Queen.

# CHAPTER THREE

## "FOR TIME HATH SET A BLOT UPON MY PRIDE": POLITICAL THEOLOGY AND THE MASTERY OF TIME IN *RICHARD II*

In the final act of Shakespeare's *Richard II*, the former king, Richard of Gloucester, finds himself alone in his prison cell at Pomfret Castle. Reflecting upon the untimely end of his rule and the ascension of Henry Bolingbroke to the throne, Richard laments that he has become an agent or object of Time, to be used or cast aside by Time as it wishes. Using a complex horological conceit to communicate both his loss of subjectivity and his extreme despair as he awaits death, Richard first figures himself as a clock and then further refines the image so that he becomes not the entire clock but instead just one part of the clock, the jack o'the clock:

> I wasted time, and now doth Time waste me
> For now hath Time made me his numb'ring clock.
> My thoughts are minutes, and with sighs they jar
> Their watches unto mine eyes, the outward watch,
> Whereto my finger, like a dial's point,
> Is pointing still, in cleansing them from tears.
> Now, sir, the sound that tells what hour it is
> Are clamorous groans which strike upon my heart,
> Which is the bell. So sigh, and tear, and groan
> Show minutes, times, and hours, But my time

> Runs posting on in Bolingbroke's proud joy,
>
> While I stand fooling here, his jack o'the clock. (5.5.49-60)[151]

The "jack o'the clock" to which Richard refers, also known as a jacquemart, a clock jack, or simply a jack, was an automaton that adorned clocks across Europe during the late medieval and early modern periods. Designed in shape and function to resemble the men who rang bells in church towers, these automata often held hammers, and through a mechanized series of movements, struck bells to mark the time.[152]

Jean Froissart's *Cronycles of Englande / Fraunce/ Spayue / Portyngale / Scotlaude / Bretayne / Flaunders: and other places adioynynge* recounts many of the central events in fourteenth century Europe, including a detailed account of the Hundred Year's War. Froissart's *Chronicles* describe the history of a clock jack that still stands atop the Eglise Notre-Dame in Dijon, France. Lord Berners, reportedly at the commandment of Henry VIII, translated Froissart's *Chronicles* into English, the first volume of which was printed in 1523. The history of the horologe that stands atop the Eglise Notre-Dame thus had the potential to reach a new English audience:

> So than the kynge ordayned that at his departyng the towne shulde beset a fyre / & distroyed. Whan the knowledge therof came to the erle of Flaunders / he thought to haue founde some remedy therfore. And so came before y$^{e}$ kyng and kneled downe / and requyred hym to do none yuell to the towne of Curtrey. The kyng answered / howe that surely he wolde nat here his request. And so therle durst speke no more of that mater but so departed and went to his logyng Before they

[151] All references to *Richard II* come from the following edition unless otherwise noted: William Shakespeare, *King Richard II*, ed. Charles R. Forker, Arden Shakespeare, Third Series (London, Bloomsbury 2002).

[152] For a more thorough discussion of the history and design of medieval and early modern clock jacks, see below.

> fyre began, the Duke of Burgoyne caused an horaloge to be taken downe / y$^{e}$ moost fayrest and goodlyest that coude be founde on that syde of the see. The whiche horaloge was taken downe be peces and layed in chares / and the bell also. And after / it was caryed to Diyon in Burgoyne / and there it was sette up. & there sowneth the .xxiiii. houres of y$^{e}$ day and night.[153]

After quelling a revolt in Flanders, Philip the Bold (1342-1404), the Duke of Burgundy, seized the jacquemart atop the belfry at Courtrai (in modern day Belgium) and gifted it to the city of Dijon. By physically removing and relocating the Courtrai clock jack following the quelled rebellion, Philip both demonstrates his power over the people of Flanders and compromises their ability to mark and to make sense of time. The jacquemart atop Église Notre-Dame becomes an object then, not only used to mark time but also displayed to demonstrate one's power over and defeat of another. The unusual history of this clock jack reveals the association between the exercise of political control and the usurpation of time and time objects. Richard's image of himself as Bolingbroke's clock jack, read through the lens of Phillip the Bold's seizing of the clock at Courtrai, reveals that when the crown changes hands, the hands on the clock also change.

Yet I do not mention Lord Berners's translation of Froissart simply because it provides a brief English account of the Dijon clock jack's unusual history and accordingly a framework for understanding how the jacquemart in *Richard II* embodies the intersection of political control and the management of time. Berners's translation

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[153] Jean Froissart, *Here begynneth the first volum of sir Iohan Froyssart of the cronycles of Englande, Fraunce, Spayne, Portyngale, Scotlande, Bretayne, Flaūders: and other places adioynynge*., trans. Johan Bourchier (London, 1523), sig. CCC$_{1}$v.

also reveals on a larger scale how both crown and text manipulate time through their curation of history. According to the title page of the 1523 text, Berners translated Froissart's *Chronicles* into "our maternall englysshe tonge…at the comaundement of oure moost high redouted souerayne lorde king henry the. viii. kyng of Englande and of Fraunce / & highe defender of the christen faythe. &c."[154] Berners's title page introduces the intersection of the authority of the monarch, the monarch's religious status, and historiography. "[O]our most high redouted souerayne lorde" demonstrates recognition of the King's authority, while the epithet "high defender of the christen faythe" establishes that the King's authority both stems from God and extends to matters of God. Furthermore, Henry VIII's "comaundement" that the *Chronicles* be translated into English suggests that the King found in Froissart's text recounting the events of fourteenth century Europe something that he believed his subjects needed to see or hear. When we consider the Preface's praise of the benefits of histories—that "they shewe / open / manifest and declare to the reder / by example of olde antyquite: what we shulde enquere / desyre / and folowe: And also / what we shule eschewe / auoyde / and vtterly flye"—alongside Lord Berners's claim that the King authorized this translation—Henry VIII's management of accounts of the past in order to shape the present, presumably for monarchial purposes, becomes evident.[155] If the account of the horologe, taken from Courtrai and moved to Dijon, reveals on a small scale the ways in which power figures manipulate time, then Lord Berners's translation of Froissart's *Chronicles*, authorized by

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[154] Jean Froissart, *Here begynneth the first volum of sir Iohan Froyssart of the cronycles of Englande, Fraunce, Spayne, Portyngale, Scotlande, Bretayne, Flaūders: and other places adioynynge*, trans. Johan Bourchier, (London, 1523), sig. $A_2$r.

[155] Ibid, sig. $A_3$r. I will return to this concept of the curation of history for monarchical purposes below. *The Hollow Crown* version of *Richard II*, which opens with the "Let us talk of graves and epitaphs" speech from 3.2 and then repeats the speech in its usual place within 3.2, initially brought to my attention the curatorial role of both King and drama with regards to how history is framed and retold.

none other than the King himself, reveals the monarch's manipulation of history—time writ large—on a grand scale.

While Shakespeare read Froissart in Berners's translation, one neither can nor need demonstrate Shakespeare's familiarity with the provenance of the clock jack situated atop the Église Notre-Dame.[156] Regardless of Shakespeare's knowledge of this horologe, the story of Philip the Bold, the Duke of Burgundy, and his seizing of the clock from Courtrai provides a useful lens through which to examine Richard's conception of himself as Bolingbroke's clock jack in Shakespeare's drama. Furthermore, the text that contains this history, through its conditions of production, demonstrates the way in which both King and text curate history.

This chapter revisits the critical debates about the divine authority of monarchs and Shakespeare's engagement with historiography through a sustained engagement with the horological image of Richard II as jacquemart. The jacquemart to which Richard compares himself in Act Five serves as an image through which we can access the play's primary epistemologies of time; by employing Richard's horological metaphor as a lens through which to read the play, I will reveal the play's interest in the divine right of kings and queens specifically with regards to the shaping and manipulation of time. These concerns about the monarch's right and ability to manipulate time emerge from changing notions of the divine right of monarchs as well as shifting understandings and images of

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[156] For discussions of Jean Froissart's *Chronicles* as a source of *Richard* II, see Anthony B. Dawson and Paul Yachnin, introduction to *Richard II* by William Shakespeare (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2011), 44-56; Charles R. Forker, introduction to *King Richard II* by William Shakespeare (New York: Bloomsbury, 2002), 152-154; Geoffrey Bullough, *Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare*, vol. 3 (New York: Columbia UP, 1960), 367-369; Jean Froissart's *Chronicles* provides an eyewitness account of Richard II's last ten years by a French visitor in the English court, so it seems likely that Shakespeare was familiar with Froissart's chronicle. The concluding sections of Froissart's *Chronicles* cover the final years of Richard's reign. Shakespeare also mentions Froissart in *I Henry VI* 1.2.29.

time in the early modern period.[157] As demonstrated in Chapter Two in my discussion of *Julius Caesar*, the right and ability of monarchs to shape and curate time was a topic of debate in Elizabethan England, especially after the papal introduction of the Gregorian Calendar in 1582. The jacquemart provides us with an entryway into the questions of whether and to what degree divine right rule, as it is developed and depicted in Shakespeare's *Richard II*, gives kings and queens the ability to shape, manipulate, and control time.

Though the extended horological metaphor from Richard's soliloquy in Act Five has received some critical attention, most scholars who have engaged with the image of Richard as a clock jack have included this image among a litany of clock images from early modern poetry and drama.[158] Wendy Beth Hyman's article is one of the few pieces of scholarship that has explored Richard's image as a clock jack in any depth. Hyman examines several characters in Shakespeare, including Richard II, whom she argues embody the figure of the clock jack through their names and the etymological resonances of the word "jacquemart," their engagement with horological images and activities, and their connections to ideologies of labor, class, and creation.[159] Most pertinent to my own research is Hyman's claim that "each of these characters has a complicated relationship to time, to labour, to interiority, and to the larger sweep of historical events around him."[160] While labor and class do not figure prominently in my reading of *Richard II*'s

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[157] See my chapter on *Julius Caesar* and the Gregorian reform calendar controversies for a further examination of the intersection of changing ideas about divine right monarchs and the management of time.
[158] John Scattergood, "A pocketful of death: horology and literature in Renaissance England," in *On Literature and Science*, ed. Philip Coleman (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2007), 43-61; Tiffany Stern, "Time for Shakespeare: Hourglasses, sundials, clocks, and early modern theatre" *Journal of the British Academy* 3: 1-33.
[159] Wendy Beth Hyman, "For now hath time made me his numbering clock': Shakespeare's Jacquemarts," *Early Theatre* 16.2 (2013): 145.
[160] Ibid., 145.

image of the clock jack, I use Hyman's preliminary work on these unusual horological characters, especially with regards to these characters' complex relationships with time that compromise their agency and potentially dehumanize them, to undergird my own reading of *Richard II* and Richard's soliloquy in Act Five.

A long and robust history of scholarship on the play's political, theological, and historiographical underpinnings has paid less attention to the play's curation of horological and royal time. Ernst H. Kantorowicz's 1957 book *The King's Two Bodies* explores the medieval development of the notion of the king's two bodies—the body politic and the body natural—and turns to Shakespeare's *Richard II* to trace the emergence of an early modern political theology built upon the king's two bodies. While much of the scholarship on *Richard II* continues to build upon Kantorowicz's two-body model, scholarship about early modern rather than medieval politics has also figured prominently in the play's criticism.[161] Many scholars have been eager to categorize *Richard II* as the play most closely connected to the political concerns of Elizabethans, in large part because of the play's probable performance in front of the Earl of Essex on the eve of the uprising in 1601.[162] Paul E.J. Hammer goes so far as to describe Shakespeare's play as "transcending the confines of theatrical production to enter into

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[161] Ernst H. Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies*: *A Study in Mediaeval Political Theology* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997); For a semiotic analysis of Richard's rejection of the notion of the king's double body, see Patricia Canning, "'For I must nothing be': Kings, Idols, and the Double-Body of the Sign in Early Modern England. *Critical Survey* 24.3 (2012): 1-22.

[162] See Lisa Hopkins, "The King's Melting Body: *Richard II*" in *A Companion to Shakespeare's Works Volume II: The Histories*, eds. Richard Dutton and Jean E. Howard (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2003), 395-411; Paul E.J. Hammer, "Shakespeare's *Richard II*, the Play of 7 February 1601, and the Essex Rising," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 59.1 (2008): 1-35. Hammer's reading of the Essex Rising supports my own reading of the play as engaging in question of royal authority and succession. Hammer argues that the Rising was not about overthrowing the Queen but was instead about rallying the people of London to protest Essex from his public enemies who had surrounded the Queen. Essex's support of James as successor was an important aspect of the rising as Essex believed that the Queen's advisors hoped to discredit him as a way to divert the succession toward Spain.

real-life political drama during the playwright's own lifetime."[163] Still others have considered the play's early modern and Tudor historicization of the events of Richard II's reign. In a similar vein are those scholars who have studied Shakespeare's own historiographic pursuits as well as the historiography of Shakespeare's plays.[164] While this outpouring of scholarship demonstrates a critical appreciation for the play's engagement with theology, politics, and historiography, it fails to consider how the materiality of time gives shape to the political and religious questions that Shakespeare's play posits. Yet when we consider the history of the jacquemart as a material object and Richard's figuration of himself as one of these horologes, we begin to see the imbrication of time in questions of agency, royal authority, and the divine right of kings and queens.

**Mechanical Clocks and Clock Automata**

Before exploring in detail how Richard's horological metaphor encourages us to consider the monarch's right to shape time, I shall first provide a brief history of the mechanical clock and clock automata. I shall consider both Continental and English clocks as I move from a general overview of clock automata to a more pointed focus on jacquemarts (humanoid clock automata) and "quarter jacks" or "quarter boys" (humanoid automata that struck bells every quarter hour). After considering the mechanical and technological advances that gave rise to these horological automata, I shall consider the symbolic importance of these material objects both as time-telling instruments and as spectacle while also considering the implications of the etymology of "jacquemart." As I shall argue, this sense of horological spectacle becomes closely associated with Christian

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[163] Hammer, "Shakespeare's *Richard II*," 1.
[164] Phyllis Rackin, *Stages of History: Shakespeare's English Chronicles* (London: Routledge, 1991); Marie Axton, "*The Queen's Two Bodies* (London, Royal Historical Society, 1977); and Peter Saccio, *Shakespeare's English Kings: history, chronicle, and drama*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2000).

typological and eschatological temporalities. This consideration of jacquemarts as material objects that perform repetitive biblical tableaus while simultaneously marking the passing of time will lay the foundation for my reading of debates about the monarchical management of time as engaging in contemporary debates about the divine right of monarchs.

The Church's long history of timekeeping unexpectedly connects Christian temporalities to the mechanics, iconography, and etymology of jacquemarts. The church's initial interest in keeping track of time and duration emerged from the monastic orders' strict daily schedule of prayer and work that the Rule of St. Benedict introduced to Western Christendom in the early sixth century.[165] From simple gnomons or pointers placed on the side of exteriors walls of churches to clocks that were powered by the movement of water, devices used to calculate times and durations, called horologia, have long been a part of the material presence and fabric of the Church.[166] An upsurge in the references to horologes in church records and documents in late thirteenth and early fourteenth century England suggests the development of a new and improved time-telling instrument during this time.[167] Scholars widely agree that this new development was the mechanical escapement, which made for a more effective regulator, the component of the clock responsible for the controlled released of energy.[168] Before the invention of the mechanical escapement, craftsmen had determined how to harness impulsive power

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[165] David S. Landes, *Revolution in Time*, rev. ed. (London: Viking, 2000), 56; Dominique Fléchon, *The Mastery of Time* (Paris: Flammarion, 2011): 107.
[166] Arthur Robert Green, *Sundials, Incised Dials or Mass-Clocks*, Paperback ed. (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1978), 29; J.D. North, "Monasticism and the First Mechanical Clocks," in *The Study of Time II*, eds. J.T. Fraser and N. Lawrence (New York: Springer-Verlag, 1975), 381.
[167] North, "Monasticism and the First Mechanical Clocks," 384. See also C.F.C Beeson, *English Church Clocks 1280-1850* (Ashford, Kent: Brant Wright Associates, 1977), 4; Landes, *Revolution in* Time, 48,51.
[168] Paul Glennie and Nigel Thrift. *Shaping the Day: A History of Timekeeping in England and Wales 1300-1800* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2009), 30.

(usually through gravity) in order to start the movement of water and weight-driven clocks. The primary problem that they continued to face was how to release small units of this harnessed power or energy in regular, repeatable movements.[169] With the development of the mechanical escapement, the weight was released and restrained at a constant rate in small increments as it interacted with a series of rotating wheels. This regular mechanical movement of the clock thus marked out a very short period (a single movement of the regulator), the accumulation of which could add up to larger period of time such as hours and days.[170]

The earliest record of a mechanical clock in Europe comes from Dunstable Priory in 1283, though the mechanical escapement itself is not explicitly mentioned.[171] The Annales Prioratus de Dunstablia report, "The same year we made the horologe that is placed above the pulpit."[172] In the following years, references to horologes proliferated in church documents across England, recording both the financial burden of construction and installation of these clocks and the increasing prevalence of these mechanical clocks.[173] These church records suggest that mechanical escapement clocks were in production across England during this time period, even if at this point no one had yet

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[169] Ibid.
[170] Ibid., 31.
[171] Beeson, *English Church Clocks*, 6; North, "Monasticism and the First Mechanical Clocks," 384; Nigel Thrift, *Spatial Formations* (London: Sage, 1996), 192. Glennie and Thrift, *Shaping the Day,* 75.
[172] The original Latin reads, "Eodem anno fecimus horologium quod est supra pulpitum collocatum." See Beeson, *English Church Clocks*, 6. Beeson argues that this account does not report the acquisition of another water clock (clepsydra) because the annals report only important events and affairs and the record of making this horologium therefore suggests the importance of the events. Beeson maintains that "pulpitum" does not mean "pulpit" in this context but instead means the rood screen. It would be very difficult to operate a water clock that is placed above the rood screen.
[173] For an overview of the first extensive Church financial records concerning mechanical clocks, the Sacrist's Roles of Norwich Cathedral, see North, "Monasticism and the First Mechanical Clocks," 385. For records of the increasing prevalence of these clocks across England, see Beeson, *English Church Clocks*, 10-12. In 1324, the Treasurer of Lincoln Cathedral reportedly offered to donate a horologe because "the Cathedral was destitute of what other cathedrals, church, and convents almost everywhere in the world are generally known to possess."

described the mechanical escapement that made possible the design and construction of these large mechanical clocks.

The mechanical escapement itself took on various different forms in its early days, although its fundamental ability to enable the building of large clocks remained constant. Two of the earliest documents on the art of designing mechanical clocks demonstrate such variations. The earliest known document detailing the design and construction of a mechanical clock appears in Richard of Wallingford's 1327 *Tractatus Horologii Astronomici.* The *Tractatus Horologii Astronomici* manuscript, which details the mechanical clock that Richard of Wallingford designed for the Abbey at St. Albans, contains 16 propositions, images, tables, and what appear to be copies of Richard's notes.[174] While Richard of Wallingford's documents do not provide an explicit description of the clock's mechanical escapement, they do include diagrams and measurements for the components of its escapement.[175]

Between 1348 and 1364, Giovanni de'Dondi of Padua designed an elaborate astronomical clock called the astrarium and also wrote a manuscript that details the design and purpose of the astrarium. Like Richard of Wallingford, de'Dondi provides careful measurements and ratios of his wheels and gears but does not describe the escapement in any detail. Presumably the technological underpinnings of the mechanical escapement were already well known by this period and thus neither Richard of Wallingford nor Giovanni de'Dondi felt it necessary to describe their mechanisms in any

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[174] J.D. North, *Richard of Wallingford An edition of his writings with introductions, English translation and commentary Volume II Texts and Translations* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), 309-320.
[175] J.D. North, *God's Clockmaker: Richard of Wallingford and the invention of time* (London: Hambledon and London, 2005), 175.

detail.[176] The escapement seen in Richard of Wallingford's St. Albans clock is known as a strob escapement while de'Dondi's mechanism makes use of a verge and foliot escapement, which became the more common type of escapement in mechanical clocks. The principle of regular, mechanized movement that undergirds both the strob and verge and foilot escapements would remain the technological centerpiece of mechanical clock design for over 300 years and would allow clockmakers to design mechanical clocks that were increasingly symbolically rich and visually impressive.

Once clocks were equipped with mechanical escapements, clockmakers began to equip these mechanical clocks with functional and aesthetic moving parts of all shapes and sizes. Astronomical clocks often showed not only the time but also the movement of the heavenly bodies. Astrolabe dials on clocks showed the positions of stars, the moon, and the sun. Ecclesiastic calendars were also incorporated into some large clocks to determine the date for Easter and other feast days. Richard of Wallingford's clock at the Abbey at St. Albans is even reported to have been equipped with a wheel of fortune and the times of the tides at London Bridge.[177] Clocks adorned with moving figures also followed quickly on the heels of the development of the mechanical escapement. In his overview of the first mechanical clocks in Europe, North writes, "In due course, timekeeping was to encompass the drama of a mechanical cosmos, combined with a wide range of more earthly amusements: striking jacks, jousting knights, wheels of fortune."[178] While horological scholars are largely in agreement about the clock's dramatization of the cosmos, North's characterization of clock automata as "earthly amusements" belies the religious iconography of many of these automata and downplays the extent to which

[176] Landes, *Revolution in Time*, 53.
[177] Fléchon, *The Mastery of Time*, 124.
[178] North, "Monasticism and the First Mechanical Clocks," 381.

the entire mechanical clock, automata included, performs and represents the Christian cosmos and Christian temporalities. On the other hand, Nocks's research on the addition of automata to mechanical clocks underscores the connection between the theology of the church and the clock automata:

> By the mid-fourteenth century, European mechanics were enhancing their clocks with moving figures. The Europeans were inspired by an earlier practice incorporated into religious instruction. During the medieval period, moving figurines were sometimes installed near the lecterns in churches as a kind of multimedia presentation. The priest could dramatize his sermons by working the figure via a series of weights and levers. In one case, a carved wood crucified Christ rolled its head and eyes and stuck out its tongue to illustrate the agonizing death he had endured for humanity's redemption.[179]

As Nocks's account of the development of automata on mechanical church clocks demonstrates, medieval churchgoers might connect such automata and theology. As these moving figurines moved from the church lecterns and pulpits to church clocks and towers, they maintained their purpose in religious instruction. Nocks's description also emphasizes the theatrical element that these automata possessed. On the lectern, these mechanical figures helped convey the sermons and scripture to a largely illiterate congregation. In a similar way, the automata on the clock performed the passing of time, made visible in miniature God's creation of worldly and heavenly spheres, and presented horological moments from the Bible in material form.

Religious iconography drawn from Genesis to Revelations featured prominently in European clock automata. Beeson's research shows that the 1465 Salisbury Cathedral

[179] Lisa Nocks, *The Robot: the life story of a technology* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2007), 26.

clock automata might have included a visit of the three kings at the nativity and a scene of the resurrection.[180] The Strasbourg Cathedral astronomical clock also had a cockerel figure, which was a common automaton on church clocks.[181] The cockerel drew its horological significance from the four gospels' account of Jesus foretelling of Peter's denial of him before the rooster's crow the next day. Carlo Cipolla reports that the clock in the Palazzo del Comune in Bolonga had a procession of magi and saint automata that processed by the Virgin and Child.[182] While these automata show the birth of the Savior, other automata and jacquemarts showed man's fall from grace; a 1510 clock in Ghent reportedly had two jacks with Adam striking the bell on the hour, Eve striking the bell on the half-hour, and a snake that weaved its way around the bell-striking couple.[183] When the Strasbourg Cathedral clock was rebuilt in 1547, new automata including "the figures of Christ and Death that dueled at the stroke of the hours, Death winning all hours except the last" adorned the clock.[184]

Lande has eloquently noted that "the clock as pageant was an imitation of divine creation, a miniaturization of heaven and earth"; moreover, the notion of the clock as pageant was an imitation of Christian temporalities.[185] On the one hand, repetitive biblical tableaus performed each and every hour suggest the typological temporality of Christianity in which the events of the Old Testament are a prefiguration of events to

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[180] Beeson, *English Church Clocks*, 133.
[181] What is thought to be the oldest surviving clock automata is the rooster that once was a part of the astronomical clock located in the Cathédrale Notre-Dame in Strasbourg, France. It is now held in the Strasbourg Museum of Decorative Arts.
[182] Carlo M. Cipolla, *Clocks and Culture: 1300-1700* (London: Collins, 1967), 44.
[183] Ibid., 45.
[184] F.C. Haber, "The Cathedral Clock and the Cosmological Clock Metaphor" in *The Study of Time II*, eds. J.T. Fraser and N. Lawrence (New York: Springer-Verlag, 1975), 401.
[185] Landes, *Revolution in Time*, 82-3.

come in the New Testament.[186] On the other hand, these religious automata also enact the eschatological temporality of Christianity as each movement of the automata signifies the unstoppable flow of time toward a final day of judgment.

Although there are many overviews of Continental medieval clock automata with jacquemarts, the English jacquemart remains inexplicably understudied, particularly as a material time-telling object, with the notable exception of William Starmer's comprehensive overview of English clock jacks, "The Clock Jacks of England."[187] C.F.C. Beeson's *English Church Clocks 1280-1850* similarly provides brief descriptions of astronomical dials and automata on early English clocks. Unfortunately, subsequent scholarship has largely failed to build upon the preliminary work of Starmer and Beeson, and the mechanical and iconographic connections between English clock jacks and Christian theology remain largely unexplored. While it is likely that many English clock automata were lost during the Reformation and English Civil War, a surprising number of jacquemarts still exist in England today. More pertinently, jacquemarts in early modern England would have been fairly common, with each of the major cathedrals having acquired a jacquemart of some sort by the early modern period.[188] While Starmer's work focuses primarily on the musical aspects of jacquemarts including the notes of their bells, his paper provides an exhaustive list and brief physical description of all of the jacquemarts in England that are known to him. Discussing the numerous automata of the 1574 Strasbourg astronomical clock, Haber concludes that "[t]he so-called 'puppetry' of the clock was an integral part of the symbolic art of religion whose purpose was to

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[186] For example, the Old Testament story of Abraham's sacrifice of Isaac prefigures or serves as a type for the New Testament story of God's sacrifice of Jesus on the cross.
[187] William Wooding Starmer, "The Clock Jacks of England" *Proceedings of the Musical Association* 44th Sess. (1917-1918), 1-17.
[188] Hyman, "Shakespeare's Jacquemarts," 150 n. 22.

illustrate and memorialize the complete meaning of time in a Christian world."[189] It is reasonable to suspect that the religious impact of clock automata and jacquemarts would have been equally profound in early modern England.

Not only does the materiality of the jacquemart suggest Christian temporalities, but the etymology of 'jacquemart' also uncovers the connection between the material horological and Christian typological and eschatological temporalities. As Wendy Beth Hyman explains, the word "jacquemart" is a "curious amalgam of the working class nickname 'Jack' with the French word for hammer, 'marteau.'"[190] Further examination of the etymology of 'Jack' reveals that 'Jack' was a familiar version of 'John' as well as a diminutive form of 'Jacob.'[191] Aside from John the Baptist, the most famous biblical John is of course John the gospel writer, whose book begins with the well-known words "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God." (John 1:1). John 1:14 goes on to say, "The Word became flesh and made his dwelling among us." Such a connection between the spirit and the flesh, I argue, brings us back to the jacquemart, whose bodily action of ringing the bell called parishioners to church to immerse themselves in the Word. The jacquemart embodies the gospel of John, giving mere spirit (the tolling of the bell) a body, a form, flesh (the wooden figure).

As mentioned above, Jack is a diminutive for Jacob, so associations between jacquemarts and 'Jacobs' are also possible. *The Oxford Dictionary of First Names* describes how the name Jacob becomes connected with ideas of subterfuge and ambition through the biblical association between Jacob and supplanting:

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[189] Haber, "The Cathedral Clock," 404.
[190] Hyman, "Shakespeare's Jacquemarts," 143.
[191] Ibid., 145,147.

> The derivation of the name has been much discussed. It is traditionally explained as being derived from Hebrew *akev* "heel" and to have meant "heel grabber," because when Jacob was born "his hand took hold of Esau's heel" (Genesis 25.26). This is interpreted later in the Bible as "supplanter" Esau himself remarks, "is he not rightly named Jacob? for he has supplanted me these two times." (Genesis 27:36)[192]

Perhaps the best evidence of the connection between jacquemarts, Jacobs, and the act of supplanting via the heel is seen in a jacquemart at Wells Cathedral, a design of jacquemart also seen in many domestic clocks of the period.[193] The jacquemart at Wells Cathedral strikes the two quarter hour bells with his heels and strikes the hour bell with axes in his hands. I call attention to this cluster of signifiers and signifieds because the story of Jacob and Esau, though not explicitly mentioned in the play, is nonetheless part of the Old Testament narrative that underlies the religious imagery of the play and works in conjunction with the play's references to another Old Testament fraternal relationship, Cain and Abel.[194] Banishment and usurpation figure largely in the events of *Richard II*, with Bolingbroke and Richard II ambiguously assuming the role of the Jacob and Esau pair. While Richard's labeling of himself as a jack o'the clock in Act Five might seem to suggest that he functions as a Jacob type in the play, it is important to remember that it is Bolingbroke, Richard's cousin, who usurps the crown. Nonetheless, perhaps Richard is a bit of a usurper too, for upon Bolingbroke's banishment and Gaunt's death, Richard sweeps in and claims the birthright that was his cousin's. Richard and Bolingbroke

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[192] 'Jacob', *A Dictionary of First Names*, Patrick Hanks, Kate Hardcastle, and Flavia Hodges, (Oxford, 2006).
[193] William Wooding Starmer, "The Clock Jacks of England," 14.
[194] It's also worthy of note that both the Cain and Abel and Jacob and Esau stories are read as Old Testament typologies of the prodigal son parable.

interchangeably assume the roles of Jacob and Esau just as they do the roles of Cain and Abel.

**Richard as Clock Jack**

It is within this rich context of the jacquemart's mechanics, iconography, and etymology and of Christian temporalities that we can return to Richard's conception of himself as a clock jack. Reading the play back through the image of the clock jack, we begin to get a sense of how Richard conceives of time, as well as of his place within it. Throughout the play, Shakespeare's Richard understands himself as a typological Christ-like figure.[195] He believes himself God's anointed on earth, as was the common understanding of kings and queens as God's chosen rulers in the early modern period.[196]

While William Tyndale's *The obedyence of a Chrysten man* is widely known for its central argument that the reading of scripture is the primary means through which to experience God and that the Bible should thus be translated into English, it also contains some of the earliest English articulations of the supreme authority of the king:

> Let euery soule submytte hym selfe unto the auctoryte of the hyer powers. There is no power but of God. The powers that be ar ordained of God. Who so euer therefore resistethe the power, resysteth the ordynaunce of God…God therfore gyven lawes to all natyons, and in all landes hath put kynges, gouernors and rulers in hys owne stede, to rule the worlde thorowe them…Who so euer therfore

[195] See J.A. Bryant, Jr., "The Linked Analogies of *Richard II*," *The Sewanee Review* 65, no. 3(1957): 420-33; Peter Ure, "Introduction," *The Arden Edition of the Works of William Shakespeare: Richard II* (London: Methuen, 1964) lxii; Stanley R. Maveety, "A Second Fall of Cursed Man: The Bold Metaphor in *Richard II*," *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 72, no.2 (1973) 175-193; Adrian Streete, "Shakespeare on Golgotha: political typology in *Richard II*" in *Protestantism and Drama in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009) 162-199.

[196] See Edmund Plowden, *Les commentaries, ou les reports de Edmund Plowden*, (London: Richard Tottell), 1571.

> resysteth them resisteth god (for they ar in the rowme of god) and they that resysthe, shall receyue theyr dampnation.[197]

This notion of the supreme authority of the king bolsters Richard's understanding of himself, yet even as the world around Richard begins to crumble, he continues to cling to his identity as God's chosen one. As Kantorowicz notes upon Richard's return from Ireland, "[i]t is as though it has dawned upon Richard that his vicariate of the God Christ might imply also a vicariate of the man Jesus, and that he, the royal 'deputy elected by the Lord,' might have to follow his divine Master also in his human humiliation and take the cross."[198] Richard refers to Bagot, Bushy, and the Earl of Wiltshire, supporters who have turned on the King during his time in Ireland, as "[t]hree Judas, each one thrice worse than Judas," thus clearly figuring himself as the betrayed Christ (3.2.132). Following Bolingbroke's announcement of Richard's arrest, the former King once again muses on his identity as the suffering Christ:

> Did they not sometime cry "All hail" to me?
> So Judas did to Christ, but He in twelve
> Found truth in all but one; I, in twelve thousand,
> none. (4.1.177-180)

Even in his prison cell, Richard cannot resist drawing connections between Christ's plight and his own. "[H]ow these vain weak nails / May tear a passage through the flinty ribs" (5.5.19-20) calls forth images of Christ's crucifixion as the nail and spear wounds became the images with which Christ proved his identity to doubters.[199] Yet even as

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[197] William Tyndale, *The obedyence of a Chrysten man* (London: William Hill, 1548), sig. fo.xxiiir-fo.xxvr.
[198] Ernst H. Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies*, 30.
[199] *The Bible* (Geneva, 1560), 49$^{r}$ col. 1; "But Thomas one of the twelue, Didymus, was not with them when Iesus came. The other disciples therfore said vnto him, We haue sene the Lorde: but he sayd unto

Richard sees himself as a Christ figure, as a type for the one whose existence marks and makes sense of time not only through the promise of eternal life but also through the liturgical calendar, his admission in Act Five that he is but Bolingbroke's "jack o'the clock" (5.5.60) also reveals Richard's comprehension of his utter lack of agency in the events unfolding around him. He does not control time; he merely marks its passage. As we shall come to see, even this small act of agency is but a mechanical counterfeit.

In *The King's Two Bodies,* Kantorowicz argues that Shakespeare eternalizes the metaphor of the king's two bodies in *Richard II* through a series of duplications that occur in the play's three central scenes.[200] The king was believed to have a body natural and a body politic. The king's body natural, like the bodies of his subjects, was susceptible to death and decay. Yet unlike his subjects, the king also had a body politic, a body immune from the vicissitudes of life and death. Kantorowicz traces the dissolution of Richard's dual identity from the Welsh coast to Flint Castle and finally to the deposition scene at Westminster Hall in which Richard divests himself of the last remaining symbols of the body politic. Richard's shattering of the mirror in Act Four, scene one after he looks into the glass and sees only the face of his natural body marks the destruction of Richard's twinned body.

An examination of the political theology of the king's two bodies with respect to time reveals that this very notion of the king's two bodies is built upon the two Christian temporalities that I described above. Just as the mechanics and iconography of the clock jack reveal the degree to which time is both cyclical and linear in the Christian cosmos, the political undergirding of the principle of the king's two bodies is similarly founded

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them, Excepte I se in hys hands the print of the nayles, and put my finger into the print of the nailes, ad put mine hand into his side, I wil not beleue it."

[200] Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies*, 24-41.

upon both a iterative and eschatological understanding of time. The body natural aligns itself with a linear understanding of time in which a person is born, lives, and dies. The body politic never dies, effectively making the station of King, if not the king himself, immortal. Nowhere is the king's two bodies and the corresponding two temporalities more evident than in the cry, "The King is dead, long live the King." This exclamation of what Kantorowicz calls *dignitas* simultaneously acknowledges the passing of the king's body natural and the immorality of the king's body politic. The body politic, the very idea on which the institution of the monarchy is forged, is eternal.

Early modern England was clearly aware of this idea of the king's two bodies, even if it did not articulate the political theology in these terms. Queen Elizabeth I's reported statement to William Lambarde in 1601, "I am Richard II. Know ye not that" demonstrates an early modern understanding of the dual temporalities of the king or queen's body.[201] Elizabeth was not the only one to draw such a comparison between herself and the medieval monarch. In fact, as Elizabeth aged, more and more connections between the Queen and Richard II were made.[202] This potential figuring of Elizabeth as Richard II is most evident in the events surrounding the Essex Rebellion, when the staging of Shakespeare's *Richard II* was commissioned on the eve of the uprising intended to bring Essex back into his Queen's favor. These figurations of Queen Elizabeth as Richard II, enacted both by herself and her subjects, demonstrate how the notion of the body politic is grounded within a cyclical temporal cosmos.

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[201] E.K. Chambers, *William Shakespeare: A Study of Facts and Problems*, 2 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1930), 2.326.
[202] William, Shakespeare, *King Richard II*, ed. Charles R. Forker, Arden Shakespeare Third Series (London: Bloomsbury, 2002), 5.

If we extend Kantorowicz's reading of the king's two bodies to Richard's metaphor of the clock jack, we begin to see how this horological image is imbricated in questions of agency with regard to the monarchical management of time. Hyman argues that clock jacks, and the characters that assume the identity of clock jacks in Shakespeare's play, are affiliated with a mechanicity that simultaneously suggests their dehumanization and a possibility for creation and self-making. She identifies Richard's horological metaphor as an image that reveals the former king's comprehension of his place in Bolingbroke's new world: "moralizing on his own place in history, Richard sees that he is no longer an agent, but driven by the machinations of larger forces by which he is colonized."[203] Tiffany Stern interprets Richard's metaphor similarly, but Stern goes a step further than Hyman by identifying Richard's refinement of his metaphor from clock to clock jack as a key moment in Richard's comprehension of the changing political landscape: "It is only at this moment that he makes his real insight. He is not actually a clock at all. He is merely a mechanical jack doing someone else's bidding; the clock, the source of time, is Bolingbroke."[204] Though Stern does not specifically explain how her research led her to identify clock automata with "rage, powerlessness, and personality," Hyman briefly reviews the history of jacquemarts to undergird her reading of these automata as images of dehumanization.[205] Clock jacks were designed because human bell ringers often tired of the hourly ringing of bells that accompanied early clocks. Automata took over the job of ringing the bells, relieving their human counterparts of the duty.[206]

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[203] Hyman, "Shakespeare's Jacquemarts," 147, 148.
[204] Stern, "Time for Shakespeare," 18.
[205] Ibid., 17.
[206] D.W. Hering, "Numerals on Clock and Watch Dials," *The Scientific Monthly* 49.4 (1939), 311-23.

Yet I contend that these clock automata represent a loss of agency not simply because they assume the role that the human bell ringer once held but also because of *how* these automata work. With its swinging hammer and its ability to make sense of the disorder of the day, the jack merely *appears* to rule time and demonstrate agency. These automata, however, often struck bells that were dummies, with the sound actually emanating from ordinary bells that were located somewhere else within the clock tower or clock mechanism.[207] Fléchon's description of the clock jack, though not specifically focused on the question of agency, nonetheless highlights the clock jack's status as a counterfeit or simulacrum of agency: "Reassuring in their appearance, these automaton androids had the task—either alone, or accompanied by their wives and children—of striking the hours, and sometimes the quarter-and half-hours, on bells that were often dummies, the sound really being produced by ordinary bells."[208] The jacquemart thus becomes the simulacrum, not just of the human bell ringer, but also of the act of producing sound when hammer and bell collide.

**Richard's Conception of Time**

Considering the jacquemart as a simulacrum of the bell ringer and a simulacrum of the act of creating the bell's sound, I would now like to address how the lack of agency that Richard ascribes to himself via his clock jack metaphor relates to Richard's understanding of time. Richard's sense of time, which evolves as he falls from supreme ruler of the land to prisoner of his cousin, is evidenced both at the level of plot and at the syntactic level. The most obvious example of Richard attempting to enact his own temporal scheme upon those around him actually occurs outside of the action of this play,

[207] Fléchon, *The Mastery of Time*, 135.
[208] Ibid.

but the play is full of its traces. The play never explicitly states that Richard was responsible for Thomas of Woodstock's death, but the specter of Richard's dead uncle nonetheless informs the action of the play and the other characters' interactions with their king. In Act One, scene two, the Duchess of Gloucester speaks to Gaunt about the untimely death of Thomas of Woodstock. Using the image of a tree to speak about Edward III's progeny, the Duchess of Gloucester uses natural and seasonal imagery while discussing Thomas's death:

> Some of those seven are dried by nature's course,
> Some of those branches by the Destinies cut;
> But Thomas, my dear lord, my life, my Gloucester,
> One vial full of Edward's sacred blood,
> One flourishing branch of his most royal root,
> Is cracked, and all the precious liquor spilt,
> Is hacked down, and his summer leaves all faded
> By Envy's hand and Murder's bloody axe. (1.2.14-21)

This natural imagery allows her to communicate how she believes Richard has overstepped the limits of his power and imposed his own sense of time and right timing on the otherwise natural rhythms of life and death. "Nature's course" and "by the Destinies cut" suggest natural deaths that occurred in line with a higher order of timing, while "cracked" and "hacked" suggest an untimely death, a life cut short. While the Duchess of Gloucester is not shy about accusing Richard of overstepping his powers and taking the life of her husband, Gaunt assumes a much more moderate stance. Acknowledging that Richard is God's agent on earth, Gaunt admits that he cannot

determine whether the death of the Duke of Gloucester coincided with God's timing or Richard's timing:

> God's in the quarrel, for God's substitute,
>
> His deputy appointed in His sight,
>
> Hath caused his death, the which if wrongfully,
>
> Let heaven revenge, for I may never lift
>
> An angry arm against His minister. (1.2.37-41)

Furthermore, in this moment, Gaunt articulates the belief that the king is God's deputy on earth. Richard also ascribes to this belief, but as the action of the play continues, we see that both Richard's people and finally Richard himself begin to question whether this divine right of kings extends to the management of time.

In the opening action of the play, which occurs following the suspicious death of Thomas of Woodstock, Richard's actions suggest that he believes his crown gives him the right to rule time. Richard's decision in Act One to exile Bolingbroke and Mowbray rather than have them engage in combat most clearly demonstrates the King's belief that he has authority over time. In his exiling speeches to both Bolingbroke and Mowbray, Richard demonstrates his belief that he has the ability and right to shape time, to separate man from country, to do as he pleases when he pleases. Bolingbroke is to leave the country for ten years:

> You cousin Hereford, upon pain of life,
>
> Till twice five summers have enriched our fields,
>
> Shall not regreet our fair dominions,
>
> But tread the stranger paths of banishment. (1.3.140-47)

Mowbray receives a much harsher punishment. He is told that he can never return to his native home:

> The sly slow hours shall not determine
>
> The dateless limit of thy dear exile.
>
> The hopeless word of 'never to return'
>
> Breathe I against thee, upon pain of life. (1.3.150-53)

Richard's connection between his exile of Mowbray and his breath suggests that Richard believes that he can change the shape and flow of time for his subjects with the same ease and alacrity with which he inhales and exhales. For Richard, the act of separating man from country for eternity is as simple as breathing.[209] It is a given, performed without thought or question.

Because Richard is king, Bolingbroke and Mowbray have no choice but to follow Richard's orders. When Richard decides to reduce Bolingbroke's sentence by four years, Bolingbroke puts words to his thoughts concerning Richard's manipulation of time. Commenting on the levity with which Richard doles out punishments even as these sentences have serious consequences for their recipients, Bolingbroke quips: "How long a time lies in one little word. / Four lagging winters and four wanton springs, / End in a word; such is the breath of kings" (1.3.213-15). Bolingbroke here not only mimics Richard's style of speech, both in the rhyming couplet and in the relationship between the

[209] For a reading on the connection between breath and vocal authority in *King John*, see Gina Bloom "Words Made of Breath: Gender and *Vocal Agency in King John*" in *Shakespeare Studies* 33: 125-55 (2005).

two rhyming referents, but also comments on Richard's own understanding of his power over time and of cause and effect by returning to Richard's image of breathing.[210]

Yet these references to the king's breath do not simply suggest the respiratory act of breathing. As Bloom notes, speech as breath and breath as speech is a common trope in Shakespeare.[211] Furthermore, because there are spiritual and material meanings to breath in the early modern period, references to breath inherently communicate the tension between these meanings.[212] In tracing the connection between exile and linguistic barrenness, Kingsley-Smith argues that "[b]anishment prevents either Bolingbroke or Mowbray from breathing slander against the King in English air."[213] Reading Richard's eventual deposition as an exile of sorts, Kingsley-Smith maintains that the association between exile and language-loss that permeates the play renders Richard's final speech at Pomfret Castle a final unsuccessful attempt at the creation of self-identity.[214] While Richard can still breathe and breed thoughts, his imprisonment becomes a "linguistic failure" as he can create nothing that will save him from his fate. Simon Palfrey has noted that Richard's "[w]ith nothing shall be pleased till he be eased / With being nothing" is an echo of *The Spanish Tragedy* in which Hieronimo exclaims,

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[210] William Shakespeare, *King Richard II*, ed. Charles R. Forker, Arden Shakespeare, Third Series (London: Bloomsbury, 2002), 224-5; Forker writes, "Bolingbroke seems to imply scornfully that Richard's words are mere 'air' in contrast to the heavy reality of his punishments. Or perhaps, as RP [Richard Proudfoot] suggests, Bolingbroke comments on the power that lies in a single royal word."
[211] Bloom, "Words Made of Breath," 126.
[212] Ibid., 127. "Breath may be a vehicle for the soul and thereby a guarantor of communicative power, but it is also, as Bacon and Crooke reiterate, "vain," ephemeral air and is thus an untrustworthy medium for expression. With its inherent unmanageability, physical breath can undermine even the most heartfelt of men's vows." (ibid.) We see Richard use breath to mean speech in Act Three when he has returned from Ireland: "The breath of worldly man cannot depose / The deputy elected by the Lord" (3.2.56-7). In this instance, Richard draws a comparison between the lack of power that the breath of worldly men and his power-rich breath of Act One, but at the same time, the location of this speech suggests that Richard has begun to recognize that his words did not have the same power that he believed them to possess.
[213] Jane Kingsley-Smith, "'Still-Breeding Thoughts': *Richard II* and the Exile's Creative Failure," in *Shakespeare's Drama of Exile*, (Gordonsville, VA: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 60.
[214] Ibid., 61, 80-81.

"Pleased with their deaths and eased with their revenge, / First take my tongue and afterwards my heart" (4.4.191-2).[215] Immediately following these lines, Hieronimo bites out his tongue as an act in a world in which Hieronimo has been stripped of almost all linguistic agency. By tracing the transformation of Richard' self understanding—from perceiving his breath as divinely imbued with God's will to acknowledging that he is "nothing"—we see Richard recognize his inability to shape time with words or actions.

Following the exile of his son Bolingbroke, Gaunt seems to be the only one willing to tell Richard that even though he wears the crown, he is no more in charge of time than are any of his subjects. In response to Gaunt's beseech that the King once again lessen the time of Bolingbroke's exile, Richard flippantly tells Gaunt that he still has many years to live. To this, Gaunt replies:

> But not a minute, King, that thou canst give.
> Shorten my days thou canst with sullen sorrow,
> And pluck nights from me, but not lend a morrow.
> Thou canst help Time to furrow me with age,
> But stop no wrinkle in his pilgrimage;
> Thy word is current with him for my death,
> But dead, thy kingdom cannot buy my breath. (1.3.226-32)

In this moving speech, Gaunt clearly lays out for the King the limits of his power. While the King can choose to end a subject's life, he cannot will that subject to continue living. While Gaunt recognizes that even the King has limits to his ability to regulate and manipulate time, Richard is slow to come to this realization. He acts rashly or acts not at

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[215] David Bevington, ed., *English Renaissance Drama: A Norton Anthology*, (New York: W.W. Norton, 2002).

all because he thinks there are no limits to his power. Gaunt's speech in some senses prefigures or foreshadows Richard's "numb'ring clock" soliloquy at the play's end; Gaunt tells Richard that he cannot control time, that he cannot will things and people into continued existence, but as we know from Richard's soliloquy, he is slow to come to this realization for himself.

Not only do Richard's actions reveal his belief that he is the absolute arbiter of time, but even the words he uses and the rhyme pattern associated with him contribute to the sense of Richard as master of time and timing. As Palfrey argues in *Doing Shakespeare*, rhyme in *Richard II* registers and communicates the political climate of the play.[216] According to Palfrey, rhyme works simultaneously in two primary ways in the play: "Rhyme here embodies *both* the order and harmony ruined by civil war - symbolised by rhyme's abiding appeal to and derivation from such harmony - and the causes and terms of such ruin - expressed in the specific rhyme's referents."[217] I want to sharpen Palfrey's reading of rhyme in *Richard II* by suggesting that rhyme, through its connection with time and timing, also highlights one of Richard's greatness weaknesses as a king. Richard believes that as God's anointed on earth, he enacts God's will and that his actions have a final, divine authority. Richard does not listen to wise council and instead ascribes to his own whims a divine inspiration. He does not understand that his actions, including the timing of these actions, have a profound effect upon the country. Richard's rhyming creates the appearance of absolute control of both the linguistic and political moment, but upon closer examination, we see that Richard's rhyming functions very similarly to the jacquemart's hammer strike upon the bell. Richard's rhymes

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[216] Simon Palfrey, *Doing Shakespeare,* 2nd ed. (Huntingdon: Arden Shakespeare, 2011), 210-17.
[217] Ibid., 211.

suggest "definitiveness and finality," but they are only a weak imitation of true kingly control over the nation.[218] Referring to the poet's tendencies to force rhymes into his poetry, Puttenham writes, "Now there cannot be in a maker a fouler fault than to falsify his accent to serve his cadence, or by untrue orthography to wrench his words to help his rhyme, for it is a sign that such a maker is not copious in his own language, or (as they are wont to say) not half his craft's master."[219] Richard's forced rhymes suggest that he has neither the linguistic superiority nor the political acumen necessary to understand the importance of cause and effect and right timing in the ruling of a nation.

Richard, especially in the play's opening scenes, ends nearly all of his speeches with rhyming couplets. The meter and rhyme of these lines tend to signal both Richard's ending of the conversation and his perceived mastery over time. When doling out sentences of exile, Richard makes it clear to Mowbray that his resolve will not waver in this matter, thus effectively cutting off any future importuning from Mowbray: "It boots thee not to be compassionate. / After our sentence, plaining comes too late" (1.3.174). Ironically, these rhyming words, "compassionate" and "late" will have resonance for Richard later, for when Richard begs for compassion from his subjects, it will be too late for him as well.

Richard's return from Ireland marks a turning point in the play as Richard must confront the possibility that he does not rule time but is in fact subject to time's vicissitudes. While Richard has been playing at war in Ireland, the few that remain loyal to him have been trying to consolidate the King's power as more and more people decide to back the newly returned Bolingbroke. In Act Two, Salisbury cannot convince the

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[218] Ibid., 214.
[219] George Puttenham, *The arte of English poesie*, (London: Richard Field, 1589), 170.

Welsh to continue to wait to serve the King, who according to Holinshed has been delayed by bad weather. "Ten days" (2.4.1) the Welsh have waited for Richard's return, but because the King is not on time, he loses the backing of twelve thousand men. Salisbury reports to Richard:

> One day too late, I fear me noble lord,
> Hath clouded all thy happy days on earth.
> O, call back yesterday, bid Time return,
> And thou shalt have twelve thousand fighting men!
> Today, today, unhappy day too late,
> O'erthrows thy joys, friends, fortune and thy state;
> For all Welshmen, hearing thou wert dead,
> Are gone to Bolingbroke, dispersed and fled. (3.2.67-74)

Richard's response to Salisbury is the first time we see Richard considering that he does not control time but rather that time controls him:

> But now the blood of twenty thousand men
> Did triumph in my face, and they are fled;
> And till so much blood thither come again
> Have I not reason to look pale and dead?
> All souls that will be safe, fly from my side,
> For time hath set a blot upon my pride. (3.2.76-81)

In addition to occurring exactly at the midpoint of the play, this speech by Richard is the only point in the play in which Richard uses an ABABCC rhyme scheme. While Richard has been using rhyming couplets intermittently throughout the first half of the play to

bolster his sense of control, never before has he depended on such a proscriptive rhyme scheme. It is as though this speech is at once a last ditch effort to demonstrate his control over time and at the same time an admission that he is not the arbiter of time.

Hyman argues that even as Richard's final soliloquy in Act Five figures the former King's physical body as a clock-jack—an object employed to proclaim Bolingbroke's ascension to the throne—this complex image also calls attention to Richard's continued ability to create and to "[summon] vitality even from his doom."[220] She points to the opening lines of Richard's soliloquy, in which he reflects on how he can populate the world of his solitary prison cell, to argue that a "full reading of this scene therefore acknowledges that Richard is both the automaton *and* the automaton maker, just like Othello was both the 'turbaned Turk' *and* the Venetian."[221] Richard believes that at this point, he must create his own kingdom from nothing but the matter of his mind:

> This prison where I live unto the world;
> And, for because the world is populous
> And here is not a creature but myself,
> I cannot do it. Yet I'll hammer it out.
> My brain I'll prove the female to my soul,
> My soul the father, and these two beget
> A generation of still-breeding thoughts;
> And these same thoughts people this little world,
> In humours like the people of this world,

[220] Hyman, " Shakespeare's Jacquemarts," 148.
[221] Ibid., 149.

For no thought is contented. (5.5.6-11)[222]

Hyman refers to this populating of Richard's cell with thoughts as "mentally birthing other creatures."[223] Yet I contend that this begetting of "still-breeding thoughts" is less a process of vitality than a final assessment of Richard's inability to rule over time. Just as the clock jack is a simulacrum of both the human bell-ringer and of the production of sound when hammer and bell collide, Richard's hammering out of other creatures is ultimately a hollow act. Without offspring of his own, Richard can only create thoughts. He cannot create future kings and queens that will continue his reign. Kingsley-Smith maintains that "sterility appears in the image of Richard's still-breeding thoughts" because Richard's thoughts are always breeding and yet always still-born.[224] In other words, implicit in Richard's seemingly vital actions of populating his cell with thought-subjects is an acknowledgement that his branch, similar to the branch of Edward III's tree in Act One, is cut short because he does not have an heir. In this image, we see a shadow of Elizabeth, the Queen who despite her great power, also cannot depend on future Kings and Queens to extend the Tudor reign.

If Richard is reduced to Bolingbroke's clock-jack, then Bolingbroke, at the play's end, assumes the role of clock-maker. But if we consider Bolingbroke's grasp of time at the play's end, we see that he has no better handle on time than did Richard. The newly crowned Henry IV declares that he will "make a voyage to the Holy Land / To wash this blood off from my guilty hand" (5.6.49-50). Yet we know from *I Henry IV* that the King

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[222] The word 'nothing' is used 25 times in the play. Richard, in the famous deposition scene, refers to himself as 'nothing': "Ay, no; no, ay; for I must nothing be" (4.1.210). Implicit in my claim that Richard create something from nothing is that Richard is able to create something that comes only from himself.
[223] Hyman, "Shakespeare's Jacquemarts," 149.
[224] Kingsley-Smith, "'Still-Breeding Thoughts,'" 80; James L. Calderwood, "*Richard II*: Metadrama and the Fall of Speech," in *Shakespeare's History Plays:* Richard II *to* Henry V, ed. Graham Holderness, (New York: St. Martin's, 1992) 124.

is never able to make this pilgrimage. The blood of Richard has already marked not only Henry IV but his progeny as well.

# CHAPTER FOUR

## "WELL THUS WE PLAY FOOLS WITH THE TIME:" THEATRICAL TIME AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF HISTORY IN *HENRY IV, PARTS 1 AND 2*

*Henry IV, parts 1 and 2*, at their roots, are plays about succession. They examine the readiness of the heir to ascend to the throne, the King's anxiety about the future of the kingdom once it falls into his son's hands, and the degree to which the sins of the father will mark the reign of the son. Given that Queen Elizabeth I had no biological heir and that the matter of who would succeed her was discussed behind closed doors with little real information making its way to the public, the plays' central concerns seem unusual and out of step with the monarchical reality of the late 1590s. This is not to say that concerns about succession are misplaced; who would rule England was a topic of much debate and a source of much anxiety throughout the final years of Elizabeth I's reign. What does seem odd, though, are the plays' exploration of patrilineal inheritance of the throne set against the backdrop of a female ruler with no children to whom to pass the crown. I argue that the *Henry IV* plays present Elizabethan England with an alternate reality in which the crown is able to pass from father to son. Barbara Mather Cobb argues that through a play that foregrounds issues of succession, Shakespeare "is not seeking to solve his nation's monarchical problem; rather he is seeking to hold the attention of his popular theatre audience, and he is doing so by acknowledging and feeding its sense of unease and discomfort and dislocation in its relationship to the court,

and particularly, to those with power in decisions of success."[225] Yet I contend that in presenting playgoers with an alternate world in which a son succeeds his father, Shakespeare's plays do not necessarily seek to highlight the differences between the historical past and the current situation nor do they tend to fan the flames of unease and anxiety. Instead, *Henry IV, Parts 1 and 2* reveal that even when an heir-apparent is standing in the wings, succession is a thorny issue. As Aysha Pollnitz cleverly observes, "like the candidates lining up to follow Elizabeth, […] Shakespeare's fictional princes had question-marks hanging over the successions."[226] *Henry IV, Parts 1 and 2* show us that while many of the particular concerns about succession are unique to Elizabeth I's reign, succession is always a complex moment of potential destabilization, a moment that England has faced many times before and would face again in the future.

This chapter argues that through the conditions of production that led Shakespeare to stretch the history of Henry IV across two plays, the theater itself becomes an instrument to which the people of early modern England could turn in their attempts to understand time the vicissitudes of time. *Henry IV*'s two-part structure plays an integral role presenting audiences with a picture of succession that is, on the surface, very different from the contemporary succession crisis. Yet upon closer examination, we see that Hal's accession to the throne, though he was the eldest son of King Henry IV and the heir apparent, was not without its challenges. Throughout this chapter, the concept of the two-part structure will refer not only to the two plays themselves but also to the plays'

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[225] Barbara Mather Cobb, "'Suppose that you have seen the well-appointed king': Imagining Succession in the Henriad," *Cahiers Èlisabéthains* 70 (2006): 34.
[226] Aysha Pollnitz, "Educating Hamlet and Prince Hal" in *Shakespeare and Early Modern Political Thought*, eds. David Armitage, Conal Condren, and Andrew Fitzmaurice, (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2009), 120.

recurrent emphasis on doubles and false starts. As the *Henry IV* plays confront questions of royal succession and trouble the boundaries of historiography, they construct a notion of theatrical time that is rooted in linear, historical narrative but veers and digresses to accommodate ahistorical material. In a similar fashion, the play suggests that though upheaval might occur along the way, England will secure a new monarch following Elizabeth I and that the work of the Protestant Reformation will not be undone. Even as "the two hours' traffic of our stage" marches steadily toward the pre-determined future of the plays' conclusion with the accession of Henry V, time in the theater remains flexible and elastic.[227] This pliability allows the *Henry IV* plays to take a circuitous route to the historical events including the crowning of King Henry V at the plays' end and the Battle of Agincourt in *Henry V*. The coronation of King Henry V and the Battle of Agincourt are both moments that transcend temporal bounds because they both function as nodes of past, present, and future not only in the two parts of *Henry IV*, but also in the entire secondary tetralogy. For Elizabethan England, Henry V's accession and his defeat of the French at Agincourt were clearly the stuff of chronicles, securely situated in the historical past. At the same time, with multiple plays translating the events of his life to the stage in the 1580s and 1590s, King Henry V's coronation was distinctly of the present. With each performance, he was crowned anew. The parallels between Henry V's defeat of the French at Agincourt and the English's defeat of the Spanish Armada also contributed to the notion of the King as a man of the present age. Finally, these moments are events of the future in the sense that they are the promised events, the eschatological endpoint to which the plays unwaveringly point.

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[227] William Shakespeare, *Romeo and Juliet* , Arden Third Series, ed. René Weiss (London: Bloomsbury, 2012), prologue 12.

The quasi-historical figures of Hotspur and Falstaff in the *Henry IV* plays give an otherwise linearly constructed historical narrative much of its flexibility and elasticity on the stage. Hotspur and Falstaff not only stand on a narrative level as the two primary figures that defer and delay Hal's receiving of the crown. These two characters also act as the forces that give theatrical time its elasticity by pushing and pulling the narrative, albeit in circuitous fashion, towards its logical conclusion in the accession of Hal as Henry V. Though it takes two plays to do so, Hal does eventually clear his path to the crown via his defeat of Hotspur and banishment of Falstaff. *Henry IV, Parts 1 and 2*, through its manipulation of historical time through the inclusion of ahistorical material and moments of deferral, makes use of a king and his son to assuage fears about how, and to whom, the crown will pass following Elizabeth I's death.

To demonstrate how the elasticity of historical time in *Henry IV, Parts 1 and 2* functions to complicate Hal's historical accession to the throne and to normalize the current succession crisis, I shall first address the long history of the "structural problem" of the Henry plays. I do not intend to explain away the structural problem of the texts or to put forth my own reading of the plays' relationships but instead aim to acknowledge the multiple forces at work in the shaping of the texts. Having considered the possible factors that contributed to the multi-part form of the Henry plays, I shall next turn my attention to the series of doubles that appear within the two plays. I argue that these doubles contribute to a sense of false starts and elongations in the narrative of the plays that function to foreground the challenges that Hal faced in preparing to assume the crown from this father. As *Henry IV, Parts 1 and 2* draw out time to depict the complexities of succession even when the crown is passed lineally from father to son and

to demonstrate that even the most wayward of youth can reform, the plays present the tense and harrowing, but ultimately smooth, transition of power as the English way, a much need image in the final years of Queen Elizabeth I's reign.

**The Plays' Two-Part Structure**

The plays have a prismatic quality in which Part 1 and Part 2 seem to be two iterations of the same historical narrative; Hal, the prodigal son of King Henry IV, must abandon his wayward youth and demonstrate himself ready to take his place on the throne. But why stage in two plays what could be staged in one? The contemporary anonymous play *The Famous Victories of Henry the Fifth* stage both Hal's transformation from riotous youth to warrior king and the Battle of Agincourt in a single play.[228] Scholars have diverse views about the inter-connectedness of the two plays.[229] John Dover Wilson and E. M. W. Tillyard, argue that *1 Henry IV* and *2 Henry IV* are two parts of a single theatrical narrative, a ten-act play of sorts.[230] This impulse to see the two plays as single work goes all the way back to shortly after Shakespeare's death and is seen in Sir Edward Dering's 1622 *The History of King Henry IV*, an unfinished abridgement of Shakespeare's two plays into a single play mostly likely intended for private performance.[231] Others maintain that Shakespeare penned a second part to King Henry IV's play only after the first part proved a rousing success.[232] Mary Thomas Crane

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[228] *The famous victories of Henry the fifth containing the honourable Battell of Agin-court*, (London: Thomas Creede, 1598)

[229] For recently structural debates, see Paul Yachnin, "History, Theatricality, and the "Structural Problem" in the *Henry IV* Plays," *Philological Quarterly* 70 (1991) 163-79; Sherman Hawkins, "Structural pattern in Shakespeare's histories," *Studies in Philology* 88 (1991): 16-45.

[230] See John Dover Wilson, "The Origins and Development of Shakespeare's *Henry IV*," *The Library*, 4th series, 24 (1945): 2-16; E.M.W. Tillyard, *Shakespeare's History Plays* (London, 1944), 264.

[231] James C. Bulman, "Performing the Conflated Text of *Henry IV*: The Fortunes of *Part Two*," *Shakespeare Survey* 63 (2010): 93.

[232] See Matthias A. Shaaber, "The Unity of *Henry IV*," in *Joseph Quincy Adams Memorial Studies* eds. in James G. McManaway et al. (Washington, D.C.: Folger Shakespeare Library, 1948): 17-27. Shaaber

takes a middle road, arguing that multi-part plays were usually written in the sixteenth and early seventeenth century for a few specific reasons: (1) to observe the classical unities of time, (2) to capitalize on the success of the play by creating a sequel, (3) in order to imitate *Tamburlain*e – an incredibly popular two-part play, or (4) because the playwright wanted to tell the story that was simply too long to fit into the normal stage time of two hours.[233] Building on this logic, Crane argues that the second part of *Henry IV* began "with the intention of covering a story too long for a single play but with no plans for consecutive performance of the parts and with the number and nature of sequels to be determined by public demand."[234] Harold Jenkins assumes a similar position, arguing that Shakespeare set out to write one play, but realizing that he had too much material, he improvised the play's ending at the Battle of Shrewsbury.[235] Jenkins's argument becomes a bit harder to follow, though, when he also argues that the two plays are "independent and even incompatible."[236] Ultimately, how the two-part structure of *Henry IV* came to be is of secondary concern in this chapter. The effect of this two-part structure of *Henry IV* – the plays' telescoping and layering of historical time through its digressions and deferrals – sits at the center of my argument as I consider how the plays' mediation of Hal's rise to the throne suggests that succession is always, and necessarily, a complex process.

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argues that *Henry IV Part Two* was an unpremeditated sequel that Shakespeare wrote only after the commercial success of *Henry IV, Part One*.

[233] See Mary Thomas Crane, "The Shakespearean Tetralogy," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 36, no. 3 (1985): 294.

[234] Ibid., 295.

[235] Harold Jenkins, *The Structural Problem of Henry the Fourth* (London: Methuen, 1956).

[236] Ibid., 26.

**Pairs and mismatches in *Part One***

*Henry IV*, *Part One* opens with the juxtaposition of the play's two Harrys, Hal and Hotspur. We meet neither one in the first scene, but already a contrast between the two young men is drawn. Reflecting on the play's immediate juxtaposition of Hal and Hotspur, Harold Jenkins in *The Structural Problem of Shakespeare's King Henry the Fourth* writes: "[a]lready, before Prince Hal is even named, a contrast is being begun between a man who behaves like a prince though he is not one and another who is in fact a prince but does not act the part."[237] Smallwood similarly identifies the contrast between the play's two young Henrys, arguing that Hotspur "acts as a foil for Prince Hal."[238] Perhaps surprisingly, it is the young Harry Hotspur and not Hal, the future king, who is mentioned first in the play. Describing the young rebel as "gallant Hotspur," the King and Westmoreland seem to praise Harry Percy's actions even as he acts against the interests of the crown (1.1.52).[239] The contrast between Hotspur and Hal is made even more pronounced when Westmoreland, reflecting on Hotspur's prisoners, comments that Hotspur's spoil in battle is "a conquest for a prince to boast of" (1.1.76). This statement seems to stir in King Henry some intense feelings as it is immediately after Westmoreland's comment that the King begins his well-known speech on the disparities between his own son and Hotspur:

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[237] Jenkins, *The Structural Problem, 6.*

[238] R.L. Smallwood, "Shakespeare's Use of History" in *The Cambridge Companion to Shakespeare Studies*, ed. Stanley Wells (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 156. More recent scholarship has argued that the link between the two young Henrys is not only political and structural but also erotic. See Jonathan Goldberg, *Sodometries: Renaissance Texts, Modern Sexualities* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992), 150-163; Matt Bell, "When Harry Met Harry," in *Shakesqueer*: *A Queer Companion to the Complete Works of William Shakespeare*, ed. Madhavi Menon (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2011), 106-113; Karen Raber, "Equeer: human-equine erotics in *1 Henry IV*" in *The Oxford Handbook of Shakespeare and Embodiment: Gender, Sexuality and Race*, ed. Valerie Traub (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016): 347-62.

[239] All references to *1 Henry IV* come from the following edition unless otherwise noted: William Shakespeare, *Henry IV*, *Part One*, The Arden Third Series, ed. David Scott Kastan (London: Bloomsbury, 2002).

> Yea, there thou mak'st me sad and mak'st me sin
> In envy that my lord Northumberland
> Should be the father to so blest a son,
> A son who is the theme of honor's tongue,
> Amongst a grove the very straightest plant,
> Who is sweet Fortune's minion and her pride;
> Whilst I, by looking on the praise of him,
> See riot and dishonor stain the brow
> Of my young Harry. (1.1.77-85)

While this quote has often served as evidence of the play's assignment of honor to Hotspur and riot to Hal, I would like to suggest that these lines also introduce images of linearity and circuitousness or digression to the characterizations of the two Harrys.[240] The King describes Hotspur as an upright man, a man who does not veer from honorable action, the "very straightest plant" among a "grove" of trees (1.1.81). Like a plant on a trellis, Hotspur has been trained to demonstrate rectitude, honor, and military acumen. In contrast to Hotspur's straightness and linearity stands Hal, a young man prone to distraction, susceptible to dishonor, and plagued by "riot" (1.1.84). Read in conjunction with "straightest" in line 81, the "riot" that writes itself on Hal's face not only refers to the drinking, stealing, and carousing of Hal's Cheapside friends but also evokes images of digression. "Waywardness," which is one of the primary definitions of riot, is built

[240] See Roberta Barker, "Tragical-Comical-Historical Hotspur," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 54 (2003): 288-307; David Quint, "Bragging Rights: Honor and Courtesy in Shakespeare and Spenser," in *Creative Imitation: New Essays on Renaissance Literature in Honor of Thomas M. Greene*, ed. Margaret W. Ferguson et al, (Binghamton, NY: Medieval and Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1992), 391-430; G. M. Pinciss, "The Old Honor and the New Courtesy: *1 Henry IV*," *Shakespeare Survey* 31 (1978): 85-91.

upon the root word "way" and thus clearly has a directional register.[241] Additionally, in hunting terminology, "riot" means "the action of following the scent of an animal other than the intended prey."[242] This scene not only establishes the first of many pairs that we shall encounter in the *Henry IV* plays, but also introduces the concepts of history and fiction and related concepts of linearity and elasticity. As *Henry IV part 1* continues, however, we shall see these characterizations of the play's two Harrys are not as straightforward as they might first appear.

For all that King Henry IV describes Hotspur as a "straight" man in the play's opening scene, the majority of the play develops Hotspur as an actor of deferral in the play's narrative. Brian Walsh, in arguing that the temporal shape of *Henry IV Part One* reveals the malleability of history's temporal shape, writes, "[t]he inclusion of the Percy rebellion, and of the Hotspur character in particular, alters the theatrical experience of the Prince Hal/Henry V story by extending the amount of time it takes to tell that story, so much so that it cannot be done in a single play."[243] Walsh continues, "[e]very moment that Hotspur remains undefeated in *1 Henry IV* suggests to an audience…that the apotheosis of Hal as the ideal English king is being further deferred, and that his story, as presented here, is being given a more diffuse temporal shape."[244] The historically-rooted but modified character of Hotspur in *1 Henry IV* reshapes the narrative of Prince Hal by taking a seemingly straightforward, linear narrative and adding deferral and digression.

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[241] OED "Riot" I,1, OED "Wayward"
[242] OED "Riot" I,5.
[243] Brian Walsh, "New Directions: 'By Shrewsbury Clock': The Time of Day and the Death of Hotspur in *1 Henry IV,*" *1 Henry IV A Critical Guide*, edited by Stephen Longstaffe (London: Continuum, 2011) 142-159.
[244] Ibid, 147.

The digression that is built into the character of Hotspur is in part evidenced through Hotspur's loquaciousness: Hotspur has more lines than both Hal and King Henry.[245] Digression or *digressio* is a narrative trope, and in the case of Hotspur, the particular rhetorical mechanism that enables the structural deferral in the play. Walsh identifies Hotspur's slowing of the pace of history via his wordiness as a "structural component of his characterization."[246] Hotspur's digression might be best understood in term of Derrida's notion of différance, which means both difference and a deferral of meaning. As Hotspur loquaciously drones on and on throughout *1 Henry IV,* he functions both to defer Hal's accession to the throne – deferral of meaning – and to alter the historical account of Hal's rise to the throne – difference. Hotspur's first speech in the play continues for some forty lines yet provides few details that prove important to the larger narrative of the rebellion. Tellingly though, his speech does reflect on decorative and overblown language. He describes the lord who spoke to him as questioning him "[w]ith many holiday and lady terms" (1.3.46). Hotspur continues his attack on the man, remarking that he saw him "talk like a waiting gentlewoman" (1.3.55). Perhaps the greatest moment of irony occurs when Hotspur describes the lord's musings as "bald, unjointed chat" (1.3.65). Here, Hotspur's chatter is similarly bald and unjointed. Hotspur's long-winded speeches continue in this scene as he reflects upon and recounts the events of Bolingbroke's usurpation of the throne from Richard II. Once again, his speech is inflected with the language of verbal communication, but this time, he seems to be most concerned with how current events are translated into history via speech. "Shall

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[245] See T. J. King, *Casting Shakespeare's Plays: London Actors and Their Roles, 1590-1642* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), table 50, 186. King identifies Hotspur as having 528 lines while the King and Hal have 338 and 514, respectively.
[246] Ibid, 147.

it for shame be spoken in these days" (1.3.169) and "shall it in more shame be further spoken" (1.3.176) both reflect Hotspur's vision of historical narrative as deeply rooted in the talk and gossip of the present and in the chronicles of the future. I read Hotspur's obsession with talk and its role in the construction of the historical narrative as a moment of metatheatrical self-reflection since he himself is a historical figure that Shakespeare finds in the chronicles and shapes for his play.

The other characters on stage with Hotspur demonstrate through their frequent protests against his constant chatter that they are well aware of the young rebel's wordiness. Worcester interrupts Hotspur mid-line to interject, "Peace, cousin, say no more" (1.3.186). Worcester later in the same scene beseeches Hotspur, "Good cousin, give me audience for a while" (1.3.210), and "Hear you, cousin, a word" (1.3.225) before he finally excuses himself, declaring, "I'll talk to you /when you are better tempered to attend" (1.3.232-3). Only 30 lines later does Hotspur finally relinquish the floor so that Worcester can say his bit: "Good uncle, tell your tale; / I have done" (1.3.253-4).

Though I began this section by commenting on the two Harrys introduced in the opening scene of *Henry IV Part I*, now seems like the logical point to address how Falstaff, the other of the plays' quasi-historical characters of deferral, slows down the narrative via his language, which is similarly full of excess. While Hotspur simply will not stop talking long enough to hear anyone else speak, Falstaff's verbal excess comes in the form of his exaggerations and patently false details that he adds to his stories. He constantly retells and rebuilds his stories, making them larger, longer, and grander. Borrowing a page from Hotspur, Falstaff also employs the rhetorical trope of *digressio*, but he does so in order to make his stories larger than life. After all, the only character

who has more lines in the play than Hotspur is Falstaff.[247] Falstaff's account of the Gadshill robbery best demonstrates the character's tendency to delay and enhance the play's action through his language of excess. After Poins removes Falstaff's horse, Falstaff laments "Eight yards of uneven ground is threescore and ten mile afoot with me, and the stony hearted-villains know it well enough" (2.2.23-6). Though Falstaff makes this comment about his health—he is out of shape and thus walking eight yards feels like walking seventy miles—Falstaff's statement could just as easily refer to his propensity to exaggerate and add colorful details to his stories.[248] Falstaff is likely to walk eight steps and tell his tavern buddies that he walked seventy miles. After Poins and Hal hold up Falstaff in their double-cross robbery, we see Falstaff's account of the events that transpired taking shape in an entirely different form than what we, the audience, read on the page or saw on the stage with our own eyes. The first time Falstaff begins his story of being held up mid-robbery, he reports that he was "at half-sword with a dozen of them, two hours together" (2.4.158-9). As Bardoll tries to continue the story, "We four set upon some dozen – ," Falstaff chimes in, "Sixteen at least my lord" (2.4.168-9). A mere ten lines later, the number of men that Falstaff fought off has grown exponentially: "All? I know not what you call all, but if I fought not with fifty of them, I am a bunch of radish. If there were not two- or three-and-fifty upon poor old Jack, then am I no two-legged creature" (2.4.179-182). Recounting the moment at which Poins and Hal hold up Falstaff and steal the money that he had just stolen, Falstaff expands the number of men involved in the hold up from two to eleven. Hal cheekily responds to this exaggeration with "O monstrous! Eleven buckram men grown out to two!" (2.4.212-13). Yet even when

[247] King, *Casting Shakespeare's Plays*, table 50, 168.
[248] Patricia Parker, *Literary Fat Ladies: rhetoric, gender, property*, (New York: Metheun, 1987).

Falstaff appears to be caught in his lies, he manages to talk his way out of them, or at least convince those around him to turn a blind eye to his lies, by continuing to add to his exaggerated narrative of events. When Hal confronts Falstaff with an account of the actual events that took place, Falstaff adds yet another lie to his narrative: "By the Lord, I knew ye as well as he that made ye. Why, hear you, my masters: was it for me to kill the heir apparent? Should I turn upon the true prince?" (2.4.259-61). We know that Hal knows what really happened at the robbery, yet Hal allows Falstaff to cling to his false narrative: "Content, and the argument shall be thy running away" (2.4.272-3). What strikes me as most significant about Falstaff's verbal excess and his tendency to delay or defer the discovery of the truth is his friends' willingness, not to accept these stories at face value, but to accept Falstaff's lies and misdeeds as a central aspect of his personality. At the end of the day, they do not care that he tells them things that are patently false because his manipulations of fact and fiction are entertaining.

Falstaff and Hotspur are paired thus in my argument, not simply because they both fill the play with verbal excess, but also because they are both characters based on historical figures. That Shakespeare makes, and takes advantage of, significant changes to historical figures that inspired Hotspur and Falstaff is not insignificant. In Holinshed's *Chronicles* and in the anonymous play *The Famous Victories of Henry the Fifth*, Hotspur was twenty-three years older than Hal and almost three years older than King Henry IV. In Samuel Daniel's *The Civil Wars*, Hotspur is a contemporary of Hal. In *1 Henry IV*, *Part 1*, Shakespeare draws on Daniel's text, also making Hotspur and Hal age contemporaries. Shakespeare draws from the historical narrative, but he takes advantage of the flexibility of theatrical time in order to develop a more complex path that Hal must

navigate to get to the throne. Hotspur's adulthood is deferred in the play with the result that he not only becomes the carousing young Prince's foil but also functions in the narrative of the play as an obstacle that delays or defers Hal's readiness to take the crown. Falstaff similarly undergoes dramatic changes, but the ahistoricizing that he undergoes at the hand of Shakespeare is of a very different nature. Shakespeare originally named the tavern friend of Hal Oldcastle rather than Falstaff. Yet sometime between 1597 and 1598, William Brooke, the tenth Lord Cobham, persuaded, either by himself or with the help of the Queen, Shakespeare to change the name of Oldcastle due to the defamation of Sir John Oldcastle, a 15th century Lollard martyr and the fourth Lord Cobham. It appears that in crafting Oldcastle/Falstaff as a character who defers the prince's accession to the throne via drinking and carousing, Shakespeare found that he had swerved too far from the historical record.[249] While Falstaff's friends for the most part are willing to agree to accept Falstaff's lies and tangents even as they know that they are not rooted in fact, William Brook was not willing to accept Shakespeare's manipulation of the historical record. We see in this unusual story of play-revising Shakespeare testing the degree to which the flexibility of theatrical time allows him to bend and stretch the temporal shape of history. Perhaps it is not surprising that Falstaff and Hal, like their creator, are keenly interested in how to share time and narrative to fit their individual needs.

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[249] David Scott Kastan, *Shakespeare After Theory* (New York: Routledge, 1999), 93-108; Gary Taylor, "The Fortunes of Oldcastle, *Shakespeare Survey* 38 (1985): 85-100; Gary Taylor, "William Shakespeare, Richard James, and the House of Cobham," *The Review of English Studies* 38, no. 151 (1987): 334-54; Jonathan Goldberg, "The commodity of names: 'Falstaff' and 'Oldcastle' in *1 Henry IV*," in *Reconfiguring the Renaissance: Essays in Critical Materialism*, ed. Jonathan Crewe (Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press, 1992): 76-88.

**Hal's disruption of the narrative**

In my initial treatment of the two Harrys to which we are introduced in the opening scene of *Henry IV Part 1*, I highlighted both the seeming straightness and linearity of Hotspur and Hal's opposing riot and digression to establish just one of the ways the two Harrys were working as a pair or foil in the narrative's opening. I then demonstrated how Hotspur is not a completely linear character; his moments of digression and deferral are rooted in moments of verbal excess when he talks continuously and does not listen to what those around him are saying. Hotspur and Falstaff share the propensity to defer the narrative of Hal's accession to the throne through their verbal digressions. Hotspur and Falstaff both extend or grow beyond the bounds of the historical narrative, and they both function in the plays as obstacles or foes that Hal must vanquish before he can sit upon the throne. But where does this leave Hal? Hal appears to be such a liability to the crown that his father wishes Hotspur rather than Hal were his son, his Harry:

> …O, that it could be proved
> That some night-tripping fairy had exchanged
> In cradle clothes our children where they lay,
> And called 'Percy,' his 'Plantaganet';
> Then would I have his Harry, and he mine. (1.1.85-9)

Yet the more that we look at Hal and his actions, the more we see a young man with a singular focus on preparing himself for the crown. While he is carousing with Falstaff and company at the tavern, he is actually plotting a deliberate path that demonstrates both his political acumen and his understanding of the diplomatic game that is kingship. In his

soliloquy Act One, scene two, Hal articulates his plan for coming to the crown. That plan includes an acknowledgement that he must turn his back on his tavern friends at some future date: "I know you all, and will awhile uphold / The unyoked humour of your idleness" (1.2.184-5). Hal also reveals in this soliloquy how he has intentionally taken a meandering, circuitous, and deferred route to the throne so as to impress his subjects when it is time for him to come to the throne. Comparing his journey to the throne to the sun's eventual unveiling from behind clouds, Hal professes:

> Yet herein will I imitate the sun,
> Who doth permit the base contagious clouds
> To smother up his beauty from the world,
> That, when he please again to be himself,
> Being wanted, he may be more wandered at
> By breaking through the foul and ugly mists
> Of vapours that did seem to strangle him. (1.2.186-193)

Hal's presumably idle and illicit behavior has been a part of his performance, an integral component of his identity as a king-in-waiting.

In both *Henry IV Part 1* and *Henry IV Part 2*, Hal creates moments in which the normal sequence of royal inheritance is disrupted and the linear process of primogenitures begins to appear less linear. These periods of disruption occur when Hal creates a sequence of overlap in which he or others and his father act as king simultaneously. In *Henry IV Part 1*, Hal assumes the role of king prematurely when he and Falstaff take turns playing the roles of Hal and his father prior to Hal's interview with his father. Though there is no real threat of Hal usurping the crown from his father

during these moments of acting, the play-acting in which Hal and Falstaff participate does highlight the teleological endpoint of the plays, when Hal becomes Henry V. Throughout the exchange, the eventual banishment of Falstaff in *Part 2* looms large. When Falstaff pretends to be Hal's father, the royal advice he offers Hal focuses on keeping Falstaff, a man supposedly "with virtue in his looks," as a close and important advisor (2.4.415). Falstaff as Henry IV thus commands Hal, "there is virtue that Falstaff. Him keep with; the rest banish" (2.4.417-18). When Falstaff and Hal switch roles, the distinctions between reality and fiction and between present and future begin to blur. It is as though Hal, sitting on the joint stool throne and holding a dagger as a scepter, realizes that though he is play-acting in this moment he will one day act as king. Hal's insults of Falstaff are initially in jest as he imagines what his father might say about his disreputable company, but even as he calls Falstaff a "huge bombard of sack" (2.4.439) and a "villainous, abominable misleader of youth" (2.4.450), Hal seems to realize slowly Falstaff can have no place amongst Hal's royal court. Falstaff concludes his performance of Hal by declaring, "Banish / plump Jack and banish all the world" (2.4.465-6) to which Hal poignantly responds "I do; I will" (2.4.468). These four simple words, in which Hal switches from the present tense to the future tense, create a temporal collapse in which the present and the future are reduced to a single point in time. Hal simultaneously plays the role of his father and finds himself playing a future version of himself as king. His "I do" presumably refers to the present act of banishing Falstaff from the court, which is all in good fun as Hal and his friend take turns playing the King and the wayward youth. Yet the "I do" also reads as an acknowledgement of sorts, as a recognition on Hal's part that even as he steals and carouses with Falstaff, he is slowly but surely already ensuring

his eventual banishment by using the fat knight as a means to his end. As Hal as pretend king declares "I do," we cannot help but think of Hal's redeeming time speech in Act One, scene two in which he describes Falstaff and his other tavern friends as "foul and ugly mists" from which the Prince will emerge as a glittering sun, ready to lead and to bring a time of peace and prosperity to the crown following his father's difficult reign. Yet even as Hal's "I do" takes on more than one valence, his "I will" even more poignantly captures Hal's acknowledgement that the banishment of Falstaff is one of the unavoidable endpoints of the action. It is as though Hal can almost remove himself from the narrative level of the play and look beyond the current action to see what is in his future as prince and king.

Another moment of royal overlap occurs in which Hal and his father simultaneously act as King in the *Henry IV* plays, this time in *2 Henry IV* when Hal, believing that his father has died, picks up the crown and places it on his own head. While the sequence of royal inheritance is momentarily disrupted in *1 Henry IV* through Hal and Falstaff's play, Hal creates a moment in which two kings reign in *2 Henry IV*, not through a moment of play but through a moment of misrecognition, when he misidentifies his father's sleep for death. While Hal and Falstaff jovially pretended to carry out the king's duties in *part I*, Hal in *part 2* poignantly reflects on the symbolic act of placing the crown on his head as he carries out this act:

> This sleep is sound indeed; this is a sleep
> That from this golden rigol hath divorc'd
> So many English kings. Thy due from me
> Is tears and heavy sorrows of the blood,

> Which nature, love, and filial tenderness
>
> Shall, O dear father pay thee plenteously.
>
> My due from thee is this imperial crown,
>
> Which, as immediate from thy place and blood
>
> Derives itself to me. (4.5.34-42)[250]

Hal in this moment does not view the act of placing the crown on his head as an act of trying on his father's crown or of testing out the position of king. In his meditation on the sleep that divides English kings from the "golden rigol," the physical object that represents the royal body of the king, Hal not only communicates to audiences that he believes his father is deceased but also articulates the political theology of the king's two bodies and his adherence to this set of beliefs. Inherent in this political theology is the notion that the body politic of the king can inhabit one and only one body natural at any given moment in time. Hal does not intend to try on or even to steal the crown while his father sleeps; Hal places the crown on his head because he believes that his father is dead, and according to the laws of primogeniture, the crown and all that it symbolizes, including the body politic, passes to the prince upon the death of the king. Hal refers to the imperial crown as a "lineal honour" (4.5.45), a description of kingship that underscores both the consanguineous passing of crown from father to son and the political and theological impossibility of the king's body politic inhabiting more than one body natural simultaneously.

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[250] All references to *2 Henry IV* come from the following edition unless otherwise noted: William Shakespeare, *King Henry IV, Part Two*, The Arden Shakespeare, ed. A. R. Humphreys (London: Bloomsbury, 1981).

Hal's image of the crown as a "lineal honour" suggests that inheritance of the crown functions lineally. The crown should pass smoothly from father to son in a straight, continuous line. Yet in *Henry IV, Parts One and Two*, the path of the throne is not straightforward. It is stretched, bent, and folded back on itself in two distinct ways. On the one hand, we see Hotspur and Falstaff making Hal's inheritance of the crown anything but straightforward. Hotspur and Falstaff, each in their own way, elongate this journey by adding bends and curves to the line. While Hotspur is the enemy of the crown that Hal must vanquish in order to prove himself ready for the crown, Falstaff, meanwhile, creates a more circuitous route to the throne for Hal as he fosters the Prince's waywardness through drinking, carousing, and illegal behavior. As discussed above, Hotspur and Falstaff's linguistic digressions and amplifications serve to highlight how these characters defer Hal on his way to the throne. On the other hand, we see none other than Hal himself disrupting this straightforward sequence of royal inheritance in which the crown passes from father to son at the moment of the King's death. Hal endangers the lineal system of inheritance by assuming the role of king, in moments both of play and of misrecognition, while his father still wears the crown. If Hal and his father both function as king simultaneously, the line of succession is no longer lineal. A line by definition is a set of points. It has no breadth or thickness. Yet if two people claim the crown at the same time, the effect is such that two kings try to coexist at a single point on the line. The line becomes crooked and warped. It becomes something other than a line. Succession is no longer a "lineal honour."

Hal's endangering of the process of lineal succession is emphasized by his father's words when the King, presumed to be dead, awakes to find the crown missing.

Once Hal and the crown have been located and the King is satisfied that Hal was not in fact trying to usurp the crown, the King reflects on his own usurpation of the crown from Richard II:

> God knows, my son,
> By what by-paths and indirect crook'd ways
> I met this crown, and I myself know well
> How troublesome it sat upon my head. (4.5.183-86)

As the King reflects upon how he short-circuited the lineal succession of the crown and thus brought upon his self a difficult reign, we cannot help but see the parallels between Hal's wayward behavior and "indirect crook'd ways" that led Henry IV to the throne. Though on a much smaller scale and with much less serious consequences, Hal's disruption of the linearity of succession through his tavern performances and premature seizing of the crown recapitulate or recreate the actions of the father when Henry IV ignored the laws of succession and seized the crown from Richard II.

While Hal's trying on of the crown of his sleeping father endangers the process of lineal succession by creating a moment in which two kings coexist, both the scene in which Hal assumes his father's crown and the scene immediately following in which King Henry interrogates his son demonstrate the flexibility of time in the *Henry IV* plays as a single event is staged and then reconfigured through language. As the play stages the scene in which Hal takes his father's crown and then follows that scene with Hal's account of the scene to his father, the play creates, on a small scale, the sense of delay, deferral, and retelling that defines the two play structure of *Henry IV, Parts One and Two*. This scene in *2 Henry IV* in which Hal takes his sleeping father's crown diverges

substantially from the parallel scene in one of Shakespeare's primary sources, *The Famous Victories*. In *The Famous Victories,* we do not actually see Hal's actions or hear the prince articulate his thoughts. The account of the stealing of the crown is described only in past tense as Hal tries to tell his father what happened. Henry IV even goes so far as to pass the crown to Hal upon hearing his account of the events, to which Hal declares, "Well may I take it at your maiesties hands, / But it shal neuer touch my head so lōg as my father liues" (*FV* viii.65-6). In *Henry IV, Part Two*, on the other hand, we see Hal take up the crown and also hear Hal's explanation to his father of what happened. Hal's account to his father of what transpired when the Prince believed his father was dead is slightly problematic because Hal says that he said things that the audience never heard him say. The mode of theater makes this moment all the more complicated because the audience has no way of knowing if the Prince is telling the truth. Did he utter these when the audience was not privy to his speech, or is the Prince, in his recapitulation of the events, fashioning a particular version of himself to present to his ailing father?

Like Hotspur's loquaciousness and Falstaff's penchant for amplification, Hal's account to his father of what transpired in the moments when the Prince believed his father was dead doubles the narrative of the play and serves as yet another moment of deferral. The narrative boundaries of the play are transgressed as the audience sees Hal's actions and then hears Hal's account to his father of his actions. This moment in which the events unfold occurs before us twice, once as action and once as recollection. The transgressive nature of these moments is rooted both in the fact that these moments are doubled in the narrative and in the fact that the two versions of the events that have transpired do not match up.

In the Induction to *Part 2*, a similar narrative disconnect occurs as Rumor recounts a version of the Battle of Shrewsbury that is quite unlike the battle that readers and audiences of *Part 1* have experienced. The Induction also functions as a moment of narrative overlap in which the events of the battle are retold (and retold differently) before the actual events have entirely transpired:

> Why is Rumour here?
>
> I run before King Harry's victory,
>
> Who in a bloody field at Shrewsbury
>
> Hath beaten down young Hotspur and his troops.
>
> Quenching the flame of cold rebellion
>
> Even with the rebels' blood. But what means I
>
> To speak so true at first? My office is
>
> To noise abroad that Harry Monmouth fell
>
> Under the wrath o noble Hotspur's sword,
>
> And that the King before the Douglas' rage
>
> Stoop'd his anointed head as low as death. (Induction 22-32)

In this speech, Rumor tells the audience that it will spread the falsehood that King Henry IV died in the Battle of Shrewsbury at the hand of Hotspur, but audience members, familiar with either *Henry IV, Part One* or other accounts of the Henry IV such as Holinshed's *Chronicles* or Daniel's *Civil Wars*, will know that Henry IV does not die at the Battle of Shrewsbury. Rumor is providing the audience with an alternative account, an account that is in fact false. Loren M. Blinde argues that Rumor's question, "Why is

Rumor here?" is best "understood as Shakespeare's challenge to the audience."[251] Blinde goes on to argue that as Shakespeare presents Rumor as the historian of *2 Henry IV*, the audience is forced to confront a "fundamental sense of unreliability in their thinking of history" and to consider both how history is made and the role of the theater in the making of history.[252] While I agree with Blinde's reading of Rumor as the play's historian and the destabilization of history that such a historian creates, I think that Rumor serves a more precise function in terms of the narrative of the play. Like Hotspur and Falstaff in *Part One*, Rumor, in *Part Two*, functions to elongate the narrative, to cause deferral and digression in the narrative of Hal's rise to the throne, to demonstrate the challenges of lineal succession, even when an heir-apparent exists.

Blinde uses the phrase "perpetual present" in order to define Rumor's effect as historian on *Henry IV*, *Part Two*. Blinde defines the "perpetual present" as "the sense in this play of events happening for the first time that nevertheless makes use of the audience's prior knowledge, not only about this period in English history but also the knowledge of history as a construct."[253] (Blinde 36). I argue that the play also exists in the "perpetual present" because it is not only engaging with, but rewriting, the past. The audience cannot depend on their historical knowledge of Henry IV and Hal because both parts of *Henry IV* rewrite elements of this history. Even more to the point, Rumor, in *Part Two*, rewrites *Part One*'s account of the Battle of Shrewsbury, forcing the audience to stay rooted in the present, to listen closely to the words delivered on the stage. The constant deferral, deflection, and rewriting that characterizes Rumor's role as historian, according to Blinde, "reflects a layering of histories while simultaneously suggesting that

[251] Loren M. Blinde, "Rumored History in *2 Henry IV*," *English Renaissance History* 23 (2008), 34.
[252] Ibid., 35
[253] Ibid., 36.

this play takes place, in a very real way, in a sort of present."[254] Though Blinde does not specifically say so, this "perpetual present" is distinctly theatrical. We are always in the present in the theater because the events are always happening in the present as we see them performed on the stage.

At this juncture of rumor, history, and perpetual present, I return briefly to the notion of succession. As I have demonstrated throughout this chapter, Hal, though he is the heir-apparent based on the patrilineal system of succession, does not rise smoothly and without mishap to the throne. The challenges and obstacles that Hal faces during his transformation from wayward prince to warrior king are not only embodied in the figures of Hotspur and Falstaff but also narratively constructed through the play's deferrals, digressions, false starts, and doubles. Reflecting on the narrative structure of *Henry IV, Parts One and Two,* Nigel Woods writes, "[r]ather than a smoothly unfolding numinous design we actually perceive a series of radical discontinuities, which foster a constantly recursive response, forcing us to reappraise what we thought we had understood."[255] Wood's words could just as easily apply to Hal's accession to the throne. In this way, the play's narrative structure not only replicates but also recreates the circuitousness of Hal's journey. Not only the events, but also the structure in which the events unfold on the stage, suggest to the audience that even the most clearly cut of successions are never actually clear cut.

In Act Three of *2 Henry IV*, Warwick remarks, "Rumor doth double, like the voice and echo / The numbers of the feared" (3.1.96-7), suggesting that rumor both creates a multiplicity of voices and fans the flames of fear. These characteristics of

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[254] Ibid.
[255] Nigel Wood, "Introduction" in *Henry IV Parts One and Two*, ed. Nigel Wood (Buckingham: Open University Press, 1995), 10.

rumor were all too familiar to Elizabeth I and her council as questions and concerns about who would succeed the Queen swirled endlessly during the final decades of her rule.

A 1581 English sedition act took aim not only at "seditious words and rumor uttered against the Queen's most excellent Majesty" but also at the "divers means practice and sought to know how long her Highness should live, and who should reign after her decease."[256] Queen Elizabeth I clearly feared discussions of her death and of the succession following her death because these rumors had a potentially destabilizing force on her reign and on the monarchy. Yet Shakespeare's play suggests that perhaps Elizabeth I and her council need not have feared the rumors so much. *Henry IV, Parts One and Two* suggest that all successions, even those of the great warrior kings of history, are comprised of moments of deferral, digressions, false starts, and upheavals. Even if it takes two five-act plays to get there, the rightful monarch will eventually make it to the throne.

[256] Quoted in Carole Levin, "We shall never have a merry world while the Quenne lyvth: Gender Monarchy, and the Power of the Seditious Word" in *Dissing Elizabeth: Negative Representations of Gloriana,* ed. Julia Walker (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1998), 88.

# CHAPTER FIVE

## MEMORY, MONUMENTS, TIME, AND TRUTH: EMBLEMATIC NOSTALGIA FOR QUEEN ELIZABETH I IN *THE WINTER'S TALE*

*The Winter's Tale*, first performed in 1611 and printed in the First Folio of 1623, more so than any of Shakespeare's plays, focuses on time and its passing.[257] Only in *The Winter's Tale* does Time assume a bodily form and voice and take to the stage. Yet it is not merely the presence of a physical embodiment of Time in Act Four of *The Winter's Tale* that marks Shakespeare's late work as a play especially interested in time and its effects on the world and its inhabitants. The play's roots in the genre of romance, Leontes and Polixines's desire to return to their Edenic youth, Paulina's obsessive calls to Leontes to remember Hermione and the crimes he committed against her, and even the Kings' concerns about the livelihood of their family lines, all suggest the play's fixation with a specific function or aspect of the passing of time: memory.[258] More specifically, *The Winter's Tale*'s extensive use of images and ideas rooted in the visually rich Renaissance *ars memoriae* tradition establishes the making and sharing of memories as a deeply social and public function of time's passing.

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[257] Simon Forman recorded that he saw *The Winter's Tale* performed at the Globe on Wednesday, 15, 1611. In a manuscript he titled his "Book of Plays," he noted the play's plot and characters and even prompted himself to "remember" various moments in the play including the delivery of the oracle of Apollo and Autolycus's pickpocketing at the sheep-shearing festival. We know that the King's Men also performed *The Winter's Tale* at court on November 5, 1611 because of the record of payment. See Leeds Barroll, *Politics, Plague, and Shakespeare's Theater: The Stuart Years* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991), 199-207; Stephen Orgel, ed., *The Winter's Tale*, by William Shakespeare (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 80, 233; Marion O'Connor, "'Imagine Me, Gentle Spectators': Iconomachy and *The Winter's Tale*" in *A Companion to Shakespeare's Works, Volume IV: The Poems, Problem Comedies, Late Plays*, ed. Richard Dutton and Jean E. Howard (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2003), 365.

[258] For a discussion of *The Winter's Tale* as romance, see Michael D. Bristol, "In Search of the Bear: Spatiotemporal Form and the Heterogeneity of Economies in *The Winter's Tale*, *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 42, no. 2 (1991): 166-148.

To situate the visual and verbal richness of *The Winter's Tale* within the tradition of the art of memory, I shall discuss how the play's opening foregrounds the time that Polixines and Leontes spent together as children as an Edenic past, a time that both remember fondly and to which both wish to return at various moments in the play. Next, I shall establish the connection between memory and visuals, specifically the Renaissance art of memory, including the use of memory theaters and emblems. I will then focus on the visual and verbal markers of Time and Truth in the emblem tradition in order to establish Hermione as an emblematic figure of Truth. Finally, I will turn to images of Queen Elizabeth I, both those created while she was living and those created or altered after her death, in order to demonstrate the resonances between England's dead Queen and Hermione, the monumentalized Queen of *The Winter's Tale*. Through its intersecting interests in visual representations of time, truth, and memory, *The Winter's Tale* examines both the construction of the public memory of Queen Elizabeth I and the continued memorialization of the dead Queen and simultaneously interrogates how memories of Elizabeth I and Tudor England were preserved and reshaped in the first years of King James I's rule.

**Shared Memories of the Past: Polixines and Leontes's Childhood**

*The Winter's Tale* opens with a scene rooted in memories of the past. Though not a flashback per se, the conversation between Camillo and Archidamus functions similarly to a flashback, providing the audience with details that the dramatic action of the play would otherwise not provide. Brought together because Polixines, the King of Bohemia, is visiting Leontes, the King of Sicilia, Camillo and Archidamus stand in the present of the play's action, conversing about a past that exists beyond the confines of the dramatic

action. In the play's initial scene, Camillo first describes the childhood relationship between Leontes and Polixines in botanical terms: "They were trained together in their child-hoods, and there rooted betwixt them then such an affection which cannot choose but branch now" (1.1.22-24).[259] "[T]rained," referring to a plant on a trellis, "rooted," and "branch" all suggest a natural, pastoral development to the two boys' relationship. According to Camillo, the two Kings' relationship not only grew naturally but also transcends time: "they / have seemed to be together, though absent; shook hands / as over a vast" (1.1.28-30). Like Adam and Eve's existence before the Fall, Polixines and Leontes's friendship experiences no sense of time or distance. Their friendship exists in an eternally present, singular moment. They can reach over the "vast," the temporal and geographic distance that separates them in adulthood, and fall in step as would "twinned lambs," as though they were never apart (1.2.67).

This singular moment of the eternal present to which we are introduced in the play's opening scene is not merely a function of the past. As Camillo and Archidamus's conversation continues, they develop not only the past, but also the future, as a mere extenuation of the eternal present. As the two lords discuss the bright future of Mamillius, the young son of Leontes, they surmise that even those who use crutches will continue to live in order to see Mamillius grow into a man and to rule: "They that went on crutches / ere he was born desire yet their life to seem him / a man" (1.1.39-41). Through their references to crutches, a common symbol of old age, the lords suggest that Sicilia's senior citizens could delay time's passing in order to see their prince come of age.

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[259] All references to *The Winter's Tale* come from the following edition unless otherwise noted: William Shakespeare, *The Winter's Tale*, The Arden Shakespeare Third Series, ed. John Pitcher (London: Bloomsbury, 2010.)

Extending this atemporal absurdity even further, Archidamus remarks, "If the king had no son they would desire / to live on crutches till he had one" (1.1.45-6). In part because of their association with old age, the crutches to which Camillo and Archidamus refer also function synecdochically to call to mind the figure of Time, who in early modern figurations was often shown as an old man walking with the assistance of canes or crutches.[260] By suggesting that those on crutches, including Time himself, could wait to see Mamillius grow to manhood or to see Leontes have an heir in the absence of Mamillius, the lords suggest a temporal impossibility in which time does not pass, in which Time stands still. These lines also hauntingly foreshadow Mamillius's death and the sixteen years that must pass before Leontes is reunited with his daughter Perdita. During these moments of tragedy, Time is capable neither of remaining stationary nor of undoing the wrongs that Leontes committed against his family.

This conversation between the Kings' two lords does more than simply recall the memories of Polixines and Leontes's youth that would otherwise be beyond the realm of the action of the play. Through this initial conversation between Camillo and Archidamus, the play also establishes the importance of the past to the present and future action of the play. Stanton B. Garner, Jr. identifies this "layering of past on present, and present on past" as a function of the play's dual concerns with the immediate and the temporal as characters wish to remain fixed in time, yet must come to terms with the consequences and changes that mark time's passing.[261] Perhaps even more significant to my argument is the fact these reflections on Polixenes and Leontes's idyllic childhood are

[260] See below for a more thorough examination of early modern personifications of Time.
[261] Stanton B. Garner, Jr. "Time and Presence in *The Winter's Tale*," *Modern Language Quarterly* 46, no. 4 (1985): 349; Garner points to the two Kings' childhood, the courtship of Hermione, the Old Shepherd's wife, Mamillius's sad tale, and other moments of story or remembrance as elements of the play that show how the past comes to bear on the play's present.

never identified as Camillo and Archidamus's personal memories. Disconnecting from the one who made these memories – presumably Polixines and Leontes's – these memories seem to be free floating, shared with and thus belonging to many of the play's other characters and, in fact, with the entire audience. Even those who do not experience Polixines and Leontes's childhood firsthand share a memory of the two kings' unencumbered youth.[262] This opening conversation thus also functions to foreground the social formation and public use of memory as one of the play's central concerns.

The audience's memory of Polixines and Leontes's shared youth comes into even sharper relief as Polixines describes his relationship with Leontes to Hermione. Building upon Camillo and Archidamus's Edenic account of the blooming of the two Kings' relationship, Polixines further develops his shared childhood with Leontes as a time of prelapsarian joy:

> We were, fair queen,
> Two lads that thought there was no more behind
> But such a day tomorrow as today,
> And to be boy eternal. (1.2.62-65)

Echoing Camillo and Archidamus's remark about Time standing still in the presence of young Mamillius, Polixines remembers each day of his youth looking the same. When he and Leontes were boys, yesterday, today, and tomorrow were undifferentiated from one another. Polixines's lines, in which "behind," "today," and "tomorrow" do not fall in

[262] See Marianne Hirsh, "Family Pictures: *Maus*, Mourning, and Post-Memory," *Discourse* 15, vol. 2 (1992-93): 8-9. Writing about the graphic novel *Maus*, Hirsch coined the term "post-memory" to describe the relationship between generations who bear the personal and cultural trauma of those who come before them but remember only through images and stories. I argue that something similar to post-memory is occurring in this opening scene, but instead of Camillo, Archidamus and the audience remembering a trauma, we experience the postmemory of the Edenic, prelapsarian youth of Polixines and Leontes.

chronological order, "subvert the very idea of time, […] warping past and future into the seemingly boundless expanse of the present, opening the moment into eternity" and thus reinforce his claim that his and Leontes's youth existed in the eternal present of the here and now.[263] In addition to their childhood extending beyond them in a perpetual moment of now, Polixines and Leontes's youth is also marked by their prepubescence. As a "boy eternal," Polixines, and his friend Leontes, occupied an Edenic space, they remained blissfully unaware of and unconcerned with women or carnal knowledge. As Polixines continues to describe his past relationship with Leontes, the prelapsarian qualities of their youth become even more pronounced:

> We were as twinned lambs that did frisk i'th' sun
> And bleat the one at th'other: what we changed
> Was innocence for innocence; we knew not
> The doctrine of ill-doing, nor dreamed
> That any did. (1.2.67-71)

Yet even as Polixenes meditates on his youth with Leontes in which they traded "innocence for innocence" and yesterday for a seemingly identical today, Polixenes acknowledges, through his use of the past tense, that he and Leontes no longer inhabit that world. He seems to yearn for the past, noting to Hermione that this Edenic past took place when his wife was just a girl and when Hermione's "precious self had not then crossed the eyes of [his] young playfellow" (1.2.79-80). In addition to further developing the shared memory of the Kings' twinned youth, Polixines's description also evokes the pastoral, a generic form deeply rooted in memories of the Golden Age or Edenic past and a form to which the play returns in its second half. The play's first two acts thus establish

[263] Garner, "Time and Presence in *The Winter's Tale*," 348.

the play's preoccupation with the formation and function of shared memories and introduce us to a series of memories that not only shape the trajectory of the play's action but also articulate the connection between memories and striking visual imagery.

**The Early Modern Art of Memory and Emblems**

Having considered how the play establishes a shared memory for characters and audience alike and how the play foregrounds grounds itself in memory, I now wish to turn to the classical *ars memoriae*, or art of memory, in order to consider how the development and storage of memories was in and of itself a sort of shared cultural experience or memory in the early modern period. Frances Yates's foundational analysis of mnemonics in *The Art of Memory* emphasizes the classical roots of the art of memory and traces its trajectory through the Middle Ages to the sixteenth and seventeenth century. Yates argues that prior to the advent of print, the Greeks developed and practiced the art of memory in order to retain and call forth material. Initially the art of memory grew from the art of rhetoric, by which orators could improve their memory so as to be able to recite long speeches from memory.[264] While the art of memory in its infancy did not necessarily have a shared set of images from which to draw, it is nonetheless worth noting that even in its nascent form, the art of memory fulfilled a social, communal aspect as it allowed rhetors to share increasingly long and complex speeches with their audiences.

The classical art of memory pivots on two key components, a *locus* and an image. The anonymous first-century B.C. *Ad Herennium*, one of the three classical texts on the art of memory from which Yates draws much of her research, describes the *locus* as a

[264] Frances A. Yates, *The Art of Memory*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966), 2. We see in Mark Antony's "Friends, Romans, Countrymen" speech in Act Three, scene two of *Julius Caesar* an example of how rhetoric works to create a shared public memory.

physical place such as a house, a portico, an arch, a corner of two roads or some other specific space that the mind can easily recall.[265] Images are "forms, marks, or simulacra [...] of what we wish to remember."[266] In this way, images are similar to the signifier in Saussure's system of semiotics. The signified is the thing that we wish to remember, and the signifier is the image that we use to represent the thing that we wish to remember.[267] *Locus* and image work together to create an effective mnemonic system in the art of memory; the locus functions to organize the facts and memories while the images are the facts or memories themselves.[268]

Quintilian, in his first-century volumes of books *Institutio Oratoria*, clearly describes the process of using loci and images to organize memories. First, one must choose a *locus* and imprint the *locus* on one's memory.[269] In other words, one must pick a specific physical space and then remember that space in as much detail as possible. Next, one must populate the space with images, all the while associating those images with specific memories. If, for example, one chose a great villa as the *locus*, then the vase in the courtyard, the pillow in the bedroom, and the stack of wood in the kitchen would all function as individual images, representing the different ideas or facts to be remembered.

In the classical Roman period, the *locus* was a common place or space such as an arch or monument. It is not surprising then that in the early modern period, practitioners of the art of memory used the popular architectural forms of their own day as the loci that

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[265] Ibid., 6.
[266] Ibid.
[267] Ferdinand de Saussure, *Course in General Linguistics,* trans. Roy Harris (London: Duckworth, 1983), 67, 101.
[268] Yates, *The Art of Memory*, 12.
[269] Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria*, trans. H. E. Butler, vol. 4 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1961), XI, ii, 17-22.

they would then populate with images. During the Renaissance, theaters of assorted shapes, sizes, and dimensions became the preferred loci of many who practiced the art of memory.[270] In fact, Yates identifies the advent of the memory theater, and with it a paradigm shift about the supposed powers of the *locus*, as one of the primary transformations that the art of memory undergoes between the classical period and the Renaissance.[271]

Giulio Camillo and Robert Fludd's memory theaters represent two distinct ways in which the art of memory employed the space of the theater for mnemonic purposes during the early modern period.[272] Camillo's memory theater, which probably existed in some structural though uncompleted form, reversed the optics of the theater. Users would position themselves not in the space reserved for the audience but instead in the space that usually functioned as the stage. From this vantage point, the user could look upon figures, ornaments, and images that filled the space that the audience would traditionally occupy. Looking upon the images that filled the theater, the user could then employ mnemonic techniques to recall and access information. Camillo's theater was so intricate in design and detail that, when completed, it was intended to allow its user to access all knowledge. Camillo's *Idea del Theatro*, published posthumously, contains only traces of the great memory theater that Camillo imagined.

While Camillo's highly theoretical memory theater no longer exists—and whether or not it ever existed is a topic of some debate—Robert Fludd's seventeenth century memory theater, according to Yates, was not a theater that he created in his mind's eye or

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[270] See Yates, *The Art of Memory*, 129-159, 160-172, and 320-341 for a discussion of the Renaissance memory theaters in relation to Giulio Camillo and Robert Fludd.
[271] Ibid., 128.
[272] That Giulio Camillo shares his last name with a character from *The Winter's Tale* has not escaped my attention.

that he attempted to construct from scratch but was none other than the famous Globe Theater.[273] Fludd's own words in his treatise *Utriusque Comsi, Maioris scilicet et Minoris, metaphysica, physica, atque technica Hisorica,* as well as the engraving that accompany the text, provide a convincing case for Fludd's use of the Globe Theater as his own personal memory theater. Describing the *loci* that he employs, Fludd writes, "I call a theatre (a place in which) all actions of words, of sentences, or particulars of a speech or of subjects are shown *as in a public theatre in which comedies and tragedies are acted*."[274] The engraving that corresponds with this section of the treatise shows a space that looks very similar to an Elizabethan or Jacobean stage. A tiring space in the middle of the main level is identifiable in the image, as is an upper level that looks like a cross between battlements and a casement, not coincidently two of the common spaces that early modern productions represented through their use of the stage's upper gallery. The connection between the Globe and Fludd's memory theater is only strengthened when we consider that the volume in which this image appears is dedicated to King James I, who not only helped fund the rebuilding of the Globe after the fire of 1613 but was also the patron of the King's Men, the theater company that performed at the Globe.[275] Perhaps most convincing of the connection between Fludd's memory theater and the Globe are Fludd's words in *Utriusque Cosmi* in which he instructs practitioners to use "real" places rather than "fictitious" or imaged places as *loci*. These admonitions to his readers suggest that Fludd's memory theater was a mnemonic replication of a specific location in seventeenth century London and not merely a figment of his own imagination.

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[273] Ibid., 342-67.
[274] Robert Fludd, *Utriusque Comsi, Maioris scilicet et Minoris, metaphysica, physica, atque technica Hisorica*, (Oppenheim: John Theodore de Bry, 1617-1619), translated in Frances A Yates, *The Art of Memory*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966), 331.
[275] Yates, *The Art of Memory,* 346.

Camillo and Fludd's use of imagined, partially constructed, and functioning theaters firmly establishes the early modern theater as a space intimately connected with the formation and safekeeping of memories.[276]

Yet the relationship between the memory theater and the public theater is not one-dimensional. The theater did not serve solely as a model for *loci*. In fact, the images that are an integral component of the art of memory frequently find their way onto the stage of the early modern public theater. This multidirectional relationship between the *loci* and images of the art of memory and the early modern stage is perhaps best illustrated in Act Five, scene three of *The Winter's Tale* in which Paulina takes Leontes, Perdita, and others to her "poor house" to gaze upon the statue of Hermione (5.3.6). The action of the scene undoubtedly unfolds within a real theater, yet Leontes's description of Paulina's house suggest that Paulina takes the audience and the play's other characters into a long hall, a literalized memory theater:[277]

Your gallery

Have we passed through, not without much content

In many singularities, but we saw not

That which my daughter came to look upon,

The statue of her mother. (5.3.9-14)

As Leontes gazes upon the specific image of Hermione's statue, specific memories begin to surface. Leontes recalls not only his initial encounter with Hermione—" O thus she stood / …when I first wooed her" (5.3.34, 36)—but also the magnitude of the crimes he

[276] Ibid., 367.
[277] William E. Engel, "*The Winter's Tale*: Kinetic emblems and memory images in *The Winter's Tale*," in *Late Shakespeare, 1608-1613*, eds. Andrew J. Power and Rory Loughnane (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 71.

committed against Hermione and the rest of his family—"my evils conjured to remembrance" (5.3.40). In this regard, Hermione's statue functions as an *ars memoriae* image; her presence within Paulina's gallery functions to recall specific memories for Leontes and the others that gaze upon her image.[278]

As a final thought on how Hermione's statue, positioned in Paulina's gallery, resembles the image used in the classical and early modern art of memory, I would like to turn to *Ad Herennium*'s advice to readers concerning the process of selecting images with which to fill their *loci*. The text emphasizes the importance of selecting unique, unforgettable images to which to attach ideas and facts:

> We ought, then, to set up images of a kind that can adhere longest in memory. And we shall do so if we establish similitudes as striking as possible; if we set up images that are not many or vague but active (*imageines agentes*); if we assign to them exceptional beauty or singular ugliness; if we ornament some of them, as with crowns or purple cloaks, so that the similitude may be more distinct to us; or if we somehow disfigure them, as by introducing one stained with blood or soiled with mud or smeared with red paint, so that its form is more striking, or by assigning certain comic effects to our images, for that too, will ensure our remembering them more readily. The things we easily remember when they are real we likewise remember without difficulty when they are figments.[279]

The statue of Hermione has much in common with the types of images described in *Ad Herennium*. The statue of Hermione is distinguished from other statues in the gallery, first and foremost, because Hermione's statue is animated. The image of Hermione

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[278] Anita Gilman Sherman, *Skepticism and Memory in Shakespeare and Donne*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 76.
[279] *Ad Herennium,* trans. Harry Caplan, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1981), III, xxii.

becomes "active" as the statue comes to life and descends from the pedestal. Yet even before Hermione's statue becomes active, Shakespeare's development of the statue parallels the development of a unique and memorable image in the art of memory. According to *Ad Herennium*, the chosen image should be "not many or vague" but should instead have "exceptional beauty" or some other defining characteristic that makes it "more distinct" to those who are attempting to access and recall memories. Hermione's statue is unique in its verisimilitude—the sculptor has even given the statue wrinkles to show Hermione as she would appear sixteen years after Leontes last saw her. Paulina further emphasizes the distinct or singular qualities of Hermione's image by keeping the statue "lonely, apart" behind a curtain and separated from the other objects within the gallery (5.3.18). Finally, in an odd twist of logic, Hermione's statue adheres to *Ad Herennium*'s principles concerning the selection of images *because* the statue is in fact the living, breathing Hermione. The author of *Ad Herennium* claims that the more our figments resemble those things that we can easily remember in real life, the easier it will be to remember the figments. In the statue of Hermione, real life and figment of imagination coalesce into a singular powerful *ars memoriae* image.

The emblem of the early modern period, "both as an art form and as a mode of thought," finds its roots in the images of the classical *ars memoriae*.[280] The English were undoubtedly aware of Continental emblem books prior to the printing of an emblem book in England, and emblems, *imprese*, and other symbolic images were shaping English patterns of thought before the advent of the English emblem book.[281] Even before their codification in print, emblem and the *impressa* were "[a]mongst the most characteristic

[280] Peter M. Daly, "The Cultural Context of English Emblem Books" in *The English Emblem and the Continental Tradition*, ed. Peter M. Daly, (New York: AMS Press, 1988), 2.
[281] Ibid., 3.

types of Renaissance cultivation of imagery."[282] It is in large part their connection to the classical art of memory that makes emblems such a popular and enduring form.[283] Even if the connection between emblems and the images of the classical art of memory was not always explicitly stated in the early modern period, we can see in sixteenth and seventeenth century descriptions of emblems language that is nearly identical to that used in the descriptions of classical *ars memoriae* images. In addition to these linguistic echoes, early modern descriptions of emblems also describe the emblems as occupying the same mnemonic function as images from the art of memory. In his 1586 emblem book *A Choice of Emblems*, Geffrey Whitney describes emblems in his address "To the Reader" in the following terms:

> It resteth now to shewe breeflie what this worde Embleme signifieth, and whereof it commeth, which thoughe it be borrowed of others, & not proper in the Englishe tonge, yet that which it signifieth: Is, and hathe bin alwaies in vse amongst vs, which worde being in Greeke εμβαλλεσθαι, vel επεμβλησθαι is as muche to saye in Englishe as *To set in, or to put in:* […] hauinge some wittie deuise expressed with cunning woorkemanship, something obscure to be perceiued at the first, whereby, when with further consideration it is vnderstood, it maie the greater delighte the behoulder.[284]

While Whitney never goes so far as to say that emblems are the early modern version of classical images from the art of memory, the description of something, initially obscured, but understood with further consideration echoes the practice of the art of memory in

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[282] Yates, *The Art of Memory*, 124.
[283] Alastair Fowler, "The Emblem as a Literary Genre," in *Deviceful Settings: The English Renaissance Emblem and its Contexts* edited by Michael Bath and Daniel Russell, (New York: AMS Press, 1999), 8-9.
[284] Geffrey Whitney, *A choice of emblemes, and other deuises, for the moste parte gathered out of sundrie writers, Englished and moralized*, (Leyden: Franice Raphelengius, 1586).

which memories are vague and not always retrievable until attached to a concrete image. Furthermore, the "cunning woorkemanship" of the emblem, as well as its ability to "greater delighte the behoulder," echoes the attitudes of art memory theorists of the Renaissance such as Camillo and Fludd who designed complex memory palaces and systems of images, not only to assist their own powers of memory but also to create wonder and amazement in those who gazed upon their designs.[285]

In his 1605 two-book project *Of the proficience and aduancement of learning, diuine and humane*, Francis Bacon describes the classical art of memory but uses the world "emblem" in place of the more traditional "image." The emblem serves the same functions as, and in fact has become, the image that indelibly imprints an idea upon the memory in visual form:

> This Art of *Memorie,* is but built vpon two Intentions: The one *Praenotion;* the other *Embleme: Praenotion,* dischargeth the Indefinite seeking of that we would remember, and directeth vs to seeke in a narrowe Compasse: that is, somewhat that hath Congruitie with our *Place of Memorie: Embleme* reduceth conceits intellectuall to Images sensible, which strike the *Memorie* more.[286]

By the second half of the seventeenth century, the connection between emblems and the art of memory was well-established and was even an advertised feature of some emblem books including Edward Manning's 1665 English emblem book *Ashrea: or, the Grove of Beatitudes, represented in Emblemes: And, by the Art of Memory, To be read on our*

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[285] See Michael Bath, *Speaking Pictures: English Emblem Books and Renaissance Culture* (New York: Longman, 1994); Bath writes that "the emblem was conceived both as an art of rhetorical invention in which novel or witty connections were suggested between signifier and signified, and at the same time as an art which used inherent meanings already inscribed in the Book of Nature by the finger of God" (3).
[286] Francis Bacon, *The Twoo Bookes of Francis Bacon. Of the proficience and aduancement of learning, diuine and humane*, (London: Henrie Tomes, 1605), Pp2v.

*Blessed Saviour Crucifi'd*, which highlights on the title page the symbiotic relationship of emblems and the art of memory.[287]

Emblems, as I have shown, play an integral role in creating, retrieving, and sharing memories in early modern Europe. In addition to serving the mnemonic function of images in Renaissance iterations of the art of memory, emblems themselves also became a shared or collected set of memories or tropes that "helped to shape nearly every form of visual or verbal communication during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries."[288] Shakespeare's world was "saturated with visual tropes conveyed by paintings, stained glass windows, tapestries, house-hold objects, and even armor, as well as by widely distributed books and graphics."[289] As the printing of emblem books spread across the Continent and across England, we can only assume that the memories and ideas associated with these emblems became increasingly fixed, and that the emblems, as well as the ideas they represented, became more firmly rooted in the shared consciousness of the early modern world.

**Time and Truth as Emblems in *The Winter's Tale***

In Act Four, scene one, the figure of Time assumes a bodily form and voice and appears on stage to speak to the audience. In this metadramatic scene, Time interrupts the action of the play, reflects on the events that have transpired in the previous three acts, and communicates to the audience that the next scenes take place some sixteen years after the preceding scene. Scholars have variously read Time's interruption in the action

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[287] Edward Manning, *Ashrea: or, the Grove of Beatitudes, represented in Emblemes: And, by the Art of Memory, To be read on our Blessed Saviour Crucifi'd*, (London: F. M., 1665).
[288] Karl Josef Höltgen, *Aspects of the Emblem: Studies in the English Emblem Tradition and the European Context* (Kassel: Reichenberger, 1986), 26.
[289] John Doebler, *Shakespeare's Speaking Pictures*, (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1974), 15.

of the play as evidence that a less accomplished collaborator must have worked with Shakespeare and as a simple device to mark a lapse in time within the play's action.[290] They have also considered Time's presence as a means through which integral plot information is communicated to audiences and as a moment to emphasize the symmetry of the play's two distinct parts.[291] This scene has also been of much interest to scholars such as Frederick Kiefer and Inga-Stina Ewbank who have examined the visual commonplaces of the early modern period to surmise what Time might have been wearing and carrying when he appeared on stage in seventeenth century productions of *The Winter's Tale*. While images of Time from emblem books have figured in Kiefer and Ewbanks's work as examples of the personification of Time that would have been in the shared consciousness of early modern audiences, the relationship between the generic affordances and thematic concerns of emblem books and the figure of Time in *The Winter's Tale* remains largely unexplored.[292] I will focus on the visual and verbal nexus

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[290] Edwin Panofsky, *Studies in Iconology: Humanistic Themes in the Art of the Renaissance* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1939), 81.

[291] J. H. P. Pafford, ed. *The Winter's Tale*, by William Shakespeare, Arden Shakespeare (London: Methuen, 1963), 168; William Blissett, "This Wide Gap of Time: *The Winter's Tale*," *English Literary Renaissance* 1, no. 1 (1971):54.

[292] Doebler's *Shakespeare's Speaking Pictures* is one of the first texts to consider the iconic imagery of Shakespeare from both a textual and stage performance standpoint. He argues that theater has been overlooked in favor of "[t]hread, printer's ink, and paint [as] media for an enormously rich storehouse of conventional motifs, emblems, and impressa" (12). While foundational in its development of a strain of scholarship that focuses on the iconographic richness of Shakespeare's plays, Doebler's text does not examine *The Winter's Tale*. In her entry on "stage imagery" in *The Reader's Encyclopedia of Shakespeare*, Martha Hester Fleisher also identifies the relationship between the images audiences see on the stage and engravings in early modern emblem books but does not address *The Winter's Tale*: "Stage imagery is created by the persons, properties, and actions visible or audible on the stage when a play is in production. Its function is analogous to that of the allegorical picture in the emblem books of the Renaissance: to present the truth for instantaneous comprehension by the eye; while the dialogue, like the emblem book's verses, explicates and elaborates the image for the benefit of methodical, discursive reason" (819). For other texts that consider the interplay of Renaissance drama and the emblem book tradition see: Henry Green, *Shakespeare and the Emblem Writers*, (1870; facsimile rept, New York: Burt Franklin, 1964); Mario Praz, *Studies in the Seventeenth Century Imagery*, 2nd ed. (Rome, 1964). Texts that use emblematic readings of *The Winter's Tale* include Frederick Kiefer "The Iconography of time in *The Winter's Tale*," *Renaissance and Reformation* 23, no. 3 (1999): 49-64; Inga-Stina Ewbank, "The Triumph of Time in *The Winter's Tale*" in *The Winter Tale: Critical Essays*, ed. Maurice Hunt (New York: Garland Publishing,

of Time in *The Winter's Tale* and consider how the visuals of Time inflect the reading of the text even as the text inflects our visual understanding of Time. Time's personification and appearance in *The Winter's Tale* functions both visually and verbally in the printed text and in performance. By considering how the visual and verbal elements of Time in *The Winter's Tale* work in conjunction with one another in a way that is similar to the interplay of text and image in emblem books of the period, we position ourselves to consider how the play's central concerns, especially as they are articulated via the appearance of the emblematic figure of Time and the animation of Hermione's statue, parallel the early modern emblem book's presentation, via image and text, of the relationship between Time and Truth.

According to the art historian Erwin Panofsky, the visual development of the figure of Time has a long, cross-cultural history.[293] The early modern figure of Time that we see in emblem books, plays, processions, and pageants has roots in classical, medieval, western, and eastern traditions. Time as *Kairos* (the Greek word meaning time imbued with meaning, a favorable opportunity, or a fleeting moment) was depicted in the classical period as Opportunity, a young male figure, moving fleetingly, with wings at the shoulders and heels.

Over time, a conflation of *chronos*, the Greek word for chronological or sequential time, and Cronus, the king of the Titans and the oldest of the Greek gods, occurred. As the patron of the harvest, Cronus was often depicted holding a sickle or scythe. Over time, the sickle came to be associated with the castration of Uranus that

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1995), 139-155; William E. Engel, "*The Winter's Tale*: Kinetic emblems and memory images in *The Winter's Tale*," in *Late Shakespeare, 1608-1613*, eds. Andrew J. Power and Rory Loughnane (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 71-87; Susan Snyder and Deborah T. Curren-Aquino, eds., *The Winter's Tale,* The New Cambridge Shakespeare (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 38.

[293] Panofsky, *Studies in Iconology*, 69-76.

Cronus committed and, more loosely, with Cronus's eating of his own children. The scythe thus became an image of destructiveness when associated with Cronus. As Cronus's Roman counterpart, Saturn, emerged and the gods came to be associated with planets, Cronus came to be associated with the characteristics of the planet Saturn. Saturn, thought to be the coldest, driest, and slowest of planets, became connected to old age and death, and over time, the Saturn/Cronus figure came to be associated with these ideas as well. Astrological imagery thus began to show the planet Saturn as a sickly old man, and the scythe or sickle that Cronus once held was sometimes replaced or complemented by a crutch or cane. Around the time of the printing of Petrarch's poems in the early sixteenth century, illustrators began combining the imagery of *Kairos* or Opportunity with the imagery of Cronus/Saturn, and a more complex iconography of Time emerged. It is around the same time that the figure of Time began to appear with a sandglass in illustrations.[294] Thus, by the time Shakespeare and his contemporaries were writing, the iconography of Time had become a shared cultural memory and "common property" to the people of early modern Europe.[295]

Personifications of Time figure prominently in emblem books from the period and solidify a shared conception of Time among the people of early modern Europe. The advent of the emblem book as a genre is usually traced to 1531 when Andrea Alciato published a collection of Latin epigrams entitled *Emblematum Liber* and his printer in Augsburg, Germany added illustrations to the collection of epigrams.[296] The emblem book became an exceedingly popular genre across early modern Europe, and today these books provide a wealth of information about the early modern world's mentalities on

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[294] Ibid., 71.
[295] Kiefer, "The Iconography of time in *The Winter's Tale*," 49.
[296] Bath, *Speaking Pictures*, 1.

politics, philosophy, morality, and social life.[297] Perhaps they are most telling in what they reveal about the unique relationship between word and image in the early modern world.[298] The early modern emblem book does not rewrite or redesign the visual commonplaces of the personification of Time. What is unique about the emblem book and its depictions of Time, though, is the symbiotic relationship between image and text, a generic feature of the emblem book upon which Shakespeare draws in *The Winter's Tale* to examine the public memory of Queen Elizabeth.

An example of a typical emblem book's visual and verbal depiction of Time is found in "Embleme 28" in *The Mirrour of Majestie, or, The badges of honour conceitedly emblazoned,* a book printed in London in 1618 and attributed to Henry Goodyere . In "Embleme 28," we see the figure of Time on the left and a man holding a book on the right. Time is identifiable via his wings, bald head and beard, scythe, and sandglass. The Latin phrase "Tempus Coronat Industriam" ("Time rewards Industry") encircles the image and serves as the motto for the emblem. The text that accompanies the image describes a steep, rough climb, and at the top of the climb is a gate, the key to which is held by Learning. According to the text, once a person makes it up the climb via labor and desire, the gate is open to him. Once inside the gate, having achieved learning, the person rests until Time presents him with a crown and rewards him for his toils.

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[297] Penn State University Libraries, *The English Emblem Book Project*, accessed July 20, 2016, https://libraries.psu.edu/about/collections/english-emblem-book-project.

[298] This dependence on the combination of word and image to communicate an idea is perhaps due to lower literacy levels in the early modern period. Anyone who wanted to communicate information needed to combine words with visual means to make their messages more accessible to a largely illiterate populace. The most visible remnants of this tradition today are pubs signs—Inspector Morse's haunt, the White Horse in Oxford, is recognizable on Broad Street from the white horse featured prominently on the sign—and in the red and white striped poles that grace the outside of barber shops—allegedly an image rooted in the blood-soaked bandages that marked the shop of the barber-surgeon in the early modern period. Viral internet memes seem to me the closest approximation in the 21st century to early modern emblem books.

Upon closer inspection of the emblem, we can see Time presenting the learned man with a wreath of laurels. Through an examination of the image and a close reading of the text, we begin to see how image and text work together to communicate a point, lesson, or moral. This particular emblem focuses on how Time rewards those who work hard or take initiative, especially with regards to learning. Opportunity favors those who put themselves in a position to succeed.

The framework of the visual and verbal interplay of emblem books allows us to make sense of the details of Time's appearance and speech in Act Four, scene one of *The Winter's Tale*. Time creates a picture or image on the stage, and simultaneously, Time delivers an arresting meditation on the passing of time and its effects on the characters of the play. This marriage of the image of Time on the stage and of the text that Time speaks, in which image clarifies text and text clarifies image, is what I refer to as the visual rhetoric of Time in *The Winter's Tale*. Audiences of performances of *The Winter's Tale* will see the figure of Time take to the stage. Time's visual and verbal metadramatic presence takes audiences out of the action of the play and communicates that in the span of his speech, sixteen years have passed. The visual clues when Time takes to the stage will help audiences identify this figure as the personification of Time with which they are undoubtedly familiar from the emblems, *impressa*, and symbols that they encounter daily. Time also reinforces the visual commonplaces associated with him through his words, including "[t]o use my wings" (4.1.4) and "I turn my glass" (4.1.16). Like the emblem book, Time presents us with an image but then further explains and complements his own image through words. Time functions both as subject and object, text and image; he is the speaking subject and the object about which he speaks.

But how might this visually arresting scene function for readers of *The Winter's Tale*, which was first published in the First Folio of 1623? Even if readers cannot see Time on a stage, Time's speech is visually rich both in its language and in its arrangement:

TIME: I, that please some, try all; both joy and terror
Of good and bad, that makes and unfolds error,
Now take upon me, in the name of Time,
To use my wings. Impute it not a crime
To me or my swift passage that I slide
O'er sixteen years, and leave the growth untried
Of that wide gap, since it is in my power
To o'erthrow law and in one self-born hour
To plant and o'erwhelm custom. Let me pass
The same I am ere ancient'st order was
Or what is now received. I witness to
The times that brought them in. So shall I do
To th' freshest things now reigning, and make stale
The glistering of this present, as my tale
Now seems to it. Your patience this allowing,
I turn my glass and give my scene such growing
As you had slept between. Leontes leaving—
Th' effects of his fond jealousies so grieving
That he shuts up himself—imagine me,

Gentle spectators, that I now may be
In fair Bohemia. And remember well
I mentioned a son o' th' King's, which Florizel
I now name to you; and with speed so pace
To speak of Perdita, now grown in grace
Equal with wond'ring. What of her ensues
I list not prophesy; but let Time's news
Be known when 'tis brought forth. A shepherd's daughter
And what to her adheres, which follows after,
Is th' argument of Time. Of this allow,
If ever you have spent time worse ere now.
If never, yet that Time himself doth say
He wishes earnestly you never may. (4.1.1-32)

Time's speech contains sixteen couplets. The number of couplets in Time's speech echoes the sixteen years that Time reports have passed between Act Three, scene two and Act Four, scene two. Each of these sixteen couplets forms an individualized unit, but each unit is comprised of two distinct parts. The rhyming couplets, especially those such as "allowing" and "growing," which are eye rhymes, visually contribute to the simultaneous breaking and continuation of action that occurs when Time appears. Time's sentence "Your patience this allowing, / I turn my glass and give my scene much growing / As you had slept between" spans lines 15, 16, and 17 of the speech and similarly recreates a simultaneous fracture and continuation of the scene. The rhetorical shift in the speech, which shifts from the tragedy of the past to the hope of the future,

occurs exactly halfway through Time's speech. Furthermore, this rhetorical shift halfway through Time's speech occurs at the moment that Time tells us that he turns his glass. Kiefer argues that in performance when Time "upends his hourglass, […] he calls attention to the structural division of the play and to the contrasting nature of the action that is to ensue."[299] Though Time's speech in printed form does not visually resemble a sandglass, the rhetorical structure of the speech calls to mind the image of Time's sandglass. The speech, like the sandglass, has two distinct parts that are joined together by the passing of sand from one part to the other. One part marks the past, the other part the future. Yet these two parts of the sandglass also emphasize the unity of the play's imagery and thematic concerns. The fact that the two sides of Time's hourglass are identical in appearance reinforces and "enhances our sense of the similarity of the shape and structure of the two halves of *The Winter's Tale.*"[300] Visually, verbally, and structurally, the figure of Time's physical presence and the words that accompany his image mark the turning of the glass as the rhetorical turning point of Time's speech and of the play.

The visual rhetoric of Time in Act Four underscores the ways in which emblem book depictions and descriptions of Time inflect the play's final act. To argue this though, I must first turn, not to the conclusion of *The Winter's Tale*, but to the title page of Robert Greene's *Pandosto*. First printed in 1588, *Pandosto,* the text upon which *The Winter's Tale* is based, has the subtitle "The Triumph of Time."[301] The text on Greene's title page continues, "[w]herein is discovered by a pleasant Historie, that although by the

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[299] Kiefer, "The Iconography of time in *The Winter's Tale*," 59.
[300] Ernest Schanzer, ed. *The Winter's Tale*, by William Shakespeare, New Penguin Shakespeare (1969; repr., Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin, 1981), 35.
[301] Robert Greene, *Pandosto* (London: Thomas Orwin, 1588), sig. $A_1$r.

meanes of sinister fortune Truth may be concealed, yet by Time in spight of fortune it is most manifestly revealed."[302] The last line of text before Robert Greene's name is the Latin phrase, "Temporis filia veritas," which means "Truth is the daughter of Time."[303] The notion of Truth as the daughter of Time is not Greene's creation, however. This relationship between Time and Truth, like the personification of Time, seems to have been shared cultural knowledge in the early modern period. The motto "Tempora Filia Veritas," as well as its iconography, became especially well known across England after Mary Tudor adopted it "for her personal device, for the legend on her crest, on the State seal of her reign, [and] on her coins."[304] On the title page of Greene's *Pandosto*, then, we see an articulation of the relationship between Truth and Time. In *The Winter's Tale*, Shakespeare explores this relationship in considerably more detail.

The animation of the statue of Hermione in the final scene of *The Winter's Tale* not only articulates the play's central thematic concern about the relationship between Time and Truth but does so in a way that is highly evocative of the language and imagery of the "Temporis Filia Veritas" trope found in early modern emblem books. Take the "Veritas temporis filia" emblem in Geffrey Whitney's 1586 *A Choice of Emblemes.* The text reads,

> Both Enuie, Strife, and Slaunder heare appeare,
> In dungeon darke they longe inclosed truthe,
> But Time at lengthe, did loose his daughter deare,
> And setts alofte, that sacred ladie brighte,

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[302] Ibid.
[303] Ibid.
[304] Fritz Saxl, "Veritas Filia Temporis," in *Philosophy & History: Essays Presented to Ernst Cassirer*, eds. Raymond Kilbansky and H. J. Paton (1936; repr., New York: Harper & Row, 1963), 207.

Who things long hidd, reueales, and bringes to lighte.[305]

The accompanying image shows Envy, Strife, and Slander standing to the left of a cave, from which Truth emerges, assisted by Time.[306] In the play's final scene, Hermione assumes the identity of the emblem of Truth.[307] Through her revivification after sixteen years, Hermione reveals to her husband that Time cannot erase the fact that Leontes' cruel actions against Hermione led to the death of his son, the abandonment of his daughter, and the sequestration of his wife for sixteen years. Yet she also proves that Time can eventually uncover or reveal the truth: Hermione was and is a faithful wife, the daughter of Hermione and Leontes is alive, and Leontes can find closure in repentance. The relationship between the figure of Time from Act Four and Hermione as the final embodiment or personification of Truth is further emphasized when Paulina, immediately before the statue of Hermione comes to life, utters "'Tis time" (5.3.99). Yet it is not merely the similarities in Time and Truth's relationships in the play and in

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[305] Whitney, *A Choice of Emblemes,* 4.

[306] In a similar emblem from the 1553 French emblem book *Morosophie*, we see Truth emerging from a well as Time comforts a male figure above. The text that accompanies the image, roughly translated, reads, "The kind daughter of Time has long lain hidden in this well; that old man, laughing, points her out to her father. The truth, which was previously hidden, remains hidden for a long time, but after a long time emerges."

[307] Fowler comes tantalizingly close to making this claim, but he never identifies the specific emblem that Hermione embodies: "The symbolism of Shakespeare's late romances—to mention one group of instances—could be described as a series of emblems writ large. […] An even more striking example is *A Winter's Tale*, where the visual focus of the dénouement is an enigmatic emblem figure, Hermione's stony-hearted, softened, moved and moving 'statue'" (23); see Wendy Ribeyrol, "The Pageant of Time in *The Winter's Tale*," in *Lectures de* The Winter's Tale *de William Shakespeare*, ed. Delphine Lemonnier-Texier and Guillaume Winter (Rennes: Press universitaires de Rennes, 2010), 66. Ribeyrol also hovers around this idea but does not fully develop Hermione as embodied emblem of Truth: "Hermione's virtues will eventually be revealed as ultimately time has the power to bring the truth to light: 'There is nothing cover, that shall not be revealed; and hid, that shall not be known.' Nothing can remain eternally concealed. Time will 'unmask falsehood and bring truth to light.' Truth is traditionally portrayed as the daughter of time" (66). Ewbanks also gestures at the connections between Hermione and Truth, but does not pursue the idea in terms of an emblematic reading of the text: "In terms of Elizabethan thought the injustice done to Hermione is linked up with the time theme more closely than a modern reader or audience may realize. Her arraignment can be seen as the epitome of Leontes's rejection of Time, the Father of Truth, for Justice, like her sister virtue Truth, was conceived of as closely related to Time" (144).

contemporaneous emblem books that establish Hermione as an emblem in *The Winter's Tale*. Leontes concretizes the relationship between Hermione and the emblem book tradition when he, in response to Paulina's claim that she can make the statue move and come to life, declares:

> What you can make her do
> I am content to look on: what to speak
> I am content to hear; for 'tis as easy
> To make her speak as move. (5.3.91-94)

Matthew Kendrick reads these lines as the integral moment of reconciliation in which husband, wife, and child are reunited through the destabilizing of the word/image dichotomy: "The play's resolution is thus achieved by Hermione's ability to combine words and images into an ekphrastic unity: she is no longer a silent image to be seen… but rather a kind of speaking image."[308] As an ekphrastic unity or speaking image, Hermione functions in the final scene as living, breathing emblem, plucked from an emblem book and placed behind a rising curtain. After "a wide gap of time," Leontes is ready both to listen to her words and to look upon her image, to hear and to see Truth (5.3.191).

**Emblematic Hermione, Emblematic Elizabeth**

I argue that imbedded within the emblematic relationship between Time and Truth that *The Winter's Tale* explores is a deep nostalgia for Elizabeth I, the dead Queen who, unlike the Queen of Sicilia, cannot be reanimated. It is primarily through Queen Elizabeth's association with the emblem of Truth that the character of Hermione in *The Winter's Tale* resonates with the public memory of the dead Queen.

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[308] Matthew Kendrick, "Imagetext in *The Winter's Tale*," *Textual Practice* 29, no.4 (2015): 698.

Self-fashioning was an integral part of Queen Elizabeth's public identity. As a woman, the third and final of Henry VIII's surviving children to inherit the throne, and the daughter of a former queen who was beheaded for infidelity and incest, Elizabeth and her advisors constantly had to work hard to present to her citizens the image of a legitimate, powerful, religious, anointed leader. Describing the ubiquity of signs, *impressa*, and emblems both within and outside of the court in the early modern period, Bath refers to the "uncertain status of the emblematic signs in Elizabethan and Jacobean culture, where their capacity for veiled self-fashioning and ideological shadowing drew them into the elaborate world of allegorical make-believe with which the state surrounded itself."[309] *Impressa* portraits, which showed the subject alongside emblematic details to project a specific public image, were just one of the many ways in which Elizabeth and those surrounding her consistently used emblem and other symbolic imagery both to crystalize the public's memory of certain events during the Queen's reign, such as the Armada, and to ascribe qualities such as chastity and faith to the Queen.[310] This sort of self-fashioning was so incredibly effective for the Queen in large part because the images, emblems, and symbols with which she chose to associate herself were so well-known throughout England and the Continent. Queen Elizabeth, her adviser, and her artists drew from emblems and images that already possessed firmly established cultural meanings, and by ascribing the ideas encapsulated in these emblems to the Queen, they both further codified the concepts associated with these emblems and solidified the identity of the Queen.

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[309] Bath, *Speaking Pictures*, 26.

[310] See Roy Strong, *The Cult of Elizabeth*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977) and Roy Strong, *Gloriana: The Portraits of Queen Elizabeth I*, (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1987) for a detailed analysis of the portraiture of Queen Elizabeth I.

Roy Strong, in his germinal text *The Cult of Elizabeth*, argues that Elizabeth I's emblematic identities were "complex, diffuse, and ambiguous."[311] Drawing from the multitude of elegies written immediately after the Queen's death in 1603, Strong demonstrates the multiplicity and diversity of the Queen's symbolic identities: "The outburst of posthumous praise indeed rarely suggests the death of a human being at all. Instead we become enmeshed in a phantasmagoria of obscure and even bizarre images."[312] Yet despite their seeming bizarreness and obscurity, the images immediately evoke the Queen, because throughout her reign, and even in death, these images are constantly circulated and recirculated, imprinting themselves onto the memory of England's citizenry. Emblematic connections to the Queen thus function as "a structure of the psyche in which images are not merely fanciful flattering labels but embody attributes of the person concerned," a mode for knowing and remembering the Queen of England.[313]

While Queen Elizabeth I's identities were no doubt multifaceted and multiple, for the purposes of this chapter, I am most interested in a critical examination of the Queen's emblematic identity as Truth and in a consideration of how this association with Truth relates to other iterations of the Queen's identity. The identity of Elizabeth as Truth was a cultural commonplace from her first moments on the throne and persisted in the public psyche even in the years following her death. During the Queen's coronation procession, from an unknown space "issued one personage whose name was *Tyme*, apparaylled as an olde man with a sythe in his hande, havynge wynges artificiallye made, leading a personage of lesser stature then himselfe, whiche was finely and well apparaylled, all

[311] Strong, *The Cult of Elizabeth*, 16.
[312] Ibid., 15.
[313] Ibid., 16.

cladde in whyte silke, and directyle over her head was set her name and tytle in latin and Englyshe, *Temporis filia*, the daughter of Tyme."[314] Truth then transferred a Bible to Queen Elizabeth, further solidifying Elizabeth not only as the embodiment of Truth but also as the protector and defender of the *true* faith, Protestantism. Time as the father of Truth also appears in the last three royal entries before the Queen's death, suggesting that the symbolic connections between Truth and Elizabeth I's persisted throughout the Queen's reign.[315]

Years after her death, the English were still remembering Queen Elizabeth as the embodiment of Truth and were continuing to solidify these memories through print, public performance, and evocation of widely known emblems. Thomas Dekker's *The Whore of Babylon*, printed in 1607, figures Mary Tudor' reign and Elizabeth's succession in terms of Time and Truth. Following the prologue, the play opens with a dumb show featuring Time and Truth:

> He drawes a Curtaine, di*s*couering Truth in *s*ad *abiliments*; vncrownd: her haire di*s*heueld, & *s*leeping on a Rock: Time (her father) attired like-wi*s*e in black, and al his properties (as Sithe, Howreglas*s*e and Wings) of the *s*ame Cullor, v*s*ing all meanes to waken Truth, but not being able to doe it, he *s*its by her and mourns.[316]

Truth, in this opening scene, is reminiscent of the image in Whitney's emblem book that shows Truth emerging from a cave, freed from Slander, Envy, and Strife. Yet the fact that Truth is sleeping on a rock and is unable to be woken by her father communicates the

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[314] *The Quene's Majestie's passage through the citie of London to Wetminter the day before her coronacion*, in *Elizabethan Backgrounds: Historical Documents of the Age of Elizabeth I*, ed. Arthur Kinney (Hamden, CT: Archon, 1975), 28.
[315] Ewbank, "The Triumph of Time in *The Winter's Tale*," 146.
[316] Thomas Dekker, *The Whore of Babylon*, (London: Printed for Nathaniel Butler, 1607), A3v.

dumb show begins in a time and place in which Truth is overpowered by dangerous forces. As the dumb show continues, we see Truth awaken as the "Hearse of a Queen" enters on stage. Councilors on stage embrace Truth and Time, and then Titania (the Faerie Queene) appears on stage and accepts a book from Truth and Time, who by this time are dressed in light colors.[317] As mentioned above, Mary Tudor adopted the motto "Tempora Filia Veritas" and used it extensively throughout her reign. While the phrase was her sister's motto, Elizabeth was also identified as Truth, the daughter of Time, especially by those who believed that Protestantism, and not Mary's Catholicism, was the true religion. The dumb show that opens *The Whore of Babylon* stages the death of Mary Tudor and the accession of Elizabeth I as the moment when Truth is revealed and crowned, thus equating the reign of Elizabeth with the revelation of Truth and Elizabeth with Truth herself.

Having established that both Hermione in *The Winter's Tale* and Queen Elizabeth, I in her own time as well as in death, are figured as embodiments or personifications of Truth, I shall now consider how Shakespeare's text uses this shared emblematic heritage to comment on the formation and presentation of memories of England's dead Queen. Michela Compagnoni's article "Beyond Myth: The Memory of Queen Elizabeth in Shakespeare's *The Winter's Tale*" is unique in its systematic analysis of the parallels between the statue of Hermione and memorial monuments dedicated to Queen Elizabeth that were constructed in the years following her death. Compagnoni argues that we see in Hermione's statue the same sort of celebration and memorialization present in memorial monuments to Elizabeth, but that "dramatization of a queen's statue being miraculously animated also becomes a repository of all the meaning attached to Elizabeth's odd

[317] Ibid.

femininity."[318] With the reanimation of Hermione's statue, we thus see the restoration both of a single woman (Hermione) and of the multifaceted femininity of Elizabeth that the stature represents.[319] While I agree with Compagnoni's analysis of the reanimated statues, it is my contention that Hermione's statue, which descends in its reanimation from its niche much like Truth emerges from the cave, also calls us to question the processes by which monuments are created and animated, the processes by which the public memory of Queen Elizabeth is made and manipulated. As Anita Gilman Sherman argues, Hermione's statue functions as a countermonument, demonstrating the "ambiguities of memory" and levying a "critique of monumentality, and, hence, of occluded memory."[320] In this sense, Hermione's statue is both monument and countermonument. It both memorializes and questions the practice and foundation of memory. Thus even as *The Winter's Tale* participates in this memorialization and nostalgia of Queen Elizabeth, the text also reflects on the process by which these shared memories of the nation are themselves not only fashioned but also remade and reappropriated.

From the memories of Polixines and Leontes's youth that Camillo and Archidamus cultivate for the audience in the opening scene of *The Winter's Tale* to Paulina's mediating of Leontes, Perdita, and the audience's experience of the animation of Hermione's statue, the play enacts the very curation and recapitulation of memories that it seeks to reveal. Zurcher, echoing Aristotle and Nietzsche, argues that the monument "may seem to mirror something from the past, but in fact it belongs to the

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[318] Michela Compagnoni, "Beyond Myth: The Memory of Queen Elizabeth in Shakespeare's *The Winter's Tale*," *Iperstoria: Testi Letterature Linguaggi* 5 (2015): 87.
[319] Ibid., 88.
[320] Sherman, *Skepticism and Memory in Shakespeare and Donne*, 66, 78.

present, its particular lineaments shaped primarily by its usefulness to those who build or preserve it."[321] In creating the ruse of the living, breathing Hermione assuming the identity of a monumental statue, Paulina monumentalizes a false past (the death of Hermione) in order to benefit the living.[322] Hermione's statue, for all that it is a memorialization of the past, serves its purpose of reuniting Perdita with her mother and of introducing Leontes to grace in the present.

In much the same way that Paulina uses Hermione's monument for her own purposes in *The Winter's Tale*, King James recapitulates the memories and monuments of the dead Queen in the early years of his reign. Thanks to the research of Julia Walker, we now know that James I had Elizabeth's body removed from beneath the altar of the Henry VII Chapel in Westminster Abbey and moved to the Chapel's north aisle where it still lies beside her half-sister, the Catholic Mary Tudor.[323] James I reserved Elizabeth's burial site beneath the alter in the Henry VII Chapel for himself in order to emphasize his descent from Henry VII, the first Tudor King and the monarch responsible for bringing the War of Roses between the Houses of York and Lancaster to an end. In the construction of a monument to his mother, Mary Stuart, in the chapel, James further established his right to rule via monument as he "erected a concrete version of his own claim to the throne."[324] Despite this "stupendously effective act of political and historical revisionism" in which James devalued the reign of Queen Elizabeth through the physical relocation of her body, the cult of Elizabeth only grew in popularity during the first

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[321] Amelia Zurcher, "Untimely Monuments: Stoicism, History and the Problem of Utility in *The Winter's Tale,*" *ELH* 70, no. 4 (2003): 907.
[322] Ibid., 914.
[323] Julia M. Walker, "Bones of Contention: Posthumous Images of Elizabeth and Stuart Politics," in *Dissing Elizabeth*, ed. Julia M. Walker, (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1998), 252-276; Julia M. Walker, "Reading the Tombs of Elizabeth I," *English Literary Renaissance* 26, no. 3 (1996): 510-530.
[324] Walker, "Bones of Contention," 254.

decade of James's reign as his unpopularity increased as his Scottishness, court opulence, and his peace with Spain became increasingly contentious issues.[325]

If Hermione functions as both monument and countermonument in *The Winter's Tale*, celebrating Elizabeth even in death as an emblem of Truth while simultaneously interrogating the formation and uses of these memories of the Queen, then it is the virginal status of Queen Elizabeth that is both monumentalized and deconstructed in the years immediately following the Queen's death. That which is celebrated about Elizabeth—that she is married to her kingdom—is a liability to James because her virginal status confirms that he is a distant, not direct, claimant to the throne. Michael D. Bristol identifies a "structuring absence" in *The Winter's Tale*, which he identifies as the "complex of the bear and the abandoned baby" in the middle of Act Three, scene three.[326] Bristol returns to this structuring absence at the end of his article, arguing that Hermione's untold story, which includes intergenerational, reproductive bond between mother and child belongs "not to the world of *The Winter's Tale* but to its margins, entailments, and structuring absences."[327] The structuring absence of Elizabeth's reign is similarly the absence of intergenerational bond, or to put it another way, the absence of an heir. That he is not Elizabeth's biological heir is also the structuring absence of James's rule. Even as the nation's memories of Elizabeth in life and in death are built around her identity as the Virgin Queen, James must work to demonumentalize Elizabeth's virginal status and to reshape England's collective memories for his own benefit.

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[325] Compagnoni, "Beyond Myth," 82-83.
[326] Bristol, "In Search of the Bear,"154.
[327] Ibid., 167.

**Queen Elizabeth's Triumph over Time**

Though less pronounced than in some of Shakespeare's other plays, especially his histories, the question of how and if memories and legacies will be preserved in one's offspring permeates *The Winter's Tale*. As mentioned above, Camillo and Archidamus make much of the Sicilians' anticipation of Mamillius's maturation and eventual assumption of the crown. Leontes, thinking that Hermione has been unfaithful with Polixines, immediately questions Mamillius's paternity asking him, "Mamillius, / Art thou my boy?" (1.2.119-120) and later, "Art thou my calf?" (1.2.127). The death of Mamillius, and the presumed deaths of his wife and baby, not only endangers the historical memory of Leontes but also short-circuits the King and his kingdom's futures.[328] The danger to Sicilia is particularly pronounced in Act Five when Leontes repentantly acknowledges that he has both killed his wife and threatened the safety of his kingdom:

> The wrong I did myself, which was so much
> That heirless it hath made my kingdom, and
> Destroyed the sweet'st companion that e'er man
> Bred his hopes out of. (5.1.9-12)

Cleomenes, objecting to Paulina's request that Leontes not remarry, echoes Leontes's fears when he beseeches Leontes to consider the risks that his kingdom will face should he fail to remarry and produce an heir: "What dangers, by his highness' fail of issue, / May drop upon his kingdom" (5.1.27-28). Even the Oracle of Apollo weighs in on the issue of succession, announcing that "the king shall live / without an heir if that which is

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[328] Ricardo J. Quinines, *The Renaissance Discovery of Time* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1972), 435.

lost be not found" (3.1.132-133). Ultimately, these concerns about succession prove unfounded as the play ends with Perdita and Florizel engaged, thus ensuring and uniting the futures of the kingdoms of Sicilia and Bohemia. That the succession to both crowns is secured so tidily is illustrative of the "ability of romance to defy ordinary expectations, to make a winter's tale believable."[329]

Like the conclusion of *The Winter's Tale* that provides audiences with a satisfying through unrealistic conclusion, Queen Elizabeth's emblematic identities, while multiple and complex, present a simplified yet convincing version of a multifaceted ruler. Hermione's statue, the play's emblem of Truth, is reportedly carved with great care and precision by the Italian sculptor Giulio Romano:

> a piece many
> years in doing and now newly performed by that rare
> Italian master Giulio Romano, who, had he himself
> eternity and could put breath into his work, would
> beguile Nature of her custom so perfectly he is her ape. (5.2.93-97)

It is with the same precision and attention to detail that Elizabeth, her court, her advisers, and even contemporary writers created, reinforced and codified the Queen's public persona. The endurance of these identities in life and death, especially in the funerary statues of the Queen that came to dot England in the years following her death, demonstrates that Elizabeth, though not in corporeal form, can, in the memories of her kingdom, triumph over Time. Attempts to arrest the Queen's body in time via iconography and language that emphasized her virginity, youthfulness, chastity, and

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[329] Stuart M. Kurland, "'We need no more of your advice': Political Realism in *The Winter's Tale*," *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900* 31, no.2 (1991), 379.

power, worked to counteract the reality of the Queen's body, to convince England that the Queen's motto of *semper eadam* –always the same – still rung true in the later years of Elizabeth I's reign. Shakespeare's drama builds on the notions of time that the Queen's body holds in tension as it develops, through a series of plays that engage with questions of succession, an understanding of time in the time of Elizabeth that is, like the Queen's body itself, complex and full of contradictions.

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