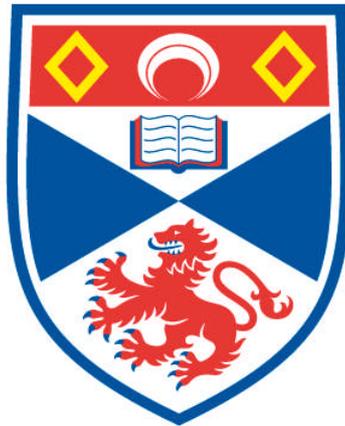


MULCASTER'S BOYS : SPENSER, ANDREWES, KYD

John Wesley

**A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD
at the
University of St Andrews**



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Mulcaster's Boys: Spenser, Andrewes, Kyd

By

JOHN WESLEY

Submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

SCHOOL OF ENGLISH

UNIVERSITY OF ST ANDREWS

2008

Abstract

Although it is generally acknowledged that an Elizabethan grammar school education was intensely oral and aural, few studies have approached the literature of its pupils principally in light of such an understanding. There may be good reason for this paucity, since the reading of textual remains in the hopes of reconstituting sound and movement—particularly in non-dramatic literature—will always, in the end, be confronted by an inaudible and static text. Yet for the Elizabethan schoolboy, composition and performance were inseparable, whether of an epistle, a theme, or a translation of Latin poetry. The purpose of this project is firstly to describe the conditions which led to and ingrained that inseparability, and then offer some readings of the poetry, oratory, and drama of those whose voices and pens were trained in the grammar school, here Merchant Taylors' School in 1560s London. Edmund Spenser, Lancelot Andrewes, and Thomas Kyd all attended Merchant Taylors' in this period, and their poetry, sermons, and drama, respectively, are treated in the following discussion. It is argued that their texts reflect the same preoccupation with *pronuntiatio et actio*, or rhetorical delivery, held by their boyhood schoolmaster, Richard Mulcaster. I suggest that delivery provides a unique way of assessing literature in the context of an oral/aural education, largely because its classical and Renaissance rules invariably stipulate that vocal and gestural modulations must follow the emotional and intentional sense of words rather than their literal meanings. Delivery is thus shown to exist at the nexus of orality and literacy, performance and text, wholly absorbed with the concerns of speech, but distinct from language as well. In imagining the physicality of this middle ground within their narratives, it is proposed that Mulcaster's students recalled an education very often spent stirring the emotions with and for their bodily expression.

Declarations

I, John Wesley, hereby certify that this thesis, which is approximately 80,000 words in length, has been written by me, that it is the record of work carried out by me and that it has not been submitted in any previous application for a higher degree.

date signature of candidate

I was admitted as a research student in September, 2004, and as a candidate for the degree of PhD in September, 2005; the higher study for which this is a record was carried out in the University of St Andrews between 2004 and 2008.

date signature of candidate

I hereby certify that the candidate has fulfilled the conditions of the Resolution and Regulations appropriate for the degree of PhD in the University of St Andrews and that the candidate is qualified to submit this thesis in application for that degree.

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Acknowledgements

I am grateful to the Commonwealth Scholarship Commission as well as to the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada for their generous funding of my doctoral research at St Andrews.

C. S. Lewis, in a caveat offered prior to his discussion of Mulcaster's influence on Spenser, said that 'we of the teaching professions often exaggerate the influence of teachers'. As a student, then, let me acknowledge the influence of my teacher, Neil Rhodes, whose contribution to my overall postgraduate experience cannot be exaggerated. I have never left his company without feeling inspired to read and study more, and along with the knowledge and critical insight that gave form and substance to my inchoate thoughts, Professor Rhodes brought to his supervision of this project a sense of humility, respect, and generosity that I would do well to imitate in my future endeavours.

I would not have pursued postgraduate study in the first place had it not been for the mentorship of P. G. Stanwood at the University of British Columbia, and in fact I continue to be indebted to him, especially for his remarks on earlier versions of chapters 2 and 3. The School of English at St Andrews is an extremely stimulating research environment, and my work has been nurtured by the wisdom of a great many of its faculty. Besides my supervisor, I am particularly grateful to Alex Davis, Lorna Hutson, and Chris Jones, each of whom, on several occasions, graciously lent their time and expertise to my cause. Fred Schurink at the University of Newcastle, and Peter McCullough at Oxford University have also supplied their breath to this text.

In March 2007, the Folger Shakespeare Library funded my participation in a faculty seminar on rhetoric, discipline, and masculinity in the Elizabethan grammar school. Many of the conversations had there resonate throughout chapter 1, and for them I wish to thank especially Derek Alwes, Gina Bloom, Anston Bosman, Lynn Enterline, Elizabeth Hanson, Lynne Magnusson, Lois Potter, Lawrence Rhu, James Siemon, and Alan Stewart.

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Introduction

Mulcaster's Boys

Of what use is an education in eloquence? Such is the question implicit throughout *Galatea*, a drama ‘playde before the Queenes Maiestie at Greene-wich, on Newyeeres day at Night’, 1592, by the boys of St Paul’s School. Like many other Elizabethan grammar schools, the curriculum at St Paul’s was largely given over to the development of language and communication skills, with eloquence as its chief end. But although this sort of training lent itself well to certain civil and ecclesiastical positions, its pupils might have been aware of the limited number of opportunities afforded them by their education in sectors beyond the already glutted Elizabethan church and civil service. Renaissance grammar schools were, according to Neil Rhodes, ‘producing increasing numbers of the unemployably eloquent’, with Richard Halpern calling these institutions ‘miracles of impracticality when judged as means of vocational training’.¹

¹ Neil Rhodes, *Shakespeare and the Origins of English* (Oxford, 2004), 46; Richard Halpern, *The Poetics of Primitive Accumulation: English Renaissance Culture and the Genealogy of Capital* (Ithaca, 1991), 24. One striking exception to these general observations occurs in William Scott’s seventeenth-century advice to cloth sellers: ‘For as speech makes a man more excellent than a Beast, so eloquence will make him more excellent than other men: but to this must be added a grave naturall action, wherein a man may see the visage, hands, and members of the man to speake with his mouthe; and thus perswading his Customer to the liking of his commodity, hee must put on the same liking himselfe; for putting on the same passion hee would stir up in others, he is most like to prevaile’ (*An essay of drapery: or, The compleate citizen Trading iustly. Pleasingly. Profitably* (London, 1635), E5r). This

Indeed, Lyly's *Galatea* sets out the futility of education in terms suggestive of the very curriculum in which the boy players found themselves. When the Mariner, for example, teaches the language of navigation to his young charges, it is through the imitation of his voice, and it is met with the following response by Rafe: 'I will never learn this language. It will get but small living, when it will scarce be learned till one be old'.² Erasmian copiousness is intimated when the Alchemist's apprentice moans that his is a 'beggarly science...so strong on multiplication, that the end is to have neither gold, wit, nor honesty' (II.iii.32-4). Later, after this same apprentice escapes his master's charge, he asks only that God shield him in the future 'from blowing gold to nothing, with a strong imagination to make nothing any thing' (II.iii.144-5). And when the Astronomer promises that his pupils' 'thoughts shall be metamorphosed, and made haile fellowes with the Gods', Rafe complains that his brain feels 'moralized, and as it were a certaine contempt of earthly actions is crept into my minde, by an etheriall contemplation' (III.iii.86-90). To their great relief and joy, the boys finally discover a vocation served by their meager skills when Venus invites them to 'sing Hymen' (V.iii.207) at the marriage of Galatea. In reality, too, it was an Orphic career for which the Renaissance grammar school best prepared its students.

This project considers the presence of the Elizabethan grammar school 'song' in the works of three 'boys'—Edmund Spenser, Lancelot Andrewes, and Thomas Kyd—all of whom were pupils of Richard Mulcaster's at Merchant Taylors' School. By 'song', however, I do not mean to treat music—though music in school curricula certainly served the concerns of rhetoric—but rather the tuned sounds and movements of *pronuntiatio et actio*, or delivery, the final part of rhetoric. As such, this study is to be distinguished from other investigations that wish to determine how or the extent to which a Renaissance education in rhetoric mediated the literary output of its students. Although, for example, T. W. Baldwin and, more recently, Peter Mack have examined sixteenth-century curricular practice (specifically with regard to rhetoric) in relation to the poetry, prose, and drama of the period, neither of these scholars meditate on the

stirring of emotion and its expression in delivery was trained especially in the final three years of a grammar school education, as I show in chapter 1.

² John Lyly, *Galatea*, ed. George K. Hunter (Manchester, 2000), I.iv.69-70. Subsequent references are from this edition and appear parenthetically in the text.

influence of rhetorical delivery.³ Similarly, with respect to the works discussed here, while scholars have approached Spenser, Andrewes, and Kyd in relation to classical and Renaissance rhetoric, none have done so exclusively from the vantage of delivery. More in common with the present discussion, then, are the ideas pursued in portions of B. L. Joseph's *Elizabethan Acting* (1951), Joseph R. Roach's *The Player's Passion* (1985), and throughout Neil Rhodes' *Shakespeare and the Origins of English* (2004). It is no coincidence that the groundwork for this project has been laid with drama and performance studies, for Renaissance schoolmasters often used drama to train their students in the vocal and gestural modulations appropriate to speech, and to the emotions upon which persuasion was seen to depend.

Indeed, it is largely because of the connection between drama and rhetorical delivery that Mulcaster and his students present themselves as fitting subjects for this study, since amongst his contemporaries, Mulcaster was particularly well known for his advocacy of academic drama as well as for his students' proficiency in acting. In Beaumont's *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*, for example, the Citizen's Wife pays the following compliment to one of the boy players: 'How it behaves itself, I warrant ye, and speaks, and looks, and perts up the head! I pray you brother, with your favour, were you never none of Master Monkester's scholars?'⁴ Court and company records of performances also confirm Mulcaster's interest in drama, and Renaissance acting and pedagogical theorists confirm its connection to *pronuntiatio et actio*. It is for this reason that educated boys were much sought after by professional theatre companies in the late sixteenth century, and also why Elizabethan acting styles were more formulaic or rhetorical than their Jacobean counterparts. As scholars have recognised, however, the kind of rhetorical training in voice and gesture that boys received in Elizabethan grammar schools continued to influence actors well into the seventeenth century.⁵

³ See T. W. Baldwin, *William Shakspeare's Small Latine & Lesse Greeke*, 2 vols. (Urbana, 1944), esp. II, 1-238; Peter Mack, *Elizabethan Rhetoric: Theory and Practice* (Cambridge, 2002).

⁴ Francis Beaumont, *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*, ed. Sheldon P. Zitner (Manchester, 1984), I.i.93-7.

⁵ On the influence of education on acting, something more will be said in chapter 1, but see Andrew Gurr, *Playgoing in Shakespeare's London* (Cambridge, 1987), esp. pp. 95-103; Peter Thomson, 'Rogues and Rhetoricians: Acting Styles in Early English Drama', in John D. Cox and David Scott Kastan (eds.), *A New History of Early English Drama* (New York, 1997), 321-35; Jane Donawerth,

Yet, in addition to its impact on drama, how might training in delivery have affected non-dramatic literary pursuits? As well as Kyd's *The Spanish Tragedy*, then, I have chosen to explore the presence of delivery in Spenser's *The Faerie Queene*, and in the sermons of Lancelot Andrewes. In choosing a representative from each genre—drama, poetry, and prose—and in keeping within the parameters of length imposed by this project, I felt it necessary to exclude from my discussion Thomas Lodge's *Wounds of Civil War*, for example, and Edwin Sandys' *A Relation of the State of Religion*, both works which might have been profitably examined in light of their authors' education under Mulcaster. Nonetheless, it would be disingenuous to deny that status, both in terms of their contemporary fame and their position in our literary canon, determined my preference of Spenser, Andrewes, and Kyd to the rest of Mulcaster's distinguished alumni—though in choosing between the two tragedians, Kyd and Lodge, the former presents a somewhat more interesting case with respect to my discussion, as only he (amongst the five aforementioned alumni) did not filter his grammar school education through the universities.

This last point, however, may not amount to much of a distinction, since it seems the curricula at Oxford and Cambridge in the sixteenth century did little but provide cursory reviews of the rhetoric learned at the grammar school.⁶ Rhetoric appears to have been studied more as an aid in the retention of what was learned during a student's pre-university education. Logic, ethics, natural philosophy, and metaphysics were the staple subjects of an undergraduate curriculum, with disputations in each discipline making use of and extending the boyhood skills in rhetoric rather than imparting new ones. While the *studia humanitatis*—grammar, rhetoric, poetry, history, and moral philosophy⁷—was part of the university curriculum, its study was not a new departure for students who had encountered its materials and interpretive strategies in the grammar school; and, moreover, it seems

'Shakespeare and Acting Theory in the English Renaissance', in Cary C. Williamson and Henry S. Limouze (eds.), *Shakespeare and the Arts: A Collection of Essays from the Ohio Shakespeare Conference, 1981* (Washington, 1982), 165-78, and her *Shakespeare and the Sixteenth-Century Study of Language* (Urbana, 1984), esp. pp. 245-67.

⁶ See Mack, *Elizabethan Rhetoric*, 66. For the following brief commentary on Renaissance university curricula, I am grateful for the help of Fred Schurink.

⁷ See Paul Oskar Kristeller, 'The Humanist Movement', in *The Classics and Renaissance Thought*, Martin Classical Lectures, 15 (Cambridge, Mass., 1955), 3-23.

the newer subjects did little to affect the manner in which literature was interpreted and used.⁸ Of the four years in an undergraduate curriculum, the injunctions at Oxford and Cambridge called for rhetoric to occupy just one, and it is unclear whether even this stipulation was followed with strictness.⁹ Richard Holdsworth's early seventeenth-century *Directions for a Student in the Universitie*, for example, allows rhetoric to be studied for only one term out of the twelve, and only in the afternoons;¹⁰ in the same period, and also at Cambridge, it has been noted that only a small percentage of the books available to students were at all taken up with the concerns of rhetoric.¹¹ Even John Rainold's 1570 Oxford lectures on Aristotle's *Rhetoric* provide very little in the way of application to composition.¹² And, as this project considers rhetorical delivery in relation to composition, I leave out the university experience altogether (in this case, the programme at Cambridge, where both Spenser and Andrewes proceeded to M.A.), with the implication that, at most, it offered my authors further development in the skills and attitudes pertinent to delivery, ones which were fully introduced by Mulcaster.

At any rate, the common link shared by the writers under consideration is an education at Merchant Taylors' School under Mulcaster; and it is rhetorical delivery, one aspect of the 'wordish consideration' offered by Sir Philip Sidney, that here

⁸ One notable exception occurs amongst the Italian humanists, with Christophoro Landino's analysis of Virgil's *Aeneid* making extensive use of moral philosophy. See Craig Kallendorf, 'Christophoro Landino's *Aeneid* and the Humanist Critical Tradition', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 36 (1983), 519-46. The application of moral philosophy, then, is to be distinguished from the training of Renaissance schoolboys 'to extract moral sentences from their reading and use them in their writing, to analyse and compose moral narratives, to collect historical examples illustrating ethical principles, to compose letters and themes, to amplify and to recognise and use various figures of rhetoric' (Mack, *Elizabethan Rhetoric*, 2).

⁹ See J. M. Fletcher, 'The Faculty of Arts', in *The History of the University of Oxford*, vol. 3, ed. James McConica (Oxford, 1986), 157-99, esp. pp. 166-8, and *Documents Relating to the University and Colleges of Cambridge*, 3 vols. (London, 1852), 1, 459.

¹⁰ Reprinted in Harris Francis Fletcher, *The Intellectual Development of John Milton*, 2 vols. (Urbana, 1956-61), II, 624-55, 637.

¹¹ See Jefferson Looney, 'Undergraduate Education at Early Stuart Cambridge', *History of Education* 10 (1981), 12.

¹² See *John Rainold's Oxford Lectures on Aristotle's 'Rhetoric'*, ed. and trans. Lawrence D. Green (Newark, 1986). For an example of how university students made use of rhetoric, see Mack, *Elizabethan Rhetoric*, 53.

connects the seemingly disparate genres of poetry, prose, and drama. This shared element of oratory implies also, of course, that all three genres in some way mediate the relationship between text and performance, which may be taken for granted in the cases of Kyd's *The Spanish Tragedy* and Andrewes' *XCVI Sermons*, but requires some explanation with respect to *The Faerie Queene*. Spenser evidently read his poem to Elizabeth during an audience granted him in October 1589, an experience he likely describes in *Colin Clouts Come Home Againe*:

The shepheard of the Ocean (quoth he)
 Vnto that Goddesse grace me first enhanced,
 And to mine oaten pipe enclin'd her eare,
 That she thenceforth therein gan take delight,
 And it desir'd at timely houres to heare,
 All were my notes but rude and roughly dight;
 For not by measure of her owne great mynd,
 And wondrous worth she mott my simple song,
 But ioyd that country shepheard ought could fynd
 Worth harkening to, amongst the learned throng.¹³

From this, the only contemporary account available for an oral performance of *The Faerie Queene*, we might assume that in addition to the 'notes' struck by Spenser's voice, his performance before the Queen made use of the postures and gestures appropriate to the sense and emotion of his words, much as would an orator in delivering a speech. Erasmus' recommendation for reading poetry aloud, for example, was based on an understanding that, in classical times, 'voice, expression, and posture were adapted to the sense. It was in this way that Virgil, Horace, and Pliny recited their work to the public'.¹⁴ As I discuss in chapter 1, the oral and theatrical nature of the sixteenth-century classroom was such that students could make no separation between composition and delivery. In the Renaissance, as B. L. Joseph affirms, 'It appears...that not only the sound, but also the gestures, could be imagined at the same moment when thoughts were turned into language'.¹⁵ This assumption regarding delivery and composition governs my discussion of Spenser, Andrewes, and Kyd, as does a closely related one made by James Fredal: 'Rhetorical performance...requires

¹³ Edmund Spenser, *Colin Clouts Come Home Againe*, in *The Shorter Poems*, ed. Richard A. McCabe (London, 1999), ll. 358-67.

¹⁴ Erasmus, *De Recta Pronuntiatione*, trans. Maurice Pope, in *Collected Works of Erasmus*, xxvi, ed. J. K. Sowards (Toronto, 1985), 421.

¹⁵ Joseph, *Elizabethan Acting* (London, 1951), 29. See Robert P. Sonkowsky, 'An Aspect of Delivery in Ancient Rhetorical Theory', *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association*, 90 (1959), 256-74.

a form of tacit and practical knowledge passed from body to body not unlike that of a mason, knowledge that remains, in important respects, outside of conscious discourse and resists textualization but that saturates...rhetorical artistry'.¹⁶

The task of chapter 1, then, is to reveal not only the conditions whereby composition and delivery should be inseparable, but also some of the reasons why delivery and its classroom instruction should require a 'body to body' transmission. Yet although this aspect of delivery offers a unique way of assessing the influence of a master on his pupils, one that goes beyond the alignment of congenial ideas as well as the habits formed in a prescribed curriculum, I do not set out to prove a direct and homogeneous link between Mulcaster and the works of his pupils. A link of this sort, if it could be made convincingly, would in any case be confronted by the fact that Mulcaster left no record of his teaching methods nor of the daily classroom events at Merchant Taylors'. For methodology and practice, then, I make inferences based on school statutes (from Merchant Taylors', but also, because they are somewhat limited in scope, from other Elizabethan grammar schools as well), court and company records, and the accounts of contemporary schoolmasters and students; these are read in light of a politics of pedagogy that I assemble from Mulcaster's two extant works of educational reform, *Positions* (1581) and the *Elementarie* (1582). Mulcaster's idealistic vision for education is thereby joined with sixteenth-century records in order to provide the context in which subsequent readings of his pupils' literary efforts are situated. My argument is simply that, when thinking about delivery, Spenser, Andrewes, and Kyd would inevitably have recalled their education under a master who held its skills in especially high esteem; that these recollections might involve direct links with Mulcaster's works and grammar school practice is offered as conjecture rather than fact. Nonetheless, it is implied throughout this dissertation that Mulcaster imparted his distinctive appreciation of delivery to his students not merely as a supplement to speech, but as formative of interpretive and compositional strategies, and as a subject that could also furnish narrative details from its long and rich tradition.

Because so few Renaissance rhetoricians wrote about delivery, the advice and assumptions presented in Cicero's *De Oratore* and, in particular, Quintilian's

¹⁶ James Fredal, *Rhetorical Action in Ancient Athens: Persuasive Artistry from Solon to Demosthenes* (Carbondale, 2006), 3.

Institutio Oratoria loom large in my analysis.¹⁷ It is a commonplace that both of these works inundate the rhetorics and pedagogical treatises of the sixteenth century, but in Mulcaster's case, his advocacy of academic drama, combined with his extensive recommendations for physical exercise (in *Positions*), argue for an even greater affinity between this schoolmaster and his classical predecessors—an affinity that is explored in each chapter. Mulcaster's use of acting to train oratory is based on Cicero's idea that delivery 'needs to be controlled by bodily carriage, gesture, play of features and changing intonation of voice; and how important that is wholly by itself, the actor's trivial art and the stage proclaim'.¹⁸ And, along with acting, Quintilian, for example, sets out the role of the gymnasium in training the movements of the orator, a connection between athletics and rhetoric I find emulated in Mulcaster's exercise regime. If 'Quintilian be your guide', writes Mulcaster, 'all things will be well done',¹⁹ and indeed, the Roman's thoughts on delivery—how it was to be trained, its use in speeches, and its connection with the emotions—are well represented in my discussion.

Quintilian's articulation of the relationship between athletics and rhetoric, for instance, is brought to bear on a discussion of *The Faerie Queene*, Book II, in my second chapter. It is argued that, in delineating Guyon as a wrestler, Spenser drew on classical rhetoric as well as other sources, and this, in turn, encourages a reading of his wrestling trope as a metaphor for the 'body to body' transmission of knowledge. I argue that Spenser's inspiration for this function of wrestling, and its connection to Quintilian, is provided by Mulcaster, an assumption which is built on the notion that the more athletic exercises in *Positions* were just as involved in the concerns of oratory as his overtly vocal exercises such as loud speaking, loud reading, and singing. As the gymnasium traditionally trained orators for the proper use of the body

¹⁷ On the 'supreme authority' of Quintilian in the Elizabethan classroom, see Baldwin, *Shakespeare's Small Latine*, II, 197.

¹⁸ Cicero, *De Oratore*, trans. E. W. Sutton and H. Rackham (London, 1948), 1.5.18. See Bruce Smith, *Ancient Scripts and Modern Experience on the English Stage, 1500-1700* (Princeton, 1988), 14-25. Rhodes suggests that 'Cicero's programme for rhetoric... does in fact turn oratory into a kind of dramatic performance' (*The Power of Eloquence and English Renaissance Literature* (London, 1992), 16).

¹⁹ Richard Mulcaster, *Positions Concerning the Training Up of Children*, ed. William Barker (Toronto, 1994), 191.

in delivery, this chapter departs from the vocal aspect of delivery in order to focus on gestures. And, in the process of discussing rhetorical gestures in Spenser's poem, I introduce their role in registering and conveying the emotions.

So, while sound and gesture are discussed together in chapter 1, subsequent chapters tend to focus on the gestural aspect of delivery rather than the vocal. This decision was made for two reasons: Firstly, in theory, Mulcaster's treatment of the relationship between sound and text divulges a methodology that makes its sphere of influence most acute at the 'juncture between language and image',²⁰ or even, as I suggest, the juncture between linguistic and non-linguistic forms; the concept of gesture, in this case, represents not only the orthographer's negotiation of the junction of sound and letter, but also the rhetorician's desire to match the body—its emotions, sounds, movements—to words. Secondly, in practice, school drama held in the Renaissance a particular association with the training of rhetorical gestures, such that Thomas Heywood felt it necessary to add a sixth part to rhetoric in his discussion of acting:

Tully in his booke ad Caium Herennium, requires fieve things in an Orator, Inuention, Disposition, Eloquution Memory, and Pronuntiation, yet all are imperfect without the sixt, which is Action: for be his inuen~ion neuer so fluent and exquisite, his disposition and order neuer so composed and formall, his eloquence, and elaborate phrases neuer so materiall and pity, his memory neuer so firme & retentiue, his pronuntiation neuer so musicall and plausiue, yet without a comely and elegant gesture, a gracious and a bewitching kinde of action...I hold all the rest as nothing. A deliuey & sweet actio~ is the glosse & beauty of any discourse that belongs to a scholler.²¹

Similarly, William Badger, who was a student at Winchester from 1561 to 1569, declares that 'From those stage plays which we have lately exhibited publicly...I think you have derived this benefit besides others...what must be pronounced with what expression, with what gestures'.²²

The correlation between delivery and the emotions is treated in greater depth in chapter 3, where I apply the rhetorical rules governing inspiration and gesture to the sermons of Lancelot Andrewes. Of the three students considered here, Andrewes was most likely the only one to have carried a relationship with his former teacher into adulthood. After resigning from Merchant Taylors' in 1586, Mulcaster taught

²⁰ Kevin Dunn, "'Action, Passion, Motion": The Gestural Politics of Counsel in *The Spanish Tragedy*', *Renaissance Drama* 31 (2002), 31.

²¹ Thomas Heywood, *An Apology for Actors* (London, 1612), C4r.

²² See Joseph, *Elizabethan Acting*, 14.

only privately and with great financial difficulty until 1596, when he finally secured the headmastership of St Paul's—it has been argued that this appointment, which lasted until 1608 (when Mulcaster retired altogether), was made according to the recommendation of Andrewes, who was at the time prebend of St Paul's as well as a school examiner.²³ Certainly, Andrewes appears to have held Mulcaster in high regard throughout his life, so much so that the preacher hung a portrait of his former schoolmaster above the door of his study, and, when Andrewes died in 1626, he bequeathed an inheritance to Mulcaster's son, Peter.²⁴ In many ways, out of all his students, Mulcaster's mantle passed most seamlessly to Andrewes, especially given that the preacher was involved with educating not only his various church and court audiences, but school children as well.²⁵ But, despite the strong connection maintained by these two men throughout their careers, I make few links between Andrewes' sermons and the extant works of Mulcaster. Rather, the subject of rhetorical inspiration is treated in light of Andrewes' boyhood involvement in academic drama and oratory, where the rhetorical injunction of stirring the emotions within oneself involved, somewhat paradoxically perhaps, taking on the emotions of another (a part in a play, for instance, or *ethopoeia* in a declamation). This trajectory, as well as its register in rhetorical gesture, is everywhere evident in Andrewes' exegesis, particularly with respect to his assessment of the Holy Spirit's function.

The Spanish Tragedy is treated in the fourth and final chapter, which takes up the concerns of inspiration and emotion raised in earlier chapters in order to show how Kyd makes dramatic the concerns of delivery. Here I am interested in the grief of a father for a dead son, which I relate to the forensic declamatory tradition found in Quintilian and Seneca the Elder, one that transfers paternity to the teacher of rhetoric as it negotiates the proper sources of inspiration. This analysis brings us full circle to

²³ See Richard DeMolen, *Richard Mulcaster (c. 1531-1611) and Educational Reform in the Renaissance* (Nieuwkoop, 1991), 36.

²⁴ John Buckeridge, 'A Sermon Preached at the Funeral of...Lancelot, Late Lord Bishop of Winchester', in *XCVI Sermons by...Lancelot Andrewes*, 5th ed. (London, 1661), 791. Andrewes' tomb inside Southwark Cathedral, London, bears an inscription in which his education at Merchant Taylors' is acknowledged, with the school's coat of arms painted above it.

²⁵ We know of only three others of Mulcaster's alumni who became involved with education: 'Ralph Huchenson, president of St John's, Oxford; John Peryn, regius professor of Greek at Oxford; [and] John Spenser, president of Corpus Christi College, Oxford' (DeMolen, *Richard Mulcaster*, 37).

the issues raised in the foundational chapter on Mulcaster. That is, I read *The Spanish Tragedy* as engaging delivery when it interacts with the fraught territory occupied by both orality and literacy, specifically with regard to the capacity of certain media to register and convey emotion. It is no coincidence, I believe, that the play ends with a gesture that stands between speech and writing. Similar matters, for instance, are explored in the first section of chapter 1, where Mulcaster's treatise on writing, the *Elementarie*, is discussed in terms of the problems posed to it by the sounds and movements of delivery. In chapter 4, the schoolmaster's approach to speech and writing is linked with Kyd's treatment of inspiration, a connection that yields assumptions not only about the relationship between rhetoric and drama, but about the nature of imitation as well.

As this brief summary suggests, I do not insist in these chapters that each author made use of the concerns of delivery in the same manner or with the same purpose as his peers. And, although the discussion follows a progression with respect to the interpretive impetus assigned to the emotions, the arrangement of these chapters—after the foundations laid in the first and longest chapter—is based roughly on the order in which each of these authors attended Merchant Taylors'. Spenser entered Merchant Taylors' in 1561, in the same year that the school first opened (and Mulcaster was appointed); Andrewes began his early education elsewhere, at Cooper's Free School in about 1563, but joined Spenser at Merchant Taylors' in 1564 or 1565; Kyd entered in 1565; hence, all three were together at the school for at least four years between 1565 and the time of Spenser's departure for Cambridge in 1569.²⁶ Unlike *Galatea's* Rafe, Robin, and Dick, Mulcaster's boys were able to secure employment in civil and ecclesiastical vocations upon resolving their education, positions that made good use of a grammar school training in languages—Spenser as secretary to Lord Grey of Wilton in Ireland, for example, and translator of Petrarch and Du Bellay; Andrewes as Bishop first of Chichester and then of Winchester, and one of the chief translators of the King James Bible; and Kyd as secretary to

²⁶ Andrewes followed Spenser to Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, in 1571; Kyd, as has already been noted, did not attend either university, and may even have stayed at Merchant Taylors' until 1575. Outside of the halls of education, there is no record that any further contact occurred between these men, though, as prebendary of Westminster Abbey from 1597 to 1601, Andrewes was likely present at Spenser's funeral, which took place there in late January 1599 (see Paul Welsby, *Lancelot Andrewes, 1555-1626* (London, 1958), 74).

Ferdinando Stanley (Lord Strange), and translator of Garnier and Tasso.²⁷

Nonetheless, as in the grammar school, so too in their employment: it was a training in eloquence that enabled them to sing within and beyond their prescriptions.

²⁷ Arthur Freeman, unlike Frederick Boas and Phillip Edwards, argues that Kyd was employed by the Earl of Sussex rather than Strange (see *Thomas Kyd: Facts and Problems* (Oxford, 1967)).

I

Richard Mulcaster

In this chapter, I describe the importance of *pronuntiatio et actio*, or rhetorical delivery, in the works and practices of Richard Mulcaster, with a view to tracing these same concerns in subsequent chapters on the poetry, oratory, and drama of his pupils. The gateway to this project is made with media studies, since, as I show, delivery occupies in significant ways the ground shared by orality and literacy; establishing delivery's connection to media will enable me to draw certain conclusions about Mulcaster's conception of students and their curriculum from treatises devoted not ostensibly to actual classroom practice, but rather to pedagogical and orthographical reform. As such, this entry point shares common assumptions with other recent studies that treat delivery as media, most pertinently, with respect to the English Renaissance, a section from Neil Rhodes' *Shakespeare and the Origins of English* entitled 'Hamlet's Media Studies'.²⁸

²⁸ Rhodes, *Shakespeare and the Origins*, 29-44. See also Lisa Ede et al, 'Border Crossings: Intersections of Rhetoric and Feminism', *Rhetorica* 13 (1995), 401-42; John Frederick Reynolds (ed.), *Rhetorical Memory and Delivery: Classical Concepts for Contemporary Composition and Communication* (Hillsdale, 1993); and Kathleen E. Welch, *Classical Rhetoric, Oralism, and a New Literacy* (Cambridge, Mass., 1999).

Following a discussion of Mulcaster's two most important extant works, I lay out the Elizabethan educational milieu that shaped and responded to this schoolmaster's aims in training voice and gesture. Using contemporary accounts from students and teachers, grammar school statutes, and pedagogical guides, I show how Mulcaster's determined advocacy of academic drama coincides not only with training language, but also the nonlinguistic forms of tone, volume, and gesture so central to delivery. In this, I follow James Fredal's argument that, despite classical and Renaissance theories of 'delivery as a supplementary language', *pronuntiatio et actio* actually 'constitutes a nonlinguistic bodily skill of character presentation'.²⁹ As my initial section on media suggests, however, linguistic and nonlinguistic skills mutually influence one another in ways similar to that of the complicated relationship between orality and literacy.

1. *Elements*

In Shakespeare's *King Lear*, Kent reserves the following bit of vituperation for dissembling Oswald: 'Thou whoreson Z, thou unnecessary letter!'³⁰ Even for early seventeenth-century audiences, the insult bore the residue of a bygone era, and indeed, it registers fittingly in the mouth of a grey-bearded Kent.³¹ 'Z', writes Richard Mulcaster in 1582, 'is a consonant much heard amongst us, and seldom sene'.³² For reasons which will shortly become clear, the pejorative currency of the letter Z would have obtained greater purchase in the latter half of the sixteenth century; that is, roughly from the date of John Hart's letter (1551, addressed to Edward VI) first calling for an English alphabet based purely on the sounds of men's voices, to the earliest performances of Shakespeare's *Love's Labour's Lost* (probably 1594/5),

²⁹ James Fredal, 'The Language of Delivery and the Presentation of Character: Rhetorical Action in Demosthenes' *Against Meidias*', *Rhetoric Review* 20 (2001), 252.

³⁰ William Shakespeare, *King Lear*, in *The Complete Works*, ed. Stanley Wells and Gary Taylor (Oxford, 1987), II.ii.63. Subsequent references to the plays of Shakespeare are from this edition of *The Complete Works*.

³¹ Kent is disguised at this point in the play, and it is of course likely that the insult, like the grey beard, is intended to contribute to his ruse. He could also be snidely referring to the pronunciation of O[z]wald.

³² Richard Mulcaster, *The Elementarie*, ed. E. T. Campagnac (Oxford, 1925), 136.

which stages the absurdity of such counsel as Hart's.³³ In between these very general chronological parameters, the debate over the range and uniformity of the English alphabet turned primarily on the position allocated to sound. Should sound govern the pen, or should orthography be subordinate to custom or usage? Do English voices and sounds possess the inherent qualities which would render them amenable to writing? Or can writing reliably record and reproduce English sounds? Eventually, a notion that 'being written' was the quality most necessary to render a language 'able to be written' began—usually without their authors' knowledge—to be reflected in the orthographical treatises of the sixteenth century. In this section, I shall look at what happens to sound in the course of this realization, especially in connection with humanist pedagogy. The orthographic debate was, after all, waged chiefly amongst teachers, a point that leads me to reflect on the confluence of pedagogical theories with those of right writing. Of particular interest in this regard is Richard Mulcaster (1531/2-1611), headmaster of Elizabethan London's largest school, whose orthographical treatise, the *Elementarie* (1582), claims somewhat surprisingly to be a work of pedagogical theory. So, at issue in the following discussion is how a conception of the relationship between speech and writing can be relevant to subjectivity, in this case of children in an educational system.

The *Elementarie* has been contested in this manner before, most notably in Jonathan Goldberg's *Writing Matter* (1990). In such analyses, the terms 'orality' and 'literacy' are refracted through sixteenth-century orthography to give us the respective polarities of 'sound' and 'writing', and henceforth they can be applied to both or either one of the pedagogical terms of nature and nurture—the designation and relationship of these latter two terms depends on one's approach to the former ones. Goldberg's approach is to locate the *Elementarie*—especially its account of the origins of writing—within Derrida's 'history of the gramme',³⁴ and therefore finds in Mulcaster's avowed but failed logocentrism a sense that 'what is, what existence is, literally, is writing. A retroactive textuality will rename this origin, calling it nature, the oral, shielding it from writing'.³⁵ And, because a 'politics of pedagogy...coincides

³³ Robert Robinson's *The Art of Pronunciation* (1617) is one example of a rare late and last-gasp effort to rehearse the orthographical practice of the sixteenth-century phonemic reformers.

³⁴ Jacques Derrida, *Of Grammatology*, trans. Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak (Baltimore, 1976), 84.

³⁵ Jonathan Goldberg, *Writing Matter: From the Hands of the English Renaissance* (Stanford, 1990), 21.

with the textual effects' of the *Elementarie*, Goldberg maintains that, for Mulcaster, children must be properly inscribed in order to be '(re)inscribed within the pedagogic scheme', one that reinforces 'place and hierarchies of order', and inscribes 'subjects within structures of belief and obedience';³⁶ another chapter is devoted to the violence of these literal and metaphorical acts of inscription.³⁷ The brutality of this reprogramming process seems most manifest in the disciplinary measures employed by schoolmasters, contemporary anecdotes of which have been used by a number of other recent and useful studies to help define the culture of the Renaissance classroom,³⁸ and of pedagogy in general.³⁹ A focus on the beaten boy and the cruelty of his teachers has had the benefit of counterbalancing much earlier twentieth-century scholarship, which tended to valorise humanist pedagogues on the basis of their idealistic assertions. Erasmus' pronouncement in 1529 that 'schools have become torture-chambers; you hear nothing but...howling and moaning, and shouts of brutal abuse',⁴⁰ seems, for example, to have been of little interest to E. T. Campagnac, who notes in his 1925 introduction to the *Elementarie* that its 'words stand for ideas which must ever lie at the foundation of any orderly and wholesome system of education'.⁴¹ Taken again at face value, however, these same 'words' are now more liable to stand for miniature robots (re)programmed with the lash. 'Orthography', writes Muriel Bradbrook, 'serves...as a social index';⁴² the critical study of orthography no less so.

³⁶ Ibid. 34, 31, 37, 36.

³⁷ Ibid. chapter 2.

³⁸ See Lynn Enterline, 'Rhetoric, Discipline and the Theatricality of Everyday Life in Elizabethan Grammar Schools', in Peter Holland and Stephen Orgel (eds.), *Performance to Print in Shakespeare's England* (Basingstoke, 2006), 173-90; Christopher Gaggero, 'Pleasure Unreconciled to Virtue: George Gascoigne and Didactic Drama', in *Tudor Drama Before Shakespeare, 1485-1590: New Directions for Research, Criticism, and Pedagogy*, ed. Lloyd Edward Kermode et al (New York, 2004), 167-93; Richard Halpern, *Poetics of Primitive Accumulation*, esp. pp. 19-60; Alan Stewart, *Close Readers: Humanism and Sodomy in Early Modern England* (Princeton, 1997), esp. pp. 84-121.

³⁹ See Pierre Bourdieu and Jean-Claude Passeron, *Reproduction in Education, Society, and Culture*, trans. Richard Nice (London, 1977); Stephen Ball (ed.), *Foucault and Education: Discipline and Knowledge* (London, 1991).

⁴⁰ Erasmus, *De Pueris Instituendis*, trans. Beert C. Verstraete, in *Collected Works of Erasmus*, xxvi, ed. J. Kelley Sowards (Toronto, 1985), 325.

⁴¹ Campagnac, introduction to *Elementarie*, xiv.

⁴² M. C. Bradbrook, 'St. George for Spelling Reform!', *Shakespeare Quarterly* 15 (1964), 129.

It is hoped that my own approach to the *Elementarie* will strike a balance between these disparate attitudes about Renaissance orthography and pedagogy. Although discipline is not the main focus of this section, its relevance here stems from the fact that, in the Renaissance (as it was in medieval and, to a lesser extent, in classical times), learning language was intimately connected with punishment; this was especially true for learning Latin, as Walter Ong has shown in his essay, ‘Latin Language Study as a Renaissance Puberty Rite’ (1959).⁴³ Illustrations depicting scenes from the Renaissance classroom invariably position the switch within close reach of the presiding headmaster, but it is worth remembering that there were pictures of reward too; Alexander Nowell’s 1593 edition of *Catechism or Institution of Christian Religion*, for example, contains an illustration of a master rewarding his pupil with what appears to be an apple. There was a great deal of debate amongst humanists about the administration of punishment and reward, and at the center of these discussions was a conception about the nature of children. Given the relationship between language and discipline, what will the *Elementarie* have to say about nature and the uses of the lash? If Latin is associated with masculinity and punishment, and vernaculars with the feminine and domestic,⁴⁴ what are the implications—disciplinary or otherwise—of a vernacular orthography that admits a deep love of English? Of course, the *Elementarie* could be read simply as exemplifying a desire to make juridical (and masculine) what was once driven by imitation alone, but the textual effects of a vernacular orthography will, I argue, retain features of its sounded and imitative qualities—a retention from which certain disciplinary as well as ontological conclusions may be put forward.

As the case may be, Mulcaster seems to have acquired a reputation for being a particularly malicious headmaster, though this is based largely on two pieces of anecdotal evidence not unanimously regarded as reliable.⁴⁵ The reputation persists

⁴³ Walter Ong, ‘Latin Language Study as a Renaissance Puberty Rite’, *Studies in Philology* 56 (1959), 103-24.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.* 108.

⁴⁵ In 1855, H. Fleetwood Sheppard reproduced a story about a mock marriage ceremony conducted by Mulcaster for ‘Lady Burch’ (the birch used for beating) and an unfortunate boy’s ‘buttockes’ (‘Flowers of Anecdote’, *Notes and Queries* 11 (1855), 260); Sheppard attributed the anecdote to an individual named Thomas Wateridge, supposedly alive during the reign of James VI/I. William Barker notes that no record exists for an individual of that name in this context, and that the original document, if it was

regardless: Christopher Gaggero, for instance, has argued that Mulcaster's primary objective in the classroom was to 'instill fear and pain', which distanced his reforms from earlier humanist conversations about the usefulness of pleasure in learning.⁴⁶ Mulcaster's own thoughts on the subject of discipline were laid out one year prior to the publication of the *Elementarie*, and they are ambivalent; on the one hand, Mulcaster argues that 'the cheife and chariest point is, so to plie them all, as they may proceede voluntarily, and not with violence...never fearing the rod, which he will not deserve'; or that masters should not beat 'the parentes folly, and the childe infirmitie, with his owne furie. All which extremities some litle discretion would easely remove'; on the other, he advises that 'the rod may no more be spared in schooles, then the sworde in the Princes hand'.⁴⁷ Nevertheless, accounts of arbitrary cruelty in the Tudor classroom have been accepted in much recent scholarship as definitive; Foucault leads the way in this regard, especially with his claims for the 'everywhere and always alert' power of discipline that he describes in *Discipline and Punish*;⁴⁸ Bourdieu and Passeron elaborate with respect to education:

...all pedagogic action is, objectively, symbolic violence insofar as it is the imposition of a cultural arbitrary by an arbitrary power...[and as such] contributes by reproducing the cultural arbitrary which it inculcates, toward reproducing the power relations which are the basis of its power of arbitrary imposition (the social reproduction function of cultural reproduction).⁴⁹

In accordance with this view, Richard Halpern argues that Renaissance 'schools hammered in ideological content and also laid down economies of recreation and labour, punishment and reward'.⁵⁰ As Gaggero and others have suggested, however,

ever genuine, is now likely lost—Barker, in any case, feels the story 'has the facetious air of the jest-book about it' (introduction to Mulcaster, *Positions*, lxxv, lxxv). A second related anecdote appears in Thomas Fuller's short biography of Mulcaster more than five decades after the latter's death, where the teacher's 'severity' is likened to the brutality of Horace's headmaster, 'Plagosus Orbilius' (*The History of the Worthies of England* (London, 1662), Sss2r-v; and see Horace, *Epistles*, 2.1.70-1). There are, however, several historical inaccuracies in Fuller's account, and, indeed, it 'may be based less on any ascertainable facts than on Fuller's self-confessed intention to amuse his readers' (Barker, *Positions*, lxxi).

⁴⁶ Gaggero, 'Pleasure Unreconciled', 168-9.

⁴⁷ Mulcaster, *Positions*, 39, 36, 270.

⁴⁸ Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, trans. Alan Sheridan (New York, 1977), 177.

⁴⁹ Bourdieu and Passeron, *Reproduction*, 5, 10.

⁵⁰ Halpern, *Poetics*, 26.

the ‘violence’ of these impositions hardly remained at the level of the ‘symbolic’. In such terms, then, discipline and inscription share some common features in Renaissance cultural studies, namely an absolute and inescapable dimension of control and fixity, metaphorically and literally.

However, I do not believe this theoretical state can be inferred from Mulcaster’s texts: ‘sound’ or orality in this master’s pedagogy troubles any notion of a primary fixed and inscribed nature, a disruption that is set out allegorically in the *Elementarie*. In my account of Mulcaster’s orthography, nature is implicated in terms that suggest sound as well as inscription, and his theories can be defined as the interplay between these two media. Indeed, if Mulcaster’s orthography and pedagogy are concomitant, then the story told in the *Elementarie*—especially in the context of Mulcaster’s other reforms—is one of what Steven Field has called the ‘physical and emotional presence’ of sound negotiating and creating its agency within and through culturally inscribed forms.⁵¹ Put another way, I argue that, although writing pins its hopes ‘on the resistance that the *establishment of a place* offers to the erosion of time’, sound does so ‘on a clever *utilization of time*, of the opportunities it presents and also of the play that it introduces into the foundations of power’.⁵² This makes neither sound nor writing—including the various qualities to which they are often attached—entities that act in isolation or independence.

What is under consideration, then, is not whether orality persisted in the Renaissance classroom, but how it functioned in a politics of pedagogy (read partially through an orthography). In any case, the question of ‘whether’ elements of an oral and aural culture could remain in a literate and visual culture seems now to have passed its critical shelf life. Walter Ong, among others, has demonstrated the extent to which an ‘oral residue’ persisted in Tudor writing, and this can be widely attributed to the rhetorical training received by children in the sixteenth-century schoolroom.⁵³ Students were taught and judged chiefly by their oral performance skills (in the form of *pronuntiatio et actio*), and many of these skills—like the development of *copia*, for example—were conveyed in and through students’ written compositions. More recent scholarship has also shown that orality and literacy are ‘not two separate and

⁵¹ Steven Feld, ‘Waterfalls of Song: An Acoustemology of Place Resounding in Bosavi, Papua New Guinea’, in Steven Feld and Keith H. Basso (eds.), *Senses of Place* (Santa Fe, 1996), 97.

⁵² Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. Steven Rendall (Berkeley, 1984), 38-9.

⁵³ See Walter Ong, ‘Oral Residue in Tudor Prose Style’, *PMLA* 80 (1965), 145-54.

independent things', but rather 'overlapping' activities that modify each other as well as co-exist in a variety of situations depending on 'factors such as time, location, purpose, and the identity and status of the communicators'.⁵⁴ Mulcaster's descriptions of sound and writing highlight some of the tensions of this mutual influence and co-existence. So, although it is tempting to 'valorize the oral as more immediate and personal than the written',⁵⁵ Mulcaster and his humanist predecessors actually reveal a conception of text as both spatial and aural, dead and also alive. Examples of this paradigm are numerous, not only in the 'oral residue' of Tudor prose and poetry,⁵⁶ but also in direct advice concerning the instruction of grammar and composition. For instance, in the instruction of Latin, Erasmus advocates 'the conversation of actual speakers in social relationships' as an alternative to the rote memorization of grammatical rules:⁵⁷ 'For a true ability to speak correctly', states Erasmus in 1512, 'is best fostered both by conversing and consorting with those who speak correctly and by the habitual reading of the best stylists'.⁵⁸ As Richard Halpern has noted of the early sixteenth century, texts came to be perceived 'as an individualized voice or style' rather than the 'incarnation of grammatical rules'.⁵⁹ Such a way of thinking about texts denies the death of the tongue, even when, in Mulcaster's words, it is 'fre

⁵⁴ Adam Fox and Daniel Woolf, introduction to *The Spoken Word: Oral Culture in Britain 1500-1850*, ed. Adam Fox and Daniel Woolf (Manchester, 2002), 8; see Ruth Finnegan, *Literacy and Orality: Studies in the Technology of Communication* (Oxford, 1988), 174; and Harvey J. Graff, *The Labyrinths of Literacy: Reflections on Literacy Past and Present* (London, 1987), 25.

⁵⁵ Fox and Woolf, *Spoken Word*, 9.

⁵⁶ I have already noted Ong's general contribution, but for a discussion of a specific Renaissance poem in this regard, see, for example, John Webster's essay on *The Faerie Queene*; Mulcaster's student is argued to have employed a style that 'reflects assumptions and expectations of oral poetry', the presence of which 'establishes the poem's central aesthetic conditions' ('Oral Form and Written Craft in Spenser's *Faerie Queene*', *SEL* 16 (1976), 76).

⁵⁷ Martin Elsky, *Authorizing Words: Speech, Writing, and Print in the English Renaissance* (Ithaca, 1989), 38.

⁵⁸ Erasmus, *De Ratione Studii*, trans. Brian McGregor, in *Collected Works of Erasmus*, xxiv, ed. Craig R. Thompson (Toronto, 1978), 669. Erasmus is responding to Cicero's claim that 'the whole art of oratory...is concerned in some measure with the common practice, custom, and speech of mankind' (*De Oratore*, 1.3.12). On the relationship between rhetoric and conversation in the Renaissance, see Jennifer Richards, *Rhetoric and Courtliness in Early Modern Literature* (Cambridge, 2003), 43-55.

⁵⁹ Halpern, *Poetics*, 33.

from motion' and 'shrined up in books'.⁶⁰ The paradox of stillness in motion defines the relationship between print and performance, and therefore has direct significance for the foregoing discussion of the relationship between letters and sounds.⁶¹ It is to these letters that I now turn, with a background of the sixteenth-century orthographical debate providing some context for Mulcaster's own reforms.

The relatively short life of the English phonetic alphabet begins in the lecture halls at Cambridge in the 1530s,⁶² where two eminent scholars, Thomas Smith and John Cheke, controversially introduced a reformed pronunciation of Greek that met the standards set by Erasmus in *De Recta Latini Graecique sermonis pronuntiatione* (1528). The reform was based on the premise that medieval scholasticism as well as vernacular *sermo* had infected the pronunciation of classical tongues, a situation which, in turn, necessitated a project for the recovery of the sounds of these languages as they were heard in classical times. Stephen Gardiner, the conservative chancellor of Cambridge University, was not amused by this project, and his objections, along with Cheke's replies, were published by Cheke in *De Pronuntiatione Graecae potissimum linguae disputationes* (1555). Earlier, in 1542, Gardiner had been presented with a draft of Smith's *De recta et emendata Linguae Graecae Pronuntiatione*, which would later be published in Paris (1568). The guiding principle in the amendments of Cheke and Smith was that there existed an isomorphic relationship between letters and sounds, since the Greeks would not have devised superfluous or unnecessary letters to express the sounds of their language; and it was out of these principles that interest in an English phonetic alphabet began to emerge, with Smith publishing his endorsement to this purpose in *De recta & emendata Linguae anglicae scriptione, dialogus* (1568). John Hart's letter to Edward VI in

⁶⁰ Mulcaster, *Elementarie*, 177.

⁶¹ See P. A. Skantze, *Stillness in Motion in the Seventeenth-Century Theatre* (London, 2003), and Robert Weimann, *Author's Pen and Actor's Voice: Playing and Writing in Shakespeare's Theatre*, ed. Helen Higbee and William West (Cambridge, 2000).

⁶² For more detailed accounts of this aspect of humanist reform see Eric John Dobson, *English Pronunciation 1500-1700*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1968); David Denison and Richard Hogg (eds.), *Cambridge History of the English Language* (Cambridge, 2006); and critical assessments by—especially as they pertain to the present discussion—Bradbrook, 'St George', 129-41; DeMolen, *Richard Mulcaster*, 103-16; and Goldberg, *Writing Matter*, 171-229.

1551,⁶³ then, must be understood largely as a consequence of his association with Smith and Cheke at Cambridge; although, because it was not born of a desire to recapture the sounds of antiquity, Hart's wish for a phonetic script was grounded firmly in what he perceived as the needs of English speakers (particularly as they adjusted to the burden of interpretation placed upon them by the Reformation), as well as of foreigners attempting to read what was mainly an inconsistent and mutable English spelling.

Hart finally published his views in *An Orthographie* (1569), the title page of which promises to show 'howe to write or paint thimage of mannes voice'. Acknowledging in the preface his debt to Smith, Hart promises 'to use as many letters in our writing, as we doe voyces or breathes in speaking, and no more';⁶⁴ a phrase that might have transposed in Hart's new orthography (an alphabet and exercise for which appears at the end of his treatise) as follows: *tu iuz az mani leters in our ureiting, az ui du voises or breads in speking, and no mor*. Hart may have had a universal alphabet in mind, but for his near contemporary, William Bullokar, the need to reform spelling phonetically rises directly from 'almost thirtie yeares' of frustration as a schoolmaster, responsible for teaching children 'who guided by the eye with the letter, and giuing voyce according to the name thereof...yeelded to the eare of the hearer a clean contrary sound to the word looked for'.⁶⁵ 'Heereby', as he records, 'grewe quarels in the teacher'. According to Bullokar, the main obstacle to a uniform English spelling is the use of an alphabet of 'letters twentie fower' when there are in fact 'fortie and fower' divisions of voice in the English tongue.⁶⁶ Hence, Bullokar devises an alphabet of forty-one 'letterz',⁶⁷ with various diacritics to distinguish their sounds even further. As one might expect, few were won over by these reforms, 'since, as the more perceptive quickly saw, the uses of language are too varied to be controlled by fiat; so that science degenerated into affection on one hand and eccentric pedantry on the other'.⁶⁸ Indeed, one of the only surviving examples of an

⁶³ Reprinted in Bror Danielsson (ed.), *John Hart's Works on Orthography and Pronunciation: 1551, 1569, 1570* (Stockholm, 1955-63).

⁶⁴ John Hart, *An Orthographie* (London, 1569), B3r.

⁶⁵ William Bullokar, *Bullokar's Booke at Large* (London, 1580), B1r.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.* C1r.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.* D1r-v.

⁶⁸ Bradbrook, 'St. George', 130.

attempt to emulate these amendments is, in all likelihood, a prank: Robert Laneham's 1575 letter describing the 'soomerz progress' of the 'Queenz Maiesty at Killingwoorth Castl' was arguably written by William Patten as a jibe against the former;⁶⁹ the phonetic spelling in this case may have been employed to contribute to an overall sense of Laneham in the letter as an 'egocentric and amiable buffoon, with antiquarian tastes and a love for old stories'.⁷⁰

It was under such conditions that Z languished. Other letters, however, might have counted themselves fortunate to be the fond plaything of pedants. John Baret's *An Alvearie or Triple Dictionarie* (1574), to which Thomas Smith is one of the dedicatees, calls for C to be deposed as a usurper, one who has 'absurdely' maneuvered into a 'third place of honour' in the alphabet, and for whom K and S already serve to sound.⁷¹ It is a spectacular fall from grace for the letter, since, only a decade earlier, it had housed within its curvature none other than Elizabeth I (in a detail for the C in 'Constantine') in the dedication page of John Foxe's *Actes and Monuments*.⁷² A more cruel punishment is set aside for E, which, as Baret advises, must be 'geld out...especially in the latter end of woordes...which signifie nothing'.⁷³ Once silent, now also castrated, it is hoped that the banishment of the final E will 'amend a great deal of our corrupt writing'.⁷⁴ Nevertheless, Baret keeps the much-

⁶⁹ Robert Laneham, *A Letter* (London, 1575), A1r. On Patten's authorship, see Brian O'Kill, 'The Printed Works of William Patten (c. 1510-c. 1590)', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 7 (1977), 28-45; and David Scott, 'Robert Laneham's Letter (1575)', *ELR* 7 (1977), 297-306. See also George Gascoigne's *The Princely Pleasures at the Court of Kenilworth* (1575), reprinted in various editions of his works.

⁷⁰ H. R. Woudhuysen, 'Langham, Robert (c. 1535-1579/80)', in H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison (eds.), *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004), xxxii, 481.

⁷¹ John Baret, *An Alvearie or Triple Dictionary* (London, 1574), L3r.

⁷² John Foxe, *Actes and Monuments* (London, 1563), B1r.

⁷³ Baret, *Alvearie*, X5v.

⁷⁴ The assignment of corporeal metaphors for language was common practice in the Renaissance, with Ben Jonson's 'speake that I may see thee' passage from *Timber* (1640) only the most famous (*Ben Jonson*, ed. C. H. Herford and P. and E. Simpson, 11 vols. (Oxford, 1925-63), viii, 625). Bruce Smith describes Jonson's choice of conceit as 'anything but arbitrary', since it involved the 'mechanism that produces speech' (*The Acoustic World of Early Modern England: Attending to the O-factor* (Chicago, 1999), 97). While for Jonson this conceit elaborates style rather than grammar, it is employed with similar purpose in orthography. Hart and Mulcaster, though their opinions on the relationship between sound and writing differ, are yet in agreement that letters, in some form, are given the task to 'mediate

abused E in his *Alvearie*, recognizing at last the impossibility for ‘any private man’ to amend an orthography—he is content for the moment to wait ‘untill the learned Universities have determined upon the truth thereof’, and for this truth to be ‘publicly taught and used in the Realme’. In fact, as Baret (who was a teacher at Cambridge and then in London) admits in the address to his readers, the dictionary is largely a compilation by his ‘pupils at Cambridge studious of the Latin tongue’ who, ‘within a yeare or two’, had “gathered together a great volume, which (for the apt similitude betweene the good scholars and diligent Bees in gathering their wax and hony into their Hive) I called then their *Alvearie*’.⁷⁵ So, although *An Alvearie* does not implement the phonetic spelling of the orthographic reformers, the source of its invective towards certain letters is—as it is in the works of Smith, Hart, and Bullokar—a yearning by its author to ‘devize so many severall characters, to shew...the very facion and sound of every title of our woordes in letters to the eie’.⁷⁶

The classroom is an abiding presence in sixteenth-century orthographies, both in the motives for reform and in the delineation of their bodied letters. On the Elizabethan stage, such associations between teaching and orthography took further inspiration from the *commedia dell’arte* tradition, with Shakespeare’s Holofernes in *Love’s Labour’s Lost* being the classic example of a stock pedant. But, in spite of Richard DeMolen’s argument to the contrary,⁷⁷ we must think of Hart rather than Mulcaster as the inspiration for Shakespeare’s pedant, at least with respect to spelling and pronunciation. Holofernes’ complaint that ‘rackers of orthography’ pronounce “dout” *sine* “b”, when he should say “doubt”, “det” when he should pronounce “debt”⁷⁸ is resonant with Hart’s attempt to use only those letters that sound ‘and no more’, rather than Mulcaster’s rejoinder that even non-sounding letters can be kept for

between sound-in-the-body and sound-on-the-page’. ‘The common denominator in this transaction’, continues Smith, ‘is body: paper and ink as material entities stand in for muscles and air as material entities’ (121).

⁷⁵ Baret, *Alvearie*, *5r. ‘Alvearie’, from the Latin *alvearium* (‘a range of bee-hives’), became, at least by the early eighteenth century, a term used in anatomy for the waxy ‘hollow of the external ear’ (*OED*). Even in 1580, when Baret republished his dictionary with an added fourth language, Greek, his sentiments about the connection between letters and sounds (and resultant abuse for those letters that failed to sound) remained unchanged.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.* X5r.

⁷⁷ DeMolen, *Richard Mulcaster*, 159-65.

⁷⁸ Shakespeare, *Love’s Labour’s Lost*, v.i.19-21.

reasons of etymology and custom. In any case, Shakespeare's play highlights the strong identification between orthography and pedagogy, whose aims, it appears, were inseparable. Certainly, this appears to be the case for Mulcaster when he claims that his orthographic treatise, the *Elementarie*, has emerged, at least stylistically, 'from the students forge'.⁷⁹ The 'forge' in this case is not only Mulcaster's own experience as a student at Eton,⁸⁰ Cambridge (B.A.), and then at Oxford (M.A.), but also his tenure as headmaster of Merchant Taylors' School, where he taught from the school's inception in 1561 until his resignation over a wage dispute in 1586.⁸¹ Famous pupils during this period include Edmund Spenser, Thomas Kyd, Lancelot Andrewes (as well as five other translators of the 1611 King James Bible), Thomas Lodge, the politician and colonizer Edwin Sandys, as well as both royal physicians (to Elizabeth I and James VI/I).⁸² Mulcaster's pedagogical reforms, which he claims are based on 'two and twentie yeares' of teaching,⁸³ are extant in two works, the first being *Positions* (1581)—a book that announces itself as the 'very first foundation' upon which his subsequent reforms will be built⁸⁴—and the second, published one year later, being the *Elementarie*. Superficially, however, it is somewhat misleading to include the *Elementarie* as part of Mulcaster's pedagogical reform, since the majority of this work is occupied with orthography. Indeed, although Mulcaster promises in *Positions* to provide a five-part elementary curriculum following the order of 'Reading, Writing, Drawing, Musick by voice, and instrument',⁸⁵ its first installment, instead of reading (an oral exercise), 'entreateth chefelie of the right writing of our English tung'.⁸⁶ Justification for this reversal is provided by Mulcaster

⁷⁹ Mulcaster, *Elementarie*, 281.

⁸⁰ Rosemary O'Day has noted that Mulcaster would have obtained his 'first experience of teaching when [he] served as [one of the] "*praepositores*" in the seventh form at Eton in the 1540s' (*Education and Society 1500-1800: The Social Foundations of Education in Early Modern Britain* (London, 1982), 58).

⁸¹ Detailed descriptions of Mulcaster's life may be found in DeMolen, *Richard Mulcaster*, 1-42; and Barker, *Positions*, lix-lxxviii.

⁸² An extensive list of Mulcaster's distinguished alumni appears in DeMolen, *Richard Mulcaster*, 36-7.

⁸³ Mulcaster, *Positions*, 16.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.* 17.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.* 37.

⁸⁶ This quotation is from the title page of the *Elementarie*. In the dedicatory epistle to the Earl of Leicester, Mulcaster explains that he will publish each part of the elementary curriculum in separate

in the dedicatory epistle: ‘For can reading be right before writing be righted, seing we read nothing else, but what we se writen?’ Jonathan Goldberg discovers in the *Elementarie*’s displacement of reading by writing a pattern that is replicated in the aims and strategies of Mulcaster’s orthography and pedagogy: ‘Mulcaster’s attempt to transfer an originary value from a secondary place...reveals the social, historical, and ideological work that is involved in the attempt to found an origin’.⁸⁷ The implications of such an attempt are, apparently, the brutality and inequality of a pedagogical system that is at once representative of and also subservient to the dominant power structures of society. However, while I follow an approach that identifies pedagogical theory and practice within an orthographical project, I believe the degree to which an ‘originary value’ has been supplanted in the *Elementarie* is not as absolute as Goldberg claims—nor are Mulcaster’s designs as sinister. Retracing the substance of Goldberg’s argument, and articulating my reply, will involve the reevaluation of a key passage in the *Elementarie*, one that encapsulates Mulcaster’s contribution to English orthography and, as we would both argue, a politics of pedagogy too.

With the *Elementarie*, Mulcaster effectively challenges the phonemic reforms of Smith, Hart, and Bullokar. And it is with an allegory of sound that he demonstrates not only the inadequacies of a phonemic alphabet, but also the principles which will underpin his orthography. Mulcaster prefaces his allegory of sound by announcing that a full account of the origins of writing would be ‘fruteles’, as there can be no ‘certaintie...of so old a thing’—although he is willing to suggest that ‘deliuerie of learning by the pen to posteritie, was not the first cause that found out letters’; rather, he ascribes the cause of writing to be the carriage of sound over distance, which necessitated a ‘deuice...to serue the eie afar of, by the mean of letters, as natur did satisfie the ear at hand by benefit of speche’.⁸⁸ Writing, therefore, is the ‘aspectable figur of...an audible sound’, but, as we shall see in the allegory, there is a distinction

volumes, ‘chiefelie for the printer, whose sale will be quik if the book be not big’. If they were ever written, the remaining divisions of his elementary (reading, drawing, singing, and musical instruments) are not extant. The contemporary influence of *Positions* and the *Elementarie* is discussed by Barker, *Positions*, xxxv-viii.

⁸⁷ Goldberg, *Writing Matter*, 30.

⁸⁸ Mulcaster, *Elementarie*, 72.

made between an ‘aspectable figur’ and Hart’s painted image of voice.⁸⁹ Sound begins Mulcaster’s allegory as king of the ‘scriueners prouince’,⁹⁰ but it soon becomes apparent that his position is contingent on the agreement of the province’s magistrates, who, upon observing the imperfections in writing that have resulted from Sound’s absolute rule, decide to attenuate his power through the creation of an oligarchy. Now Sound must share his rule with Custom and Reason, a triumvirate that succeeds in bringing a degree of stability to writing, though it infuriates the dethroned ‘Tarquinius’ that is Sound: ‘the fellow is passionat, in autoritie tyrannous, in aw timorous’.⁹¹ Further stability is added when the magistrates assign a notary, Art, to record and therefore fix the rules for spelling that have been determined by Sound, Custom, and Reason. It is Mulcaster’s conception of custom that really sets his orthography apart from those of Smith, Hart, and Bullokar, for ‘theie rate at custom as a vile corrupter’, and, in ‘their desire of redresse, theie appeall to sound, as the onelie souerain, and surest leader in the gouernment of writing; & fly to innouation, as the onelie mean, to reform all errors, that be in our writing’.⁹² But, as Mulcaster explains, custom ‘is not that which men do or speak commonlie...but onelie that, which is grounded at the first, upon the best and fittest reason, and is therefore to be used, bycause it is the fittest’.⁹³ Because language is shaped by usage, or custom, it cannot be altered by decree; furthermore, custom loosens the supposed isomorphic connection between sound and ‘aspectable figur’ asserted by Thomas Smith and his protégés: ‘for what likenesse or what affinitie hath the form of anie letter in his own nature, to answer the force or sound in mans voice?’⁹⁴ In fact, as Mulcaster declares,

⁸⁹ Ibid. 73.

⁹⁰ Ibid. 71.

⁹¹ Ibid. 75. Given the terms and notions used by Mulcaster to delineate his province of writing, it is hardly surprising to find readings of the allegory that situate Mulcaster’s political views within a republican framework (see Maria O’Neill, ‘Richard Mulcaster’s Allegory: A Humanist View of Language and State’, *Miscelanea* 18 (1997), 241-52). However, as will become evident, my reading of Sound’s place in the *Elementarie* necessarily complicates any attempt to align Mulcaster to a specific republican or monarchist viewpoint.

⁹² Ibid. 92-3.

⁹³ Ibid. 80.

⁹⁴ Ibid. 73. Despite Mulcaster’s recommendations here and elsewhere in the *Elementarie*, Mark Breitenberg has suggested that Mulcaster’s description of Elizabeth’s entry pageant in 1559 is marked by a ‘doctrine of similitude...that provides the epistemological ground for understanding one thing in

‘letters ca[n] expresse sou[n]ds withall their ioyns & properties, no fuller then the pe[n]cill ca[n] the form & lineame[n]ts of the face, whose praise is not life but likenesse’.⁹⁵

On the surface, Mulcaster’s allegory seems fairly straightforward: an oral past represented by Sound’s monarchy is gradually replaced by a written culture in which Art, according to the advice of Reason and Custom, fixes language into visual and spatial units. Goldberg, however, has rightly pointed out several problems with this scenario. In the first place, it is apparent that every phase in the transition from sound to writing is ‘ratified by writing; there is writing before writing’.⁹⁶ Sound’s power, as I have noted above, depends from the start on the consent of the province’s magistrates, who are quite clearly literate—here they are installing Sound as their governor: ‘whereunto theie subscribed their names, set to their seals the daie and year, when their consent past’.⁹⁷ There is ‘no pristine orality’, asserts Goldberg, and indeed, for Mulcaster, there is ‘nothing but writing, and the writing he would institute is ideally fixed’.⁹⁸ This transfer of ‘an originary value from a secondary place’ in the allegory follows, according to Goldberg, the general pattern of Mulcaster’s pedagogical reforms. In other words, the displacement of reading by writing in the sequence of Mulcaster’s curriculum is replicated in his account of the origins of writing, which, in turn, designates the ‘impossibility of describing “mere” nature

terms of another’ (“...the hole matter opened”: Iconic Representation and Interpretation in *The Quene’s Majesties Passage*, *Criticism* 28 (1986), 20). This method of interpretation would seem to be consistent with an ‘unspoken belief in the isomorphic relationship between language and reality’ (Stephen Greenblatt, *Learning to Curse: Essays in Early Modern Culture* (London, 1990), 28). In *Positions*, Mulcaster says that ‘wordes be names of thinges applied and given according to their properties’ (242), but Custom in the *Elementarie* (the ‘best and fittest’ speech of men (80)) argues rather for ‘language as a construct of man’ (O’Neill, ‘Richard Mulcaster’s Allegory’, 256); and the origins of writing offered by Mulcaster are quite similar to the origins of speech provided by Vives: ‘daily business brought men together, and speech bound them to move as closely as possible amongst one another...single words were attended to, then phrases and modes of speaking...as they were marked by a public agreement of opinion’ (*On Education*, trans. Foster Watson (Cambridge, 1913), 14).

⁹⁵ Ibid. 110.

⁹⁶ Goldberg, *Writing Matter*, 35.

⁹⁷ Mulcaster, *Elementarie*, 73.

⁹⁸ Goldberg, *Writing Matter*, 21, 36.

without having already assumed “perfect” nature’.⁹⁹ Confirmation of this account seems to arrive in Mulcaster’s advice for the ‘choice of wits allied naturallie to learning’;¹⁰⁰ only those children who display certain characteristics (that is, marks or inscriptions that the master reads for signs of aptitude) will be chosen. A well-inscribed boy is the first necessary step in re-inscribing him, because, as Mulcaster translates Plato, ‘the stamp is then best fashioned, and entreth deapest, wherewith ye mean to mark him, and the sequele will be such, as the foretrain shall lead’.¹⁰¹

However, I read the *Elementarie*—and especially the allegory of Sound—as positing an ideal world of writing that is threatened by orality. Goldberg claims that ‘Writing is the troubling element in the elementary’,¹⁰² but when the Province of Writing (putatively also the province of the *Elementarie*) decides to begin its tumultuous relationship with Sound, Mulcaster actually divulges the opposite scenario: Sound, not writing, is the troubling element in the *Elementarie*. The conditions of a pristine orality are not fully outlined in the *Elementarie*, since Mulcaster’s interests lie rather with the dispensation of Sound in the scrivener’s province, and despite the best efforts of the magistrates (and Mulcaster) to delimit Sound’s power, this tyrant persists surreptitiously throughout the *Elementarie*. In fact, he slips out of his subjugation in moments that offer telling insights into Mulcaster’s idea of writing as divorced from sound and yet wholly occupied with its concerns: ‘yet both the letters, and even sound himself, must be ruled by them, which both sound letters, and utter sounds’.¹⁰³ ‘[E]rror and misuse’ are ‘sounds principal friend’, but still the pen must register ‘the argument of reason, custom, and sound’.¹⁰⁴ The idea of an ideal written past under threat from orality is arguably a somewhat ingrained notion in the Renaissance (despite the often overt references to speech as primary and personal), and one that is manifest in the doomed experiments with quantitative verse in English carried out by Sidney, Spenser, and Campion; indeed, their failure can be explained partially by the fact that quantities had ‘ceased to be a

⁹⁹ Ibid. 34.

¹⁰⁰ Mulcaster, *Elementarie*, 13.

¹⁰¹ Ibid. 25-6.

¹⁰² Goldberg, *Writing Matter*, 29.

¹⁰³ Mulcaster, *Elementarie*, 105-6.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid. 116.

property of the spoken [Latin] language' since at least the fifth century.¹⁰⁵ But there are other projects at whose roots exist a distrust, or at least ambivalence about sound or speech in relation to the perfection of writing. Neil Rhodes has found just such a project in *Hamlet*:

As it rejects the world of speech, performance, and the media as unstable and inauthentic, the play, through its different versions and through the meditations of its central character, seems to search for a new authenticity in the concepts of a unified inner self and a stable, written text.¹⁰⁶

To a great extent, it is this attitude that impels sixteenth-century English orthographies. For Elizabethans, English was 'learned mainly as a spoken language...the uncertain orthography of which would have made it difficult to think of in primarily written terms', whereas Latin 'was a language which obeyed fixed rules of spelling and grammar (and hence a much more perfect language than English)'.¹⁰⁷ Yet this pristine world of written Latin was under perpetual threat by English, since, as Halpern notes, the 'speaking of Latin in schools—presumably the epitome of the Erasmian method—came under criticism because it produced bad habits of expression'.¹⁰⁸ In trying to teach grammar through 'conversing and consorting with those who speak correctly',¹⁰⁹ Erasmus unintentionally allowed for the 'linguistic properties of the vernaculars' to contaminate the writing and speaking of Latin.¹¹⁰

One of the reasons Erasmus, Smith, and Cheke wanted to excavate the ancient pronunciation of Greek and Latin was because it was being spoken with English voices.¹¹¹ The path to recovering these original sounds meant, paradoxically, placing sound in the position of an obstacle, while simultaneously giving texts the prominent or ideal role of guide in relation to sound; this helps to explain why an English phonetic alphabet emerges as a legacy of these men. For Smith, Hart, and Bullokar, then, their phonemic reforms, rather than privileging sound, actually make it a

¹⁰⁵ Derek Attridge, *Well-weighed Syllables: Elizabethan Verse in Classical Metres* (Cambridge, 1974), 21.

¹⁰⁶ Rhodes, *Shakespeare and the Origins*, 44.

¹⁰⁷ Attridge, *Well-weighed Syllables*, 76.

¹⁰⁸ Halpern, *Poetics*, 31; see also Joan Simon, *Education and Society in Tudor England* (Cambridge, 1966), 89-90.

¹⁰⁹ Erasmus, *De Ratione*, 669.

¹¹⁰ Halpern, *Poetics*, 31-2.

¹¹¹ The Elizabethan pronunciation of Latin is discussed by Attridge in *Well-weighed Syllables*, 21-9.

prisoner to an ideally fixed character. And, conversely, it is Mulcaster's 'Tarquinius' Sound, so beset by the scrivener's magistrates, who emerges from sixteenth-century orthographies as conversant with the letter rather than subject to it. Letters are thus 'certaine in their most vncertaintie', and 'tho one letter be vsed in diuerse waie, in co[n]trarie sounds: or soundish effects, ye canot auoid it by anie change that wilbe liked, seing no one else hath bene liked hitherto, but this which we vse, which custom doth allow'.¹¹² Under these conditions, Mulcaster's treatment of Z is telling, particularly with respect to the letter's proliferation in the orthographies of Hart and Bullokar. That is, even though Z is 'much heard', he is yet made subordinate to S, 'which is becom lieutenant generall to z, as gase, amase, rasur, where z, is heard, but, s, sene'.¹¹³ Sound, for Z anyway, has no bearing on its usage in an orthography, since custom has seen fit to use the written S for the [z] of Z.¹¹⁴ The empowerment of sound thus relies upon its association with the bodies that produce it: 'so likewise in the voice, tho in euerie one it passe thorough, by one mouth, one throte, one tung, one fense of tethe, and so furth, yet is it as different in euerie one, euen for giuing the sound, by reason of som diuersitie in the vocall instruments, as the faces be different in resembling like form'.¹¹⁵ (77). A universal alphabet, in other words, ignores the fact that, no matter what letter is given, the vagaries of sound—whether contributed by geography, class, gender, age, or physiology—will mediate its pronunciation.¹¹⁶

¹¹² Mulcaster, *Elementarie*, 110.

¹¹³ *Ibid.* 136.

¹¹⁴ Importantly, Z remains in Mulcaster's orthography because of both visual and aural exigencies, whereas in previous orthographies a sound that was already being served by two letters would have resulted in the expulsion of one letter. The main reason for keeping Z, according to Mulcaster, is that it provides an indication of a word's derivation from a foreign language, as in the medieval Latin and Old French etymology of 'azur' (136). Other letters, previously vilified, are restored by Mulcaster to their usual places. E, for example, cruelly used by Baret, is in the *Elementarie* 'a letter of maruellous vse in the writing of our tung', and, even when silent, is given the job of 'qualifying' the sounds of preceding vowels and consonants (123).

¹¹⁵ Mulcaster, *Elementarie*, 77.

¹¹⁶ The threat of puberty for a Renaissance boy actor's voice, for example, has been discussed by Gina Bloom (*Voice in Motion: Staging Gender, Shaping Sound in Early Modern England* (Philadelphia, 2007), 21-65). Bruce Smith discusses more generally 'brain-to-tongue-to-air-to-ear-to-brain communication, with a special interest in the middle part of that chain' (*Acoustic World*, 18-19).

Mulcaster experienced this particular aspect of sound's tyranny after only his first year in charge at Merchant Taylors' School. In August 1562, Merchant Taylors' entertained its first external examiners, who came to the conclusion that, although the pupils had 'moche p[ro]fyted' under Mulcaster's care, too many 'northern' accents were heard, and therefore the ushers and students 'did not pronounce so well as those that be brought up in the scholes of the south p[ar]tes of the realme'.¹¹⁷ The students, of course, were not from Cumbria, but the master was. Mulcaster (born in Carlisle) had preferred on the day of the examination to 'lay sick in his bed', but in a significant way he was very much present during this auspicious occasion. In making Cicero speak, the children could only revive Mulcaster speaking Cicero. The training of delivery, then, was always liable to disturb the notion of a stable and unified text (Latin in this case), especially since it was a task left completely to the discretion of the master. Inevitably so, it would seem: the sound effects so crucial to delivery—accent, pitch, volume, rhythm, and the various physiological components that govern them all—by their very nature resist textualization, requiring instead a body-to-body pedagogical trajectory. Hence, we can understand Erasmus' advice regarding 'conversing and consorting' as only tangentially relevant to grammar, of ultimate importance to rhetoric, but affecting both; or, as de Certeau might put it, the 'problematics of enunciation' created with the rules or 'propriety' of grammar an 'interplay of forces'.¹¹⁸

Sound and writing were both unstable entities in the Renaissance, and a unidirectional master-servant relationship was not always in evidence. In the classroom, for example, the transmission of a text from the master's mouth to the pen of the child was always under threat from his pronunciation, as Fred Schurink's recent discovery of an Elizabethan grammar school exercise book shows. The types of 'shortcomings in spelling and punctuation' in the boy's exercise book indicate, as

¹¹⁷ Merchant Taylors' Company, Minutes of Court, August 16, 1562; see F. W. M. Draper, *Four Centuries of Merchant Taylors' School 1561-1961* (London, 1962), 13. According to the Company's record, Sir William Harper (Lord Mayor) presided over this inaugural examination, which was carried out by Edmund Grindal (then Bishop of London), David Whitehead (puritan preacher), James Calhill (then Canon of Christ Church), and Thomas Watts (then Archdeacon of Middlesex). Visitations like this one would last from early morning until dinner, and students were judged primarily on their oral performances.

¹¹⁸ de Certeau, *Practice*, 39.

Schurink suggests, ‘either that he was taking down a dictation...or that he had heard or seen the words before and was writing them down as he sounded them out to himself’.¹¹⁹ ‘If you pronounce the word false’, warns a near-contemporary of Mulcaster’s, ‘which you would haue your childe to spell, hee spelleth it false: for hee spelleth according as it is pronounced to him, or as he vseth to pronounce’.¹²⁰ Text and voice work together here to create an unstable written artifact as much marred by the voice as it is of the text that supposedly reconstitutes the voice. At times, as when Roger Ascham declares in 1545 that ‘no man can wryte a thing so earnestlye, as whan it is spoken’,¹²¹ we are faced with the widely held Renaissance commonplace that speech preceded and ruled writing, but, at a practical level anyway, writing is increasingly viewed as a guide to speech, as when Erasmus notes that ‘nowadays we acquire our way of speaking not from the community at large but from the writings of learned men, so usage does not have the same prescriptive power’.¹²² Robert Robinson’s sentiments have great affinity with Mulcaster’s desire to fix sounds in the shrines of letters:

And though the voice be a more liuely kind of speech, yet in respect it is but onely a sleight accident made of so light a substance as the ayre, it is no sooner vttered but it is dissolued, euey simple sound doth expell and extinguish the sound going before it, so that the eare can haue but one touch of the ayre beating vpon it to declare the speech vnto the mind: but the hand though it giue a dumbe and a more dull kind of speech, yet it giues a more durable. A letter is a grosser substance, and therefore is of more continuance then a sound: what is once written still continueth though the hand ceaseth.¹²³

However, in another related and burgeoning sphere of linguistic media, the idea that printed books could lend to writing an aura of legitimization is responsible for the complaint that ‘every red-nosed rhymester is an author, every drunken man’s dream is a book’.¹²⁴ A similar sentiment is expressed by Mulcaster when he suggests that, if Sound were to rule the pen, ‘everie mans brain’ would be ‘everie ma[n]s book, and

¹¹⁹ Fred Schurink, ‘An Elizabethan Grammar School Exercise Book’, *Bodleian Library Record* 18 (2003), 189.

¹²⁰ John Brinsley, *Ludus Literarius: or, The Grammar Schoole* (London, 1612), 17.

¹²¹ Roger Ascham, *English Works*, ed. W. A. Wright (Cambridge, 1904), 27.

¹²² Erasmus, *De Copia*, trans. Betty I. Knott, in *Collected Works of Erasmus*, xxiv, ed. Craig R. Thompson (Toronto, 1978), 312-3.

¹²³ Robinson, *Pronunciation*, A4r-v.

¹²⁴ R. W., *Martine Mar-Sixtus* (London, 1591), A3v.

evrie priuat conceit a particular print'.¹²⁵ Bruce Smith observes in this passage a sign that 'book-making technology has been thoroughly acculturated to orality, if not orality to book-making technology'.¹²⁶

Certainly, it is a ubiquitous feature of Renaissance texts that they conceived of themselves as speech. Metaphors of sound, for example, occur throughout the *Elementarie*, whereby the text is conceived as uttered or spoken; here Mulcaster refers to the points made in *Positions*: 'being once handled there desire no further speche in any other treatis'; and later, when referring to ancient authors: 'But will ye hear the writers them selues speak?'; even the orthography, which supposedly deals in dead letters, speaks: 'But the ortografie calls for me'¹²⁷—its final chapter is titled 'The Peroration', the formal rhetorical term for the conclusion of a speech. William Barker has noted the various ways in which Mulcaster's antecedent work, *Positions*, is 'a showpiece of studied rhetoric', and its 'use of the figures of sound' lends a 'closeness' to its style;¹²⁸ many of his observations may extend to the style of the *Elementarie* as well. Even in a text that claims to make writing primary—by its choice of form, topical matter, curricular order, and, as Goldberg has highlighted, in its 'textual effects'—sound reverberates through its fixed characters.¹²⁹

But sound persists in the *Elementarie* in other ways as well, and here I must return one final time to the example of the letter Z. Despite his claims regarding the 'heard' Z and its subjugation to the 'sene' S, the sound of Z creates a variety of problems for Mulcaster; in fact, its sound means Mulcaster must adjust the appearance and frequency of various other letters. One of the justifications for keeping the letter C (deposed by Baret), for example, is its usefulness in distinguishing between an S that sounds [s], and an S that sounds [z], as in the different pronunciations of 'amase' and 'ace';¹³⁰ the use of the double S in spelling, as

¹²⁵ Mulcaster, *Elementarie*, 115-6.

¹²⁶ Smith, *Acoustic World*, 127.

¹²⁷ Mulcaster, *Elementarie*, 1, 9, 68.

¹²⁸ Barker, *Positions*, xlix-l.

¹²⁹ Throughout the *Elementarie*, Mulcaster puns on every possible meaning of 'sound' (nautical, acoustic, linguistic, exploratory, ontological, as noun, verb, adverb, or adjective), usually in connection with students. Typical is the statement 'he that is soundlie learned, will streight waie sound a scholer' (288).

¹³⁰ Mulcaster, *Elementarie*, 141.

in ‘glasse’, must be used to ensure the speaker does not mistakenly say ‘glā[z]e’ (since S was also used for [z]);¹³¹ and the silent E (castrated by Baret) is kept in Mulcaster’s alphabet in part because it tells speakers to pronounce the S in certain words as [z], as one should in E-ending words like ‘cruse, excuse, abuse’.¹³² Z, then, continues to hold sway over spelling not because of or with its visual character, but rather because of its sound—the presence of C, S, or E occurs, in many instances, to meet the exigencies of [z]. Mulcaster’s orthography continually oscillates in this manner between a conception of letters as completely divorced from sound, and one that finds sound and sight interacting (not always in conflict), as the effects of Z’s guerilla tactics with its lieutenant general S suggest.

So far, I have tried to show that the notion of a pristine orality is not always self-evident in the *Elementarie*, though neither is an ideal written world, despite the perfection and permanence it promises for language; both sound and sight mediate each other. In Mulcaster’s argument, then, orality and literacy can function in an adiaphoristic capacity, one contingent upon the various demands placed on sound and writing through the course of the treatise. Joel Altman’s thesis in *The Tudor Play of Mind* (1978), that Renaissance minds were taught to argue habitually on both sides of the question (*in utramque partem*),¹³³ is pertinent here, since it allows me to see, along with Rebecca Bushnell, ‘where one tendency of early modern humanist pedagogy always allowed for the realization of an opposite one, without undermining or effacing itself in turn’.¹³⁴ Though the pervasiveness of this ambivalence can risk blanket statements about Renaissance culture, it seems particularly relevant to Mulcaster’s attitude about sound and writing, and hence, I would argue, to his conception of a child’s nature. And here we return to Goldberg’s statement that ‘what is, what existence is, literally, is writing’.¹³⁵ For the remainder of this section, I would like to show that, in the *Elementarie*, something more than just writing creates speech.

The mind-as-wax analogy inherited by Mulcaster—from Plato, Plutarch, Quintilian, and Erasmus, among many others—informs his conception of a child’s

¹³¹ Ibid. 144.

¹³² Ibid. 124.

¹³³ See Cicero, *De Oratore*, 1.61.263.

¹³⁴ Rebecca Bushnell, *A Culture of Teaching: Early Modern Humanism in Theory and Practice* (Ithaca, 1996), 19.

¹³⁵ Goldberg, *Writing Matter*, 21.

nature, and it is indeed the act of stamping or engrafting this wax that governs the metaphorical relationship between education and children.¹³⁶ Questions remain, however, as to the nature of these inscriptions, and especially, their presence prior to the (re)inscription process of education. Quintilian thinks of these wax inscriptions as spoken, especially in connection with the art of memory;¹³⁷ in connection with Christianity, Thomas More, for example, proclaims that God, just as he did for the apostles before they wrote their books, ‘is at his liberty to geue his word in to hys chyrch euen yet at thys daye, by hys owne mouthe, thorow thinspyracyon of hys holy spyryte’, so that preaching will ‘wryte it i[n] ye hertes of ye herers’.¹³⁸ This conflation of sound and sight is also apparent in the *Elementarie* when Mulcaster advises parents to be wary of their voices in their home lest ‘vncomelie hearings’ make the ‘pliable minde...vnwiselie writhen to a disfigured shape’.¹³⁹ The inevitable advice given in pedagogical treatises from classical times to the Renaissance is that the child’s first caregiver must be chosen with care, since, as Mulcaster writes in *Positions*, children are apt to imitate ‘the maners and conditions of the nurse, with the fines or rudenes of her speeche’; similar justifications, are provided for the counsel to choose good playmates for children.¹⁴⁰ This last bit of advice especially takes us from the scrivener’s province to the province of delivery, where language (spoken and written) represents only one side of the wax tablet.

In the ‘reality’ asserted by the *Elementarie*, there are at least two provinces, for it is clear that Sound is a foreigner drafted into the scrivener’s province by its magistrates. Sound’s province is one where the ‘throthe’, ‘tung’, and ‘fense of tethe’ may live in peace, since their ‘diuersitie...hinder not the deliuerie of euerie mans minde’; only they must be kept away from ‘euerie mans pen in setting down of letters’.¹⁴¹ The mistake made by the magistrates (and Mulcaster is clear that it is ‘by their own commission’ that the magistrates ‘ouercharged’ Sound)¹⁴² is to allow a non-native of the written/writing province to rule what he could not by virtue of his

¹³⁶ Mulcaster, *Elementarie*, 25-6.

¹³⁷ See Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria*, 11.2.21, 33.

¹³⁸ Thomas More, *An apologye of Syr Thomas More knyght* (London, 1533), K3r-v.

¹³⁹ Mulcaster, *Elementarie*, 25.

¹⁴⁰ Mulcaster, *Positions*, 28.

¹⁴¹ Mulcaster, *Elementarie*, 77.

¹⁴² *Ibid.* 74.

disposition command. If it is true, as Goldberg suggests, that Mulcaster is unable ‘to lay out the course of education at its most elementary level’, it is not ‘because of the troubling place that writing occupies in its program’,¹⁴³ but rather, I would argue, the troubling place that delivery occupies in its program. That is, even before Mulcaster supplants reading with writing in his program of reading, writing, drawing, singing, and musical instruments, he has in fact supplanted the founding principle of this course (whether it be reading or writing) with exercise. Mulcaster’s curriculum actually begins with a list of recommended physical exercises in *Positions*, the first of which is ‘Of lowd speaking’ (Ch. 10). Before ‘speaking’, we have its volume, ‘lowd’; before its use in ‘utterance of speech’, it serves ‘for the deliverie of voice’.¹⁴⁴ It is to this regime that the *Elementarie* declares itself bound for performance,¹⁴⁵ and in spite of Mulcaster’s claims in Chapter 5 of *Positions*—that he will deal first with reading, then writing, and so on—he begins Chapter 6 with an explanation for his inclusion of athletics in a school curriculum, followed by several chapters outlining specific exercises and their usefulness.

Mulcaster is unique in the Renaissance for the extent to which he outlines, recommends, and justifies physical education. Erasmus, for example, feels that the concern of the teacher should not be to train athletes; ‘it is enough’, he writes, that students ‘should have good health’.¹⁴⁶ Elyot encourages exercise, but not as part of a school curriculum; Ascham mentions exercise in passing when he recommends in the *The Schoolmaster* (1570) that ‘to ioyne learnyng with cumlie exercises, Conto Baldesaer Castiglione in his booke Cortegiano, doth trimlie teache’. Earlier, in *Toxophilus* (1545), Ascham had only slightly more to add when his Toxophilus states that a ‘mans witte sore occupied in earnest studie must be as well recreated with some honest pastime, as the body sore laboured, must be refreshed with slepe and quietnesse, or els it can not endure very longe’.¹⁴⁷ As many other scholars have noted, Mulcaster’s particular enthusiasm for physical exercise is based on its role in

¹⁴³ Goldberg, *Writing Matter*, 7

¹⁴⁴ Mulcaster, *Positions*, 65.

¹⁴⁵ Mulcaster, *Elementarie*, 1.

¹⁴⁶ Erasmus, *De Pueris*, 323.

¹⁴⁷ Ascham, *English Works*, 218, 4.

preparation for the fifth part of rhetoric, *pronuntiatio et actio*.¹⁴⁸ The tradition connecting athletics with speech delivery originates in classical Greek and Roman educational practice, and is set out most explicitly in Quintilian's *Institutio Oratoria* (1.11).¹⁴⁹ No anecdote is more often quoted in defence of the well-exercised orator than Plutarch's account of Demosthenes, who remedied his speech faults through a variety of physical tasks.¹⁵⁰ Mulcaster, like many of his contemporaries, imagined Demosthenes as the ideal orator,¹⁵¹ and he appears in *Positions* when Mulcaster justifies the usefulness of walking: 'Demosthenes strengthened his voice by it, pronouncing his orations aloud, as he walked up against the hill'.¹⁵² But there are other activities called 'exercises' by Mulcaster that pertain more directly to sound (even if they do not necessarily fit with a modern notion of athletics). 'Of lowd speaking', for example, is 'dwelt' on longer than any other exercise 'bycause it is both the first in rancke, and the best meane to make good pronouncing of any thing'.¹⁵³ Sound volume is in fact the chief concern of the first three of Mulcaster's exercises: 'Of lowd speaking', 'Of loude singing', and 'Of loude and soft reading'; the fourth exercise, 'Of much talking and silence', pertains to speed of delivery and the strength of the tongue; and the fifth, 'Of laughing, and weeping', with expressing emotions, one of the most important activities of delivery.¹⁵⁴ Furthermore, exercises that are not related ostensibly to sound are nevertheless validated in part because of their relationship to delivery: walking, for instance, will help to 'deliver...long

¹⁴⁸ See Barker, *Positions*, xxiii; Bloom, *Voice in Motion*, 31-9; Ursula Potter, 'Performing Arts in the Tudor Classroom', in Kermodé et al (eds.), *Tudor Drama Before Shakespeare*, 147; and Rhodes, *Shakespeare and the Origins*, 23. For the course of his physical education program, Mulcaster borrows heavily from Girolamo Mercuriale's *De arte gymnastica libri sex* (1569), some important background for which is provided by Barker (*Positions*, xxii-viii).

¹⁴⁹ This tradition is explicated in chapter 2.

¹⁵⁰ See Plutarch, *Demosthenes* (in *Lives*, VII, trans. Bernadotte Perrin (Cambridge, Mass., 1958), and Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria*, 11.3.54, 130.

¹⁵¹ Mulcaster, *Elementarie*, 21.

¹⁵² Mulcaster, *Positions*, 93.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.* 68.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.* 65-76. The relationship between delivery and the emotions is discussed below and at greater length in subsequent chapters.

periodes', and running, especially done while holding the breath, will prevent the 'distorsion or writhing of the mouth'.¹⁵⁵

Galenic medicine, and the control of bodily humors provide justification for all eighteen of Mulcaster's exercises; Mulcaster's knowledge of and interest in 'Physick' may well have been passed on to him by John Caius, the scholar and physician for whom Mulcaster was Latin Secretary at Cambridge from about 1553 to 1554.¹⁵⁶ Before setting out his exercise regime, Mulcaster examines the 'partes' of human anatomy, 'whether we can discern them by their working, and properties, that thereby the exercise may be picket, which is most proper to helpe such effectes'.¹⁵⁷ The four principal 'partes' or organs of the body, according to conventional medicine, were the genitals, liver, heart, and brain, but, significantly, Mulcaster substitutes the lungs for the genitals.¹⁵⁸ It is this particular interest in the lungs, perhaps, that leads Mulcaster to include 'holding the breath' (chapter 15) in his exercise regime: 'Though all men can tell, what a singular benefit breathing is, wherunder the use of our life is comprehended: yet they can best tell, which have it most at commaundment'. 'Now in breathing', he continues, 'there be three things to be considered, the taking in, the letting out, and the holding in of the breath'.¹⁵⁹ These statements understandably

¹⁵⁵ Ibid. 93-7. See Erasmus, *De Recta Pronuntiatione*: referring to the reading aloud of poetry, Erasmus writes that 'the poet can be said to "form boys' mouths"' (371); 'Another defect, and one which is certainly not attractive, is the hesitancy of speech—a sort of tremor or spasm of the mouth—which makes people repeat syllables' (406).

¹⁵⁶ See DeMolen, *Richard Mulcaster*, 6. Caius published five Latin translations of works by Galen, and Thomas Linacre (a close friend of Caius) provided the first English translation of the Greek physician.

¹⁵⁷ Mulcaster, *Positions*, 58.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid. 'Was it a schoolmaster's sense of delicacy', wonders Barker, 'that prompted Mulcaster to substitute lungs for the generative organs?' (*Positions*, 337n). I would suggest that the displacement of the genitals is further evidence of this schoolmaster's abiding interest in rhetorical delivery.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid. 76-7. Mulcaster borrows from Galen's treatise, *On the Use of Breathing*: 'What is the use of breathing? That it is not a trifling use is clear from our inability to survive for even the shortest time after it has stopped. Hence also it is obvious that its importance is not for any particular and partial activity, but for life itself' (in *Galen on Respiration and the Arteries*, ed. and trans. David J. Furley and J. S. Wilke (Princeton, 1984), 81). Mulcaster's interest in the lungs was such that he incorporated new developments in medicine into his reworking of Galen and Mercuriale. A near contemporary of Mulcaster, Realdus Columbus (1516?-1559), found that 'blood passes from the right side of the heart to the left through the lungs—not, as Galen had believed in a thin and sluggish stream, but rapidly and

prompted C. S. Lewis to muse that one ‘cannot read Mulcaster long without smiling’,¹⁶⁰ but I believe such passages confirm the schoolmaster’s very serious preoccupation with the concerns of teaching rhetorical delivery. For proposing ‘holding the breath’ he provides the following justification: ‘when we hold and kepe in our breath which is of judgement, and not of such neede as the other two, and done upon cause to helpe nature therby: we must neither fetch aire inward, nor send those smoky excrements outward’. Mulcaster goes on to say that it helps ‘the ear in listening’ and assists the ‘weaknesse of the tongue, or any vocalle instrument’; in short, breathing is not only crucial to life, but, when ‘judgement’ or ‘commaundment’ is worked upon it (through holding), it is also integral to the process of refining the individual through the exercise of reason and of the language that distinguishes him from beasts—and from other men. But ‘holding the breath’ is also a silence, when the ‘vocal instruments’ are suspended and when, for a moment, the breath that speaks is fixed. The association of breath and speech is as useful here as its association with the soul in the body, for Mulcaster says in the *Elementarie* that all languages have a soul, called a prerogative, that is the lifeblood of speech; by it languages are allowed to change, to be mutable, and yet not decay. Mulcaster’s exercise regime, in other words, provides the means for sound to retake control (through ‘commaundment’) of a language that he nonetheless wishes to fix into ‘aspectable figures’.

Metaphorically, lungs may stand in Mulcaster’s works at the nexus of orality and literacy, but they do so literally as well; their regulation of ‘naturall heat’ functions in all of his exercises,¹⁶¹ which, in turn, has direct significance on sound, or delivery: ‘The thing that maketh the voice bigge’, insists Levinus Lemnius, ‘is partlie the wydenes of the breast and vocall Artery, and partly the inwarde or internall heate, from whence proceedeth the earnest affections, vehemente motions, and feruent desyers of the mynde’.¹⁶² So, although Mulcaster’s recommendations have language as their end, by focusing on non-linguistic qualities such as volume, rhythm, tone, and breathing, they tend always to de-contextualize sound from speech. Sound, in effect, trains sound: what is being spoken, sung, or read in the first three exercises, for

copiously’ (Ibid. 43). And Mulcaster, in justifying the importance of exercise, maintains that the ‘vitalle spirite’ of bloode is sent ‘hote’ and ‘hurling’ through the lungs (*Positions*, 76).

¹⁶⁰ C. S. Lewis, *English Literature in the Sixteenth Century: Excluding Drama* (Oxford, 1954), 348.

¹⁶¹ Mulcaster, *Positions*, 76.

¹⁶² Levinus Lemnius, *The Touchstone of Complexions*, trans. Thomas Newton (London, 1576), F5v.

example, is of secondary importance to the qualities of volume attached to it. Yet not only for oratory, but for learning in general, exercise will make a ‘dry, strong, hard, and therefore a long lasting body: and by the favour therof to have an active, sharp, wise and therewith all a well learned soule’.¹⁶³ If Mulcaster’s curriculum of physical education tells us anything, it is that perfect nature is not assumed before an inscription occurs; sound, divorced from language, can alter both imperfect and perfect nature through training (modulating sound) to render it amenable to the act of stamping or engrafting. Something other than writing creates speech, and the phrase ‘allyed naturallie to learning’ must be held loosely.

It is with this politics of pedagogy in mind that we can understand Mulcaster’s claim in the *Elementarie*’s dedicatory epistle to Leicester that he has ‘sou[n]ded the thing by the depth of our tung, and planted [his] rules vpon our ordinarie custom’.¹⁶⁴ A tyrant sound is exercised throughout the *Elementarie*, and, as the author is at pains to declare, the work presents an orthography that cannot be divorced from *Positions*: ‘my former book, which I name Positions, did carie me on to promis it, and binds me to perform it. But for the better linking of this book to that, seing this is nothing else, but the performing of one pece’.¹⁶⁵ The very premise upon which his curriculum of athletics is based turns out, in fact, to be the metaphor that guides Mulcaster’s *Elementarie*, for this treatise is said to act in the same exemplary capacity as Demosthenes, Theodorus, and Roscius¹⁶⁶—figures, in other words, all famous for their skill in delivery, or their ability to train orators in the skills of delivery: ‘the infinite commoditie of a good and perfect Elementarie, is as trew in the train to learning, as either Catoes was in husbandrie, or Demosthenes his in oratorie’.¹⁶⁷ Therefore, by making the demands of the *Elementarie* analogous with the demands of Demosthenes, Mulcaster highlights nurture rather than nature, for, as Plutarch records, Demosthenes was not naturally disposed to learning, and only through exercise was he able to succeed: ‘it was thought that he was not a man of good natural parts, but that his ability and power were the product of toil’.¹⁶⁸ Such sentiments drive

¹⁶³ Mulcaster, *Positions*, 34.

¹⁶⁴ Mulcaster, *Elementarie*, Epistle.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.* 1.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.* 20-3.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.* 21.

¹⁶⁸ Plutarch, *Demosthenes*, 19.

Mulcaster's idea that 'No one tung is more fine then other naturallie, but by industrie of the speaker'.¹⁶⁹ This is why, in spite of the displacement of reading by writing that Goldberg suggests, Mulcaster puns in the *Elementarie* on one inescapable feature of its birth: 'And not to leaue exercise quite vntuched, seing it is mere Elementarie'.¹⁷⁰ Just as the *Elementarie* cannot be taken in isolation from *Positions*, so writing—and an inscribed nature—can never quite escape from a sound that nurtures even an imperfect nature.

Like *Positions*, the *Elementarie* does not aim to deal with actual practice (not even on methods for teaching writing to children), but rather to 'entreat...of certain generall considerations, which concern the hole Elementarie',¹⁷¹ so that both sound and writing form the foundations of reading, writing, drawing, and music. (Or, at least the destabilization of the mere idea of 'foundation' is one that occurs as much because of sound as writing, since both seem to undermine the curricular sequence that Mulcaster first asserts in *Positions*, chapter 5.) Nonetheless, it bears mentioning that the fullest account we have of prescriptive pedagogical advice in Mulcaster is his physical exercise regime, which describes the benefit of each activity, its relation to the curriculum, how often and when to embark on exercises in a school day, and how to adjust them to suit the needs of each child depending on their age, weight, height, inclination, how much they have eaten, and so forth. It is irrelevant to this section whether Spenser, for example, ran up and down Suffolk Lane with held breath, but it is important to point out that the politics that lurk within the curricular reforms of *Positions* (as well as, then, the *Elementarie* which 'performs' it) are such that brutality and inequality are not to be assumed as universal or absolute.¹⁷² An exercise regime

¹⁶⁹ Mulcaster, *Elementarie*, 267.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid. 28. Erasmus imagines a similar trajectory when he notes that English parents are known to teach children archery before the alphabet; however, he admires the ingenuity of one particular parent who combined exercise and language education by inscribing letters on his son's bow (*De Pueris Instituendis*, 339). Archery is one of the physical exercises recommended by Mulcaster (*Positions*, 106-9), his particular interest in this sport owing perhaps to his involvement in Prince Arthur's Knights, a fellowship of archery enthusiasts 'in and about the citie of London' (108). Elizabeth I's tutor, Roger Ascham, wrote a treatise on archery (*Toxophilus* (1545)).

¹⁷¹ Ibid. Epistle.

¹⁷² However patronising we may find Mulcaster's recommendations (*Positions*, Chapter 38), it should be remembered that they challenged the prevailing Aristotelian notion of women as naturally inferior in intellect (see Alice T. Friedman, 'The Influence of Humanism on the Education of Girls and Boys in

designed to ease the boredom of sitting still for eight hours a day,¹⁷³ to purposefully engage with juvenile interests (ball games, archery, spinning tops, fencing), to train the voice (for drama and oratory), to keep the humors appropriately balanced, and to make wits ‘allyed’ to learning (rather than simply find such wits), includes dimensions of play and discipline, agency and inscription. It is this regime that is insinuated within every step of the *Elementarie*’s province of writing.

All qualities thereof whether belonging to the bodie, bycause their executio[n] is by it, or partaining to the minde, bycause their feat is in it, must nedes co[n]fesse themselues to be so auanced by this Elementarie, as in dede theie were nothing, if it were not.¹⁷⁴

To be sure, even the few attempts to dissociate his orthography from the sounding body of *Positions* are marked by failure; Mulcaster, for instance, is unable to distance himself from the importance of ‘nurture’ that governs *Positions*, so that the impulse to assume ‘perfect’ nature is frequently thwarted:

Neither is the question at this time of anie naturall inclination, but of artificiall helps, and those not for the bodie, which point is for Gymnastik and exercise of the bodie, but onelie for the minde, tho wrought by the bodie, which is for these principles, and the Elementarie learning: I saie therefore that these fiue principles... which make this hole Elementarie, besides exercise, which is

Tudor England’, *History of Education Quarterly* 25 (1985), 57-70, and Constance Jordan, ‘Feminism and the Humanists: The Case of Sir Thomas Elyot’s *Defence of Good Women*’, *Renaissance Quarterly* 36 (1983), 181-201. ‘Mulcaster is arguing against a tradition of misogyny which in his day found expression in philosophical commentaries, medical and legal treatises’ (Barker, *Positions*, xxxi). Though limiting, Mulcaster’s reforms were relatively positive towards women, and have more in common with Sir Thomas Elyot’s *The Defence of Good Women* (1540) than Vives’ assumption in 1523 that education would be a ‘nourishment for the maliciousness of [a woman’s] nature’ (*Instruction of a Christian Woman*, trans. Richard Hyrde (London, 1540), 48). With respect to class and ethnicity, there was obviously a great deal of inequality in terms of demographic representation in Elizabethan schools, but in the case of Merchant Taylors’ School, the statutes read as follows: ‘There shallbe taught in the said schoole children of all nations & countryes indifferently’ (see Draper, *Four Centuries*, 246). Mulcaster’s school also stipulated that the master ‘shall not refuse to take, receave, and teach in the said schoole freely one hundredth schollers, parcell of the said number of two hundredth & ffyfty schollers, being poore men’s sonnes’ (Ibid. 243).

¹⁷³ ‘Wherfore as stilnesse hath her direction by order in schooles, so must stirring be directed by well appointed exercise. And as quiet sitting helps ill humors to breede, and burden the bodie: so must much stirring make a waie to discharge the one, and to disburden the other. Both which helps, as I most earnestly require at the parent, and maisters hand’ (Mulcaster, *Positions*, 35).

¹⁷⁴ Mulcaster, *Elementarie*, 29.

Elementarie to, tho handled elsewhere, be the onelie artificiall means to make a minde capable of all the best qualities, which ar to be engrafted in the minde, tho to be executed by the bodie.¹⁷⁵

Children, therefore, were signs to be read, sounds to be heard, but they were also bodies that could shape themselves and be shaped in order to ‘frame their tender wits for the matter of their learning’,¹⁷⁶ an affirmation of the Aristotelian ‘common sympathie’ between ‘soule and bodie’.¹⁷⁷ A pedagogy that supposedly sought only for those ‘allyed naturallie to learning’ is thus continually disrupted by the fluid body—with its ‘throate’, ‘tung’, and ‘fense of tethe’—that always comes ‘bound’ with the *Elementarie*, ready to toil like the unnaturally allied Demosthenes.¹⁷⁸

The idea that ‘what is, what existence is, literally, is writing’ is related to the now common assumption that language constitutes all that we are, one that has been mapped on to literary projects for some time. Agency thus becomes in all respects a myth, a convenient fiction with which we protect ourselves from the rather inconvenient truth that we are really just machines constructed by linguistic epistemes. ‘Orality’ in this myth has generally tended to stand in for subjectivity, presence, movement; ‘literacy’ for objectivity, absence, fixity.¹⁷⁹ However, in this analysis, sound and writing overlap, and the opposition of orality and literacy breaks down to reveal a process of mutual mediation and construction, such that metaphors

¹⁷⁵ Ibid. 27.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid. 4.

¹⁷⁷ Mulcaster, *Positions*, 51.

¹⁷⁸ Mary Thomas Crane’s comments are useful here: ‘Unlike “discipline,” which connotes a teleology of control, “exercise” is more open-ended, naming the movement or action through which the body learns. “Exercise” could, as the antitheatrical writers suggest, be as easily employed for bad ends as good ones. But more important, it gestures toward a prediscursive kinaesthetic form of learning that need not necessarily bear a representational, or ideological force’ (‘What Was Performance?’, *Criticism* 43 (2001), 178-9)

¹⁷⁹ Bruce Smith’s *Acoustic World* is concerned with the ‘existential moment’ of ‘Every act of speaking and listening’, a moment that ‘affirms (1) the selfhood of the speaker, (2) the selfhood of the listener, and (3) the culture that conjoins them’ (21-2; see Paul Zumthor, *Oral Poetry: An Introduction* (Minneapolis, Minn., 1990), 60-63). Smith’s first chapter provides useful background to the issue of orality and literacy in terms of presence or agency, most interestingly when he states that presence ‘is what a given culture *takes to be presence*’ (12; see Harold Love, *Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford, 1993), 144).

of inscription (and their attendant ontological effects of absolute determination) do not preclude agency and presence. Thus, despite Mulcaster's best efforts to delimit sound in detailing his methods of spelling, this tyrant persists within its proscribed medium in ways analogous to a 'selfhood' within, as de Certeau puts it, 'a terrain imposed on it and organized by the law of a foreign power'.¹⁸⁰ Furthermore, the *Elementarie* gives license to this 'selfhood' by declaring its subjection to *Positions*, a work that cannot adhere to its promised course of study without first introducing into the curriculum a series of non-linguistic forms of expression (ones that turn out to be vital to the construction of a nature able to receive and perform learning). These non-linguistic exercises of volume, tone, and rhythm are therefore linked inexorably to agency, since they bring to Mulcaster's orthography the same attribute (sound) that threatens the fixity and permanence of his spelling. What this teacher legitimates, then, is a space for children to be heard, even those children not naturally disposed to education, and even within an ideological framework that may want its reality seen and not heard. This is the story of a tactful, sounding [z] interacting meaningfully with its programmed, visual S.

2. *Pronuntiatio et Actio*

The foregoing discussion has bearing not only on how children were trained in the classroom, as I will soon show, but also on the uniqueness of Mulcaster's regime. As T. W. Baldwin showed many years ago, a record of the library at Merchant Taylors' School shortly after Mulcaster's tenure reveals a collection of texts little different than would be found at most Elizabethan grammar schools.¹⁸¹ Moreover, with few exceptions, the statutes and curriculum of Merchant Taylors' were identical to those of St Paul's.¹⁸² Textually speaking, in other words, Mulcaster's regime was probably that of many others in the realm, but acoustically speaking, it was his own. This was as much to his students' detriment as to their gain, as the first examiners' report on 'northern' sound shows; and while a relative and growing uniformity in the curricula of the Elizabethan classroom benefits the researcher making inferences about individual schools from the statutes of others, statements about the uniqueness of

¹⁸⁰ de Certeau, *Practice*, 37.

¹⁸¹ Baldwin, *Shakespeare's Small Latine*, 1, 421.

¹⁸² *Ibid.* 1, 415-28; see also Draper, *Four Centuries*, 241.

certain classrooms suffer from the long-absent sounds upon which they are predicated.

As such, my aim is to describe only the conditions of orality in Mulcaster's classroom, especially as they pertain to delivery, that aspect of school training by which students were primarily judged. Hence, although Lynn Enterline has recently argued that Renaissance schoolmasters believed, like Lacan, that 'language precedes and shapes character rather than the other way around',¹⁸³ my reading of orality and literacy in the *Elementarie* suggests that in Mulcaster's habit of thought, the non-linguistic aspects of delivery in fact took precedence. Just as Erasmus' Bear would claim that the steps to teaching language 'are making sound, reading, and finally writing',¹⁸⁴ I argue that the students at Merchant Taylors' were taught by a master who held the mechanics of language production to be a study in itself, one he perhaps esteemed more highly than many if not all of his contemporaries. Language, in Mulcaster's thought, is shaped by bodies rather than the other way around, and it was in the performance of language that his students learned that words were inseparable from the concerns of delivery. Oral performance included, of course, both voice and gesture, and it will be the remaining task of this chapter to describe why and how this skill was trained. Subsequent chapters will trace the tactics of delivery in the works of Mulcaster's students, for in between the 'space to be heard' (and 'seen') and the students' written compositions that recorded this space stands a moving and speaking schoolmaster who mediated both.

When, in *Brutus*, Cicero outlined the faults Sextus Titius had learned from his teachers, he reflected on 'what care must be used to avoid anything in style of action or speaking which can be made absurd by imitation'.¹⁸⁵ Whether it was the master's faulty pronunciation, or whether it was the fault of his delegation of responsibilities, Merchant Taylors' first report highlights an issue very much at the heart of Renaissance manuals of rhetoric, courtliness, and education. Indeed, the issue of who was teaching children language (and especially its delivery) was, for a variety of reasons, fraught with some degree of anxiety in sixteenth-century England. In one

¹⁸³ Enterline, 'Rhetoric, Discipline', 175.

¹⁸⁴ Erasmus, *De Recta Pronuntiatione*, 392. On the oral process of learning to read in the Elizabethan grammar school, see David Cressy, *Literacy and the Social Order: Reading and Writing in Tudor and Stuart England* (Cambridge, 1980), esp. pp. 20-22.

¹⁸⁵ Cicero, *Brutus*, trans. G. L. Hendrickson (London, 1961), 62.225.

respect, this concern stemmed from notions of civility and the capacity of English to express this refinement, as Puttenham explains: ‘There is no greater difference betwixt a civil and brutish utterance than clear distinction of voices, and the most laudable languages are always most plain and distinct, and the barbarous most confused and indistinct. It is therefore requisite that leisure be taken in pronunciation’.¹⁸⁶

Puttenham’s famous injunction regarding the geography of acceptable English (within sixty miles of London) pertains to Harper and Grindal’s observations of Mulcaster’s ‘northern borne’ ushers, and also to an increasing awareness that a language’s potential to express civility rested on the abilities of its users to find and imitate the most ‘plaine and distinct’ speakers. Anxieties over dialects gave way predictably to methods of transmission, for if a child’s introduction to his language proceeded from the imitation of uneducated and provincial nurses, then he would suffer accordingly for its attendant defects. Sir Thomas Elyot in 1531 was careful to advise parents of the gentle-born to choose only nurses who could ‘speke none englisse but that, whiche is cleane, polite, perfectly, and articulately pronounced’, or else suffer the consequences of a child in possession of ‘corrupte and foule pronunciation’.¹⁸⁷ Fifty years later, Mulcaster would agree, when he lamented the state of a child who has been infected ‘with the maners and conditions of the nurse, with the sines or rudeness of her speche’.¹⁸⁸ Drawing together notions of civility and barbarity with ones of language acquisition and transmission, Spenser’s Irenius speculates as to why Irish continues to be spoken amongst the English: ‘young children be like apes, which will affect and imitate what they see done before them,

¹⁸⁶ George Puttenham, *The Art of English Poesy*, ed. Frank Whigham and Wayne Rebhorn (Ithaca, 2007), 163. Anxieties about English dialects, and in connection with Puttenham’s ideas, are discussed by Paula Blank in *Broken English: Dialects and the Politics of Language in Renaissance Writings* (London, 1996), esp. chapters 3 and 4. ‘If there is any single “politics of language” that can be identified with Renaissance poetic practice’, writes Blank, ‘it surely lies in the effort of each individual writer to discriminate among versions of the language and to authorize preferred forms’ (6).

¹⁸⁷ Sir Thomas Elyot, *The Boke named the Governour*, ed. Donald W. Rude (London, 1992), 33.

¹⁸⁸ *Positions*, 28. ‘Again and again in the literature of the period’, notes O’Day, ‘we read that the school has within it the power to counteract the evil influences of family and society upon the child’ (*Education and Society*, 25).

especially by their nurses whom they love so well, they moreover draw into themselves together with their suck even the nature and disposition of their nurses'.¹⁸⁹

The use of a nurse's milk as a metonym for learning was not a novel one, of course. Cicero used it in his *Tusculan Disputations*, where he laments the existence of children who 'drank in deception' of their 'nurse's milk'.¹⁹⁰ Elsewhere, in *Brutus*, he used the trope with the linguistic impetus that was to find particular purchase in the Renaissance:

It does certainly make a great difference what sort of speakers one is daily associated with at home, with whom one has been in the habit of talking from childhood, how one's father, one's attendant, one's mother too speaks. We have read the letters of Cornelia, mother of the Gracchi; they make it plain that her sons were nursed not less by their mother's speech than at her breast.¹⁹¹

The repetition of this idea in the Renaissance occurs in part because of a perception (slowly changing) that for English to gain a status equal to Latin depended on achieving the apparent standardization and immutability of the latter—the variety of dialects and accents, a lack of standardized orthography, and a pejorative association with barbarism being amongst the chief obstacles preventing this sense of permanence from occurring for English. Neil Rhodes summarises: 'What all this means for the Elizabethans is that the debate about the inadequacy of English, and consequently the cultural status of the nation, was closely tied to the expressive capacity of a language still conceived primarily in oral terms'.¹⁹²

In a work dedicated to teaching correct pronunciation, Erasmus wrote that the 'quality of its education is the main factor in a country's progress or decline'.¹⁹³ The practice of using oral performances as the primary objects of adjudication in a school's external examination is also consistent with an idea of language 'conceived primarily in oral terms', but of course, many of the child's speeches would be in

¹⁸⁹ Edmund Spenser, *View of the State of Ireland*, ed. Andrew Hadfield and Willy Maley (Oxford, 1997), 71.

¹⁹⁰ Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations*, trans. J. E. King (London, 1996), 3.1.2.

¹⁹¹ Cicero, *Brutus*, 63.210-11.

¹⁹² Rhodes, *Shakespeare and the Origins*, 130.

¹⁹³ Erasmus, *De Recta Pronuntiatione*, 370.

Latin, a language thought to emanate from an ideal written past.¹⁹⁴ The nexus of oral and written media has already been discussed, but no matter how the source of a speech was conceived, it was its performance that ultimately decided merit, and this, of course, involved voice and gesture. Thus, schools were anxious to hire masters and ushers who were not only well educated, but also graceful in behaviour and speech.¹⁹⁵ The first statute of Merchant Taylors' declares:

This maister shalbe chosen by the right worshipful the maister, wardens, and assistants, of the said company of Marchaunt-Taylors, with such advise & counsel of well learned men as they can gett; a man in body whole, sober, discrete, honest, verteous, & learned, in good & cleane Latine l.rature, & also, in Greeke, yf such may be gotten.¹⁹⁶

Obviously, a child's post-nursery habits would be re-shaped by the imitation of his master's voice and body, first in the petty (or elementary) school, and then in the grammar school, and eventually—to a lesser extent—in the university. Vives, who said that language was the 'shrine of erudition', maintained that masters should never say anything that is 'not safe to imitate';¹⁹⁷ and Erasmus, who believed that the 'first task of education should be to teach children to speak clearly and accurately', provided a tacit warning to masters (or employers) that, while 'the ability to imitate' is strongest in children, their 'urge to imitate evil is considerably stronger than the urge to imitate the good'.¹⁹⁸ Writing much later, though reflecting on earlier practice,

¹⁹⁴ Derek Attridge argues that for the Elizabethans, Latin was conceived of as both spoken and written, though with the phonemic reformers, a desire for English to hold the same integrity as Latin feeds a notion of an ideal written past.

¹⁹⁵ Edmund Coote's *The English School-maister* (1596)—which was written for those 'vnskillfull, which desire to make vse of it'—requested that, if 'men and women of trade' wished to teach their children, they should from time to time seek out 'carefull Ministers' to 'heare their children pronounce' ((London, 1630), A2r, A3r).

¹⁹⁶ See Draper, *Four Centuries*, 241. Ruthin's statutes (1574) call for a master of 'sound Learning and good Manners', and Chigwell's (1629) for one 'of a grave Behaviour, of a sober and honest Conversation' (D. W. Sylvester, *Educational Documents 800-1816* (London, 1970), 112, 119).

¹⁹⁷ Vives, *On Education*, 91, 55. See Cicero, *Brutus*, 62.225.

¹⁹⁸ Erasmus, *De Pueris*, 319, 308. Though 'good' and 'evil' in this passage connote moral behaviour, we should not forget that the ability to speak eloquently was itself a sign of morality for Renaissance pedagogues, as Vives explains: 'Let all eloquence stand in full battle array for goodness and piety, against crime and wickedness...Prudence without uprightness is wickedness, and dangerous deceitfulness. Therefore true and genuine rhetoric is the expression of wisdom, which cannot be separated from the righteousness and piety' (*On Education*, 185).

Charles Hoole stressed that the ‘teacher must be careful to give every letter its distinct and clear sound, that the childe may get it from his voice...seeing Pronunciation is that that sets out a man, and is sufficient of it self to make one an Oratour’.¹⁹⁹ It is here, where clear sound becomes involved more directly with oratorical performance, that we may be able to identify two albeit related strands of expression, each of which may be distinguished by their respective contexts.

The link between a ‘clear sound’ and ‘Pronunciation’ (or, the skills of an ‘Oratour’) may not be as obvious as it first seems. Sound was certainly integral to ‘Pronunciation’, but, for example, Puttenham’s ‘clear and distinct voices’—as determining factors in the negotiation of civility and barbarity—really belonged to a tradition of polite and eloquent conversation as discussed in courtesy books: Castiglione’s *Cortegiano* (1527), and Guazzo’s *Civile Conversatione* (1574) for example. This is one strand of expression, and it has in its later genealogy the elocution movement of the mid-eighteenth century, which taught expression largely for the sake of being well-spoken.²⁰⁰ However, Hoole’s ‘Pronunciaton’, or *pronuntiatio* as a skill in oratory, belonged chiefly to the province of rhetoric rather than courtesy, and its context was education (traditionally with a looming political career in mind) rather than simply polite society. In purpose, too, rhetorical *pronuntiatio* differed from courteous pronunciation in that the former was designed specifically to move an audience, whereas the latter was designed to display civility. Cicero’s distinction is useful:

The power of speech in the attainment of propriety is great, and its function is twofold: the first is oratory [*contentio*]; the second, conversation [*sermo*]. Oratory is the kind of discourse to be employed in pleadings in court and speeches in popular assemblies and in the senate; conversation should find its natural place in social gatherings, in informal discussions, and in intercourse with friends...²⁰¹

¹⁹⁹ Charles Hoole, *A New Discovery of the Old Art of Teaching Schoole* (1660), ed. E. T. Campagnac (London, 1913), 3-4. Hoole’s treatise is somewhat late for present purposes, though it does reflect much earlier teaching practice—the title page claims that Hoole wrote the work ‘twenty three years ago’ and that it represents ‘14 years’ of practice at Rotherham School.

²⁰⁰ See, for example, James Burgh’s *the Art of Speaking* (1761), Thomas Sheridan’s *A Course of Lectures on Elocution* (1762), the anonymous *A Help to Elocution and Eloquence* (1770), William Enfield’s *The Speaker* (1774), and their treatment in Rhodes, *Shakespeare and the Origins*, esp. pp. 185-88.

²⁰¹ Cicero, *De Officiis*, trans. Walter Miller (London, 2001), 1.37.132.

Though these threads of expression certainly overlap in works by Elyot and Peacham, for example, the courtesy book genre really addresses the second of Cicero's 'two sorts', while the humanist programme of training in eloquence for public service focused its efforts on the first.

For now, however, it is important to acknowledge that by 'Pronunciation', classical and early modern rhetoricians meant not merely clear sound, but rather the appropriate modulation of voice and gesture as should be suited to the words and emotions of a speech. 'Utterance or Pronunciation', wrote Abraham Fraunce, 'hath two parts, Voyce and Gesture, the one pertaining to the eare, the other belonging to the eye'.²⁰² Schools would have been interested not only in a master's clarity of voice, but also in his grace in bodily movement (the 'maners and conditions' of Mulcaster's and Spenser's nurses)—a double consideration which shows that, in the process of refining a child through his expression, pedagogues were concerned with 'clear sound' in so far as it led to further refinement and training in rhetorical delivery. Accordingly, while humanist educators believed steadfastly in the power of nurturing, there was yet a significant regard given to the estimation of a child's natural abilities even before training began. The assessment of the child's physical attributes is especially relevant to delivery. Not that 'art cannot in some cases give polish', notes Cicero's Crassus, but 'in the first place natural talent is the chief contributor to the virtue of oratory'; and this includes a 'ready tongue, the ringing tones, strong lungs, vigour, suitable build and shape of face and body as a whole'.²⁰³ Learning, without the ability to deliver it, was useless. This is why, for example, 'service to the common weal' was emphasized by Mulcaster throughout his pedagogical works as the only worthy outcome of an education. Nonetheless, as has already been discussed, Mulcaster seems to have held 'nurture' in a higher estimation than many of his predecessors; the 'strong lungs' and 'suitable build' of Crassus becomes in *Positions* the subject of nurture rather than simply the determinative signs of nature.

²⁰² Abraham Fraunce, *The Arcadian Rhetorike*, ed. Ethel Seaton (Oxford, 1950), 106. See also Thomas Wilson, in *The Art of Rhetoric (1560)*, ed. Peter E. Medine (University Park, 1994): 'pronunciation is an apt ordering both of the voice, countenance, and all the whole body' (241). Fraunce's turn of phrase is almost a direct translation of Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria*, 11.3.14. The anonymous *Rhetorica ad Herennium* (3.11.20) offers the same qualification.

²⁰³ Cicero, *De Oratore*, 1.25.114-15.

So, then, while an education in delivery was of course related to the issue of ‘civil and brutish’ utterance, its primary aim was still to empower speakers in the project of civilizing the realm. The importance of delivery in this regard is outlined by Thomas Wilson, here in a passage describing the origins of rhetoric:

...these appointed of God called them together by utterance of speech and persuaded with them what was good, what was bad, and what was gainful for mankind. And although at first the rude could hardly learn, and either for strangeness of the thing would not gladly receive the offer, or else for lack of knowledge could not perceive the goodness, yet being somewhat drawn and delighted with the pleasantness of reason and the sweetness of utterance, after a certain space they became through nurture and good advisement of wild, sober; of cruel, gentle; of fools, wise; and of beasts, men.²⁰⁴

Perceptible in Wilson’s genesis is an elevation of the final part of rhetoric, delivery, over the four remaining parts of invention, arrangement, style, and memory. Morality is conveyed chiefly through the ‘utterance of speech’, or ‘sweetness of utterance’, which makes reason pleasant, thereby turning the savage into the civil. Cicero declared that delivery, more than any other part of rhetoric, had the ‘most effect on the ignorant and the mob and lastly on barbarians; for words influence nobody but the person allied to the speaker...whereas delivery, which gives the emotion of the mind expression, influences everybody’.²⁰⁵ Thus Erasmus’ would claim for clear speech that ‘it enables a person to acquire not only fluency in speaking but also intellectual judgement and a mastery of all the branches of knowledge.’²⁰⁶ It is not uncommon, in fact, to discover in rhetorical treatises—from both classical and Renaissance times—the persistent assertion of delivery as being the singular determining factor upon which all speeches either fail or succeed.

Aristotle may have rather grudgingly admired delivery ‘not because it is right but because it is necessary’,²⁰⁷ but subsequent rhetoricians were significantly more ebullient in their assessment. ‘Delivery’, wrote Cicero in *De Oratore*, ‘is the dominant factor in oratory; without delivery the best speaker cannot be of any account at all,

²⁰⁴ Wilson, *Art of Rhetoric*, 42. As Andrew Hadfield notes of Wilson’s work, ‘eloquence has to be manifested in speech, therefore it has to be in a particular language which serves to divide that speech community from others. The purpose of the book outlined in “The Preface” is to teach readers to use their natural language better so that eloquent men can distance themselves from other men’ (*Literature, Politics and National Identity: Reformation to Renaissance* (Cambridge, 1994), 109).

²⁰⁵ Cicero, *De Oratore*, 3.59.223.

²⁰⁶ Erasmus, *De Pueris*, 319-20.

²⁰⁷ Aristotle, *On Rhetoric*, trans. George A. Kennedy (Oxford, 1991), 3.1.5.

and a moderate speaker with a trained delivery can often outdo the best of them'.²⁰⁸ This sentiment is borne out in his catalogue of orators in *Brutus*, some of whom were successful despite possessing 'nothing but delivery', where others failed in possession of everything but.²⁰⁹ By way of emphasizing the importance of delivery, classical rhetorics invariably included an anecdote concerning Demosthenes' attitude towards *pronuntiatio et actio*;²¹⁰ Renaissance discussions on delivery followed suit. As Wilson retells it, when Demosthenes was asked about 'the chiefest point in al oratory', he 'gave the chief and only praise to pronounciation', and 'being demanded what was the second and the third, he still made answer, "Pronounciation"'.²¹¹ Indeed, Demosthenes' name became synonymous in the Renaissance with delivery; here is Mulcaster in the *Elementarie*:

That Demosthenes his action was the soull of his orations, and assured the truth of his judicial answer. Who is better witsse then even Aeschines his enemy? Who being banished his cuntry, by the onely mean of Demosthenes his tongue, did confesse in his exile, that he was sore wounded with the force of his action, which gave life to his words, then with the strength of his words, that found work for his action.²¹²

It is puzzling, therefore, to find in rhetorical (and pedagogical) treatises of both the classical and Renaissance periods the least amount of guidance for the most praised skill. Despite the all-encompassing claims made for delivery, this purportedly indispensable component of rhetoric received scant attention in comparison with advice on, and examples given for, invention, arrangement, style, and even memory.²¹³ Of the classical writers, Quintilian offers the most thorough discussion of

²⁰⁸ Cicero, *De Oratore*, 3.56.213.

²⁰⁹ Cicero, *Brutus*, 235. An example of an orator who had 'nothing but delivery' is Publius Lentulus, who was otherwise slow 'of thought and speech' (235); an example of an orator who had everything but delivery is Marcus Calpurnius, who had 'perfect lucidity of exposition' but lacked the 'orator's chief source of power' (276).

²¹⁰ See Cicero, *De Oratore*, 3.56.213; *Brutus*, 142; *Orator*, 56; Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria*, 11.3.6, and Pseudo-Plutarch, *Lives of the Ten Orators*, 845B. The *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, however, is unique in this period for its refusal to assign delivery an elevated status (see 3.11.19), despite exceeding Cicero in terms of the provision for performance directions.

²¹¹ Wilson, *Art of Rhetoric*, 241.

²¹² Mulcaster, *Elementarie*, 21.

²¹³ The first three parts of rhetoric dominate most treatises. Frances Yates' study, *The Art of Memory* (Chicago, 1966), provides a thorough account—from classical works to those of the Renaissance—of advice given for memory.

the subject in *Institutio Oratoria* 11, and his counsel is more or less paraphrased in subsequent works of rhetoric.²¹⁴

This lacuna in rhetoric's corpus may be accounted for by the cultural relativity of meaning associated with pitch of voice and gesture of the body; the training of such sounds and sights also assume a dependence on performance with regards to observation and imitation (which, in turn, almost demands a lacuna in the written form). Quintilian is the one of the first rhetoricians to recognise the relative nature of 'appropriate' delivery, a conclusion he reaches amidst a discussion of changes in clothing fashions:

The ancients, for example, wore no folds, and their successors wore them very short. Consequently it follows that in view of the fact that their arms were, like those of the Greeks, covered by the garment, they must have employed a different form of gesture in the exordium from that which is now in use. However, I am speaking of our own day.²¹⁵

Certainly, directions concerning volume and tone of voice almost inevitably resist specificity without their performed models. Some authors, however, were more explicit than others with regard to this issue. In the *Rhetorica ad Herrenium*, we find directions for the exordium or introduction of the speech (the voice should be 'calm and composed', and use 'long pauses'), the peroration or conclusion ('deliver long periods in one unbroken breath'), and throughout (never use 'sharp exclamation' because it is 'suited rather to feminine outcry than to manly dignity in speaking').²¹⁶ Typical of vocal performance notes is Quintilian's summation: 'If we advise, warn, promise or console, it will be grave and dignified, modest if we express fear or shame, bold in exhortation, precise in argument, full of modulations, suggestive of tears and designedly muffled in appeals for pity'.²¹⁷ But how 'calm and composed', for instance, should one sound in the exordium of a speech? What is it to be 'designedly muffled'?

²¹⁴ The *Eleoi* of Thrasymachus, not now extant, was claimed by Plato and Aristotle to have been devoted to describing of the kinds of voice and gesture appropriate for rhetorical delivery (see Plato, *Phaedrus*, 267C, and Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, 1404A. Diogenes Laertius (*Lives of Eminent Philosophers*, 5.48) mentions another work on delivery by Theophrastus (again, not now extant).

²¹⁵ Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria*, 11.3.137-38. See also 11.3.184: 'But today a rather more violent form of delivery has come into fashion and is demanded of our orators: it is well adapted to certain portions of a speech, but requires to be kept under control'.

²¹⁶ Anon., *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, trans. Harry Caplan (London, 1977), 3.12.22.

²¹⁷ Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria*, 11.3.64.

Directions for bodily gesture, on the other hand, could be provided with greater detail on the page, though not, as it turns out, without ambiguity: We can readily comprehend and perform ‘fist’ or ‘placing the middle finger against the thumb’, for example, but how is one to decipher the following rule for an exordium gesture: ‘the thumb and the next three fingers are gently converged to a point and the hand is carried to the neighbourhood of the mouth or chest, then relaxed palm downwards and slightly advanced’?²¹⁸ Sensing this inherent adverbial ambiguity, Greek and Roman writers of rhetorical treatises left the topic of delivery relatively uncharted. ‘Nobody teaches geometry this way’, noted Aristotle, since ‘acting is a matter of natural talent and largely not reducible to artistic rule’.²¹⁹ Cicero said that ‘the control and training of the voice, breathing, gestures and the tongue itself, call for exertion rather than art’.²²⁰ The implication is that this inchoate and amorphous territory would be left largely to the refining touches of a teacher—a person who would necessarily filter his culture’s associations (refined through education) to the vocal nuances and bodily gestures best used to express terms or emotions like, for example, loudness, softness, moderateness, rashness, prudence, anger, joy, or sadness. Such a person would impart to his students’ delivery that adverbial ambiguity known as taste, for which, as Cicero asserted, it is ‘especially difficult to lay down rules...even for the great Roscius himself; whom I often hear affirming that the chief thing in art is to observe good taste, though how to do this is the one thing that cannot be taught by art’.²²¹ John Walker’s eighteenth-century comment on delivery is arguably universal, and reflects not only the inadequacy of written rules for taste and performance, but also the cultural relativity associated with such performance: ‘Whether the action of the ancients was excessive, or whether that of the English is not too scanty, is not the question: those who would succeed as English orators must speak to English taste’.²²² Persuasion, in fact, has always depended on the tactful manipulation of a culture’s shared knowledge,²²³ and this includes, of course, the

²¹⁸ Ibid. 11.3.92, 96.

²¹⁹ Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, 3.1.7.

²²⁰ Cicero, *De Oratore*, 1.34.156. See also 2.7.30: ‘For, while art is concerned with the things that are known, the activity of the orator has to do with opinion, not knowledge’.

²²¹ Ibid. 1.26.132.

²²² John Walker, *Elements of Elocution*, 2 vols. (London, 1781), II, 262.

²²³ See Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, 1.1.12.

shared meanings associated with specific sounds and movements. ‘In my opinion’, wrote Cicero, ‘one must not speak in the same style at all times, nor before all people, nor against all opponents’.²²⁴

Jumping forward to our time and people of interest, we find that very little has changed with regard to the availability and specificity of manuals on delivery. In an age when very little separated the statutes, curricula, and available texts of large English grammar schools, a master’s discretion was most required in the least standardised aspect of the curriculum. Least standardised, but, in the eyes of many, including Elyot, the most important, ‘For the natures of children be nat so moche or sone advanced by thinges well done or spoken, as they be hindred and corrupted by that, whiche in actis or wordes is wantonly expressed’.²²⁵ In 1561, when Mulcaster began teaching at Merchant Taylors’, the main sources of written guidance for delivery came largely in the forms of the classical works mentioned above:

Quintilian’s *Institutio Oratoria*, Cicero’s *De Oratore*, and the anonymous *Rhetorica ad Herennium*.²²⁶ With respect to delivery, in fact, the English efforts on the subject (in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries) make very few significant changes to their classical counterparts. As an example, we may look at Abraham Fraunce’s 1588 advice for the exordium; the voice must be marked with ‘feare and bashfulnesse’, and the gesture ‘fit for modest speaches and bashfull beginnings’.²²⁷ This is a standard piece of advice in classical rhetorics. Quintilian invariably

²²⁴ Cicero, *Orator*, 123.

²²⁵ Elyot, *Governour*, 44.

²²⁶ Ascertaining the number of works that were available to Renaissance schoolmasters as explicit advice for teaching delivery means putting to one side for the moment works that deal with language acquisition and production generally. So, while Erasmus’ *De Recta Pronuntiatione*, for example, concerns the training of children’s voices, it is not a treatise whose ostensible purpose it is to provide a rhetorical model for teaching delivery. The most widely available English vernacular treatise on rhetoric in the sixteenth century was Wilson’s *Art of Rhetoric* (published eight times between 1553 and 1585 (see Mack, *Elizabethan Rhetoric*, 76)), though this work gives no specific directions for rhetorical performance. Indeed, it is quite common to find titles dedicated to the whole ‘art of rhetoric’ (like Leonard Cox’s (1532)), or, more promisingly, *The Art of Pronuntiation* (Robert Robinson (1617)), only to discover a total lack of advice on delivery (Cox), or a work of phonetics (Robinson). A section on delivery, if it did occur, was most often a short panegyric of the skill, followed by a few choice performance notes.

²²⁷ Fraunce, *Arcadian Rhetorike*, 114, 128.

suggested that one must begin speeches with ‘a quiet voice, a modest gesture’, and, for his skill in affecting such modesty, Cicero’s Sulpicius praised Antonius thus:

...ye Gods!—what an opening you made! How nervous, how irresolute you seemed! How stammering and halting was your delivery! ... So, in the first place, did you prepare the way towards getting hearing!²²⁸

The gestures appropriate for the exordium were also similar to those of Quintilian’s and Cicero’s; Fraunce offered the following: ‘The casting out of the right arme is as it were an arming of the speach’.²²⁹ So Cicero advised that the arm should be ‘thrown out rather forward’ at the beginning of the speech, ‘like an elocutionary missile’.²³⁰ B. L. Joseph has accumulated far more examples of this kind of crossover, and it is reasonably safe to assume that Renaissance notions of appropriate voice and gesture were heavily indebted to, if not wholly derivative of Roman treatises.²³¹

Nonetheless, delivery might have found an unlikely ally in the figure of Ramus. While it has been perceived that Ramist ideas were a threat to rhetoric in general, it was really only so for the first two of its parts—*inventio* and *dispositio*—which were assigned to philosophy. Of the remaining parts, the Ramist scheme did away altogether with *memoria*, and kept under the rubric of rhetoric only *elocutio* and *actio*. Thus, in Dudley Fenner’s *The Artes of Logicke and Retorike* (1584), *inventio* and *dispositio* are treated in the section on *Logicke*, while *elocutio* and *actio* lay claim to the section on *Retorike*. I say ‘lay claim’, because this is all that actually happens; in fact, despite positing *elocutio* and *actio* as rhetoric’s two chief parts, Fenner completely omits *actio* from the subsequent discussion, treating only *elocutio*. Fraunce’s rhetoric is Ramist also, though he betters Fenner only slightly by providing just over twenty pages of advice on delivery, compared with over one hundred pages on elocution. Even amongst manuscripts in or near our period of interest, we find very little in the way of delivery instruction; John Hoskyns’ *Directions for Speech and Stile* (written about 1599, but never published in his time), for example, is another work which fails to live up to its titular promise with respect to performance notes. It is this paucity in the rhetorical tradition which eventually led Francis Bacon in 1605

²²⁸ Cicero, *De Oratore*, 2.49.202.

²²⁹ Fraunce, *Arcadian Rhetorike*, 124.

²³⁰ Cicero, *De Oratore*, 3.59.220.

²³¹ Joseph, *Elizabethan Acting*, ch. 3.

to call for an encyclopedic register of the kinds of gestures used by Greek and Roman orators, a call that was answered by John Bulwer in 1644.²³²

We have moved somewhat further from 1561 than I might have wanted. When Mulcaster began his tenure at Merchant Taylors' School, he had at his disposal for the explicit instruction of delivery primarily the classical works noted above. But rhetorics were only one resource. Reading the emotions in poetry and drama provided guidelines for matching appropriate vocal and bodily modulations to various sections of a speech. 'Orators', wrote Quintilian, 'adduce the sentiments of poets as a kind of evidence to support their own positions'.²³³ In terms of delivery, this gathering of 'sentiments' was a simple task of reading the emotions of a character and noting the narrative's accompanying gestures and words; on the other hand, tone, volume, and gesture could be read back into the original narrative using a pre-existing model. Erasmus suggests that the teacher 'point out that particular attention should be paid to the emotions aroused, and especially, indeed, to the more profound'.²³⁴ So, for instance, Abraham Fraunce uses Sidney's 'O Deserts, Deserts, how fit a guest am I for you?' as an example not only of a mind in 'anguish and grieve', but also 'a hollow voyce fetcht from the bottome of the throate'.²³⁵ John Bulwer reads similar performance notes in the Bible. Renaissance pupils were taught accordingly, as Halpern explains:

In place of [the rote memorization of rules] Erasmus substitutes an image of speech—civil conversation among familiars—which also governs the relation between reader and text, for instead of memorizing rules, the reader is encouraged to imitate the stylistic gestures of the text's speakers and thus to mold himself into another 'familiar' interlocutor. The colloquies thus make linguistic style a mode of social induction based on the imaginary (mimetic) mastery of decorums and gestural behaviors. Indeed, humanism treats style as a set of imitable linguistic behaviors or gestures, and so makes it assimilable to other kinds of social practice or discipline.²³⁶

Here we may once again posit an overlap between the courtesy book and rhetorical traditions. The 'image of speech' that Cicero uses in his dialogues about rhetoric is

²³² See *The Advancement of Learning*, 2.9.2. Bulwer will be considered at greater length in chapters 2 and 3. Contemporary works, upon which Bulwer drew, include Giovanni Pierio Valeriano's *Hieroglyphica* (Basel, 1556), and Ludovicus Cresollius' *Vacationes autumnales* (Paris, 1620).

²³³ Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria*, 1.8.12.

²³⁴ See Erasmus, *De Ratione*, 687.

²³⁵ Fruance, *Arcadian Rhetorike*, 116-7.

²³⁶ Halpern, *Poetics*, 34.

quite often imitated in the Renaissance, when, as Jennifer Richards argues, textual conversation occurs ‘in order to discover a form of social interaction between teacher and pupil, or male friends, or indeed, individuals of different estates, which is capable of nurturing shared aspirations and sociability’.²³⁷ And, as I have already discussed in connection with orthography, the colloquies of Erasmus and Vives gave way to educational practice, arguably to the disadvantage of orthography.

Besides textual cues, of course, the master and his ushers offered their own bodies as models for delivery. Acknowledging both the imprecise nature of the rules for delivery, as well as, consequentially, the significance of the teacher’s abilities in this regard, Thomas Wilson introduced his *Art of Rhetoric* with the following advice on how to acquire the skills of *pronuntiatio et actio*:

Now before we use either to write or speak eloquently, we must dedicate our minds wholly to follow the most wise and learned men, and seek to fashion as well their speech and gesturing as their wit and enditing. The which when we earnestly mind to do, we cannot but in time appear somewhat like them.²³⁸

In the absence of extensive written guidelines, according to Wilson, it is the ‘wise and learned men’ who are directly responsible for imparting the rules for ‘speech and gesturing’. We read of similar notions in the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, where the author recognizes that ‘no one has written carefully on this subject’, since ‘all have thought it scarcely possible for voice, mien, and gesture to be lucidly described’; this is why, after several pages of advice on delivery, the same author admits ‘it is pointless to give any other advice’ than that these skills ‘should be sought from those skilled in this art’.²³⁹ Cicero’s contribution to this issue reminds us of the first external examination at Merchant Taylors’ School, when the boys’ performances were rather too coloured by the northern-born ushers or headmaster for the examiners’ liking:

...the control and training of voice, breathing, gestures and the tongue itself, call for exertion rather than art; and in these matters we must carefully consider whom we are to take as patterns, whom we should wish to be like. We have to study actors as well as orators, that bad practice may not lead us into some inelegant or ugly habit.²⁴⁰

With this last line, Cicero broadens the scope of acceptable resources for the instruction of delivery to include not only Quintilian’s written guidelines, Wilson’s

²³⁷ Richards, *Rhetoric and Courtliness*, 4-5.

²³⁸ Wilson, *Art of Rhetoric*, 48-9.

²³⁹ *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, 3.11.19-20. See also Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria*, 11.3.177.

²⁴⁰ Cicero, *De Oratore*, 1.34.156.

‘wise men’, Fraunce’s narratives, the *ad Herennium*’s ‘skilled’ performers, but also ‘actors as well as orators’.

Acting and oratory, in fact, share a long and complicated history that begins at least with Plato and extends well into the English Renaissance; the fraught nature of the relationship turns on the issue of emotional integrity in performance, and is thereby involved—in rhetorical terms—with how the emotions so necessary for persuasion are conjured and conveyed through delivery. But, in 1553, when Wilson was recommending the imitation of ‘wise men and learned men’, and in 1561, when Mulcaster was beginning to teach at Merchant Taylors’, teachers of oratory did not have the benefit of the professional stage. The Theatre at Shoreditch did not open until 1576. Observing actors before this time would have been reserved for the few privileged enough to attend court masques or revels, or for those still able to find performances of moral interludes or mystery cycles. Yet for schoolchildren in the Renaissance, the primary site of ‘actor observation’ was the classroom itself, as I discuss below; the same pertains to the ‘study of orators’ recommended by Cicero, though in this case the required observation of sermons would have provided a unique opportunity for boys to see a weekly rhetorical performance.²⁴¹ The attendance of church sermons was, in fact, written into several school’s statutes, with the child obliged to deliver some account of the homily the next day; here are Dronfield School’s statutes for 1579:

I ordain that the Scholars do upon every Sunday and Holy-day in the morning resort orderly unto the School, and that they go from thence unto the Church...and that as many as be of capacity, do take in writing the notes of the Preacher’s Sermons, and give account of them on Monday morning to their Master.²⁴²

²⁴¹ This point needs the clarification I provide in chapter 3. How classically rhetorical and theatrical a sermon was depended on the education and doctrine of the preacher.

²⁴² Foster Watson, *English Grammar Schools to 1660: Their Curriculum and Practice* (Cambridge, 1908), 47. See also Brinsley, *Ludus Literarius*, 255, and the Ecclesiastical Canons for St Paul’s grammar school: ‘But chiefly [the schoolmaster] shal so order and frame the tongues of children, that they may pronounce openly, plainly, and distinctly. And as often as any sermon shalbe, they shall either send them, or bring them to church, that from their childhode, they may be brought up in godliness: & lest they should heare it negligently: at their return to schole, they shall call and examine every one, what they have learned out of that sermon’ (*Educational Documents*, 126).

The enforcement of sermon attendance, note-taking, and later summarization was as much a pretext for the indoctrination of state-approved theology as it was an opportunity to observe an oration.

To sum up this section, a schoolmaster in later sixteenth-century England would have had available as resources for teaching *actio* the passages noted above from classical rhetorics, classical and Biblical narratives, limited occasions of observing actors (especially limited prior to 1576), sermon performance, and, of course, the performance of his own students in orations and acting; all of which would have been mediated through his own particular habits in the course of shaping and correcting the voice and gesture of his students. So, in addition to Halpern's 'reader and text' formulation of imaginary (mimetic) transference, we must add James Fredal's observation that delivery is a 'form of tacit and practical knowledge passed from body to body not unlike that of a mason, knowledge that remains, in important respects, outside of conscious discourse and resists textualization'.²⁴³

3. *The Class Theatre*

We have moved now from the general concerns of orality to that of 'pronunciation' and the prerogatives of the schoolmaster in teaching delivery. It remains now to discuss the methods of imparting this skill, and especially the place of oral performance in the classroom. As Fred Schurink's discovery of an Elizabethan grammar school exercise book shows, pupils often copied the rules of grammar and literary passages not from a textbook, but from the voice of the master. The faults in spelling noticed by Schurink in this manuscript result from educational practices like the one described by Vives: 'let each boy have an empty paper book divided into several parts to receive all that falls from his teacher's lip'.²⁴⁴ This type of practice was as much a necessity as it was a reflection of the humanist belief that 'the rules of rhetoric [were] immanent in the "changeable matter" of everyday speech'.²⁴⁵ A standard 'class text' was, after all, a relatively new phenomenon in the sixteenth century, and even when schools recommended a particular textbook, its content was subject to the idiosyncrasies of multiple printers. This was why, according to Nicholas

²⁴³ Fredal, *Rhetorical Action*, 3.

²⁴⁴ Vives, *On Education*, 108.

²⁴⁵ Richards, *Rhetoric and Courtliness*, 50.

Orme, masters usually began the ‘study of a new work by reading the whole text aloud’; so, even though the Reformation brought a certain uniformity to printed textbooks, it is clear, at least from the exercise book discovered by Schurink, that the method of imparting material had not changed drastically over the course of the sixteenth century.²⁴⁶

Education, then, was intensely aural and oral, and this was especially true of schools, like Merchant Taylors’, modeled on the St Paul’s system. In 1607, long after Mulcaster had left Merchant Taylors’, the company changed the statutes to conform to the Westminster curriculum rather than that of St Paul’s, with the result that exercises became more rigorously occupied with writing; nearly all the curricular directions in the Westminster statutes begin with the imperative, ‘They shall write’.²⁴⁷ This may reflect greater uniformity and availability of standardized textbooks. However, prior to 1607, and when Mulcaster was headmaster, Merchant Taylors’ tended to follow the methods of St Paul’s, where the daily exercises of students are characterized by learning ‘wthout booke’. No extant statutes exist for the full daily exercises of Merchant Taylors’ students while Mulcaster was headmaster; but those of Norwich’s (in 1566)—which, like Merchant Taylors’ statutes, were similarly influenced by St Paul’s—may serve as some indication of typical practice. Thus, the rules for grammar were learned ‘wthout booke’; students ‘shall dailye saie in the morning wthout booke som one part of speche’; they ‘shall lerne one Lecture daily wthout booke’; themes will be ‘declayme[d]’ daily; and ‘betwixt hallowmas & Christmas som lerned dyalog and comodie or twoo comodies at the least to be lerned wthout booke’.²⁴⁸ It becomes clear, then, why Mulcaster’s first and most important exercise in *Positions* is ‘lowd speaking’, which is included for the ‘good pronouncing of any thing, in any audiorie...without booke’.²⁴⁹

²⁴⁶ Nicholas Orme, ‘Schools and School-books’, in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, vol. 3, ed. Lotte Hellinga and J. B. Trapp (Cambridge, 1998), 467.

²⁴⁷ See Baldwin, *Shakspeare’s Small Latine*, 1, 395-8.

²⁴⁸ *Ibid.* 1, 415-6. See H. W. Saunders, *A History of Norwich Grammar School* (Norwich, 1932), 150-1.

²⁴⁹ Mulcaster, *Positions*, 68. The physical features of the Elizabethan grammar school were not very conducive to writing; rather than desks, a typical schoolroom had only long wooden benches (see Michael Van Cleave Alexander, *The Growth of English Education, 1348-1648: A Social and Cultural History* (University Park, 1990), 198; and O’Day, *Education and Society*, 60).

It should be noted that Merchant Taylors' was a grammar school, not a petty or elementary school (the subject of the stated but deferred reforms of the *Elementarie*), which meant that students came to Mulcaster already able to read and write. The conditions of admission to Merchant Taylors' are provided in Statute XXV:

There shalbe taught in the said schoole children of all nations & countryes indifferently, comyng thether to be taught, to the number of two hundreth & fyfty, in manner & forme as is afore devised & appointed. But first see that they can the catechism in English or Latyn, & that every of the said two hundreth & fyfty schollers can read perfectly & write competently, or els lett them not be admytted in no wise.²⁵⁰

But in practice, the vetting process was probably not quite so rigid; underushers, 'learned young men' available to the master should demands necessitate, were given the task of teaching those children without a proper petty school training, 'yf neede be, the Catechisme, and instruccions of the Articles of the Faith, and the Tenn Commandments' (all fairly standard entrance requirements of grammar schools).²⁵¹ Upon entrance, the child would enter the first of six forms, with his lessons received initially from one of the ushers.²⁵² In fact, it was normal practice at grammar schools for ushers to teach the first three forms, with the master more directly involved with the senior three forms.²⁵³ At Merchant Taylors', it was the headmaster's responsibility to hire the ushers, not the company's, and so Mulcaster chose one chief usher and two under-ushers to assist him with the lower forms. And, as the first examiners' report suggests, it appears he hired ushers from the region of his birth.

To the first three forms, the ushers would typically read passages from Corderius, Aesop, Terence, and Cicero, 'from which Lectures the boys shall select phrases or forms of speech, Proverbs Adages Descriptions of Time, Place, Persons, Apothegms, and such like which the Boys shall write down'.²⁵⁴ Ushers would also examine the boys' translations of English and Latin, and make them rehearse rules for

²⁵⁰ Draper, *Four Centuries*, 246.

²⁵¹ Ibid. 245.

²⁵² St Paul's had eight forms, but it seems Merchant Taylors', like most other grammar schools, had six; at least this was the case in 1607 (Baldwin, *Shakspeare's Small Latine*, I, 418).

²⁵³ See the statutes for Ruthin (1574): 'Those who resort to this School for Instruction shall be divided into six Classes; the three Senior Classes shall be under the Care of the Master; the other three under the Care of the Usher' (*Educational Documents*, 112-3).

²⁵⁴ Ibid. 113.

grammar. For the upper three forms, it was the master's duty to read, for example, Homer, Virgil, Ovid, Seneca, as well as the orations of Isocrates and Cicero, with the same expectation on the students to record context and any pithy phrases. Because themes, declamations, and dramatic speeches were usually practiced in the higher forms, we may assume that the master rather than the usher was primarily responsible for teaching or modeling the voice and gesture of rhetorical delivery. Contact with the lower forms by the master was reserved for the rudiments of Greek and, in the case of Merchant Taylors' especially, Hebrew as well; in some cases—at Westminster for example—masters would spend the earliest part of the day (usually directly after prayers) listening and correcting the lower forms as they recited 'a part of speech and of a verb in its turn'.²⁵⁵

From the Merchant Taylors' statutes, we know something of their students' timetable: they were to arrive at 'seaven of the clock...& tarry there until eleaven, and returne againe at one of the clock, and departe at five', from Monday to Saturday. Three times a day, the children were required to say their prayers 'with due tact and pawsing', so that even prayers were judged according to their rhetorical delivery.²⁵⁶ The rules for Harrow (1580) suggest that, on occasion, a pupil with high aptitude in delivery would be chosen to recite a prayer before the school.²⁵⁷ As well, from Norwich's statutes, we know that students were required to 'say' their lessons between two to four times a day in front of his head pupil, usher, or headmaster. Thus, in a typical day, a student at Merchant Taylors' could have delivered up to seven oral performances, constitutive of such diverse subjects or material as follows: catechisms, prayers, the ten commandments, rules for grammar (for the lower forms in particular), a passage of poetry, a translation of their own, a piece of classical oratory, a speech from a drama (the Roman comedies of Terence and Plautus were highly recommended), excerpts of a sermon, an epistle, a dialogue, and, for higher forms, a theme (usually assigned by the headmaster the previous day). Declamations were also

²⁵⁵ From the 1560 statutes of Westminster; see Arthur F. Leach, *Educational Charters and Documents 598 to 1909* (Cambridge, 1911), 507.

²⁵⁶ Draper, *Four Centuries*, 246.

²⁵⁷ 'The first thing which shall be done in the morning after they have assembled, and the last in the evening before they depart, shall be upon their knees with reverence, to say Prayers, to be conceived by the Master and by one whom he shall appoint, distinctly to be pronounced, unto whom all the residue shall answer' (*English Grammar Schools*, 43).

performed by those of the higher forms, but usually, in most schools, only for special visitations by examiners or dignitaries.²⁵⁸ Such events also provided a chance for pupils and masters to judge the skills of oratory developed at other schools, a practice recommended, for example, in the 1611 statutes for Charterhouse: ‘Boys to go on election days to Westminster or Merchant Taylors’ School to hear exercises’.²⁵⁹ Some schools, like Westminster, practiced declamations every Saturday, and, in Harrow’s 1580 statutes, the schoolmaster would hear these speeches ‘every day, for the space of an hour’. Based on Mulcaster’s particular interest in developing the skills of delivery, and the similarities between the statutes of St Paul’s and Merchant Taylors’, we may assume that his practice tended towards that of Harrow’s or Norwich’s ‘daily’ declamations rather than, say, Guildford’s occasional ‘half-holidays or Saints’ Days’.²⁶⁰

Whatever their frequency, however, the function and content of declamations were very similar to themes, which were exercised regularly in the classroom. In fact, while both themes and declamations took some moral or political subject (elaborating such *sententiae* as ‘it is good for a man to marry’ or ‘death is common to all’), a declamation is ‘nothing else but a Theame of som matter, which may be controuerted, and so handled by parts, when one taketh the Affirmatiue part, another the Negatiue, & it may be a third moderateth or determineth betweene both’.²⁶¹ Nevertheless, the structure of, or arrangement of arguments in themes and declamations were identical, since both were to follow the six parts of an oration: *exordium*, *narratio*, *divisio*, *confirmatio*, *confutatio*, and *peroratio*. While the *confutatio* in a theme involved the pupil inventing or anticipating an objection to his argument, a declamation scenario would include an entire speech by another student on the opposite side of the question.

Any poetry, dialogues, themes, or declamations were, of course, first written by the student (in imitation of his models), but his strategies of composition were inseparable from the delivery by which it would finally be judged. The statutes for Ruthin are widely representative of a week in an Elizabethan grammar school:

²⁵⁸ See Baldwin, *Shakspeare’s Small Latine*, II, 377-8.

²⁵⁹ Watson, *English Grammar Schools*, 94.

²⁶⁰ *Ibid.* 93, 94.

²⁶¹ Brinsley, *Ludus Literarius*, 184.

A Theme shall be set forth or proposed to the three upper Classes on Saturday at noon, on which subject they shall write in Prose, which they shall deliver to their Master on Monday, then they shall write Verses which they shall delivery to the Master Tuesday following. A Theme shall be appointed to the same Classes Tuesday Evening [for delivery on Wednesday]... Thursday noon...he shall hear his Scholars rehearse an Act out of Terence's Comedies or Plautus whom I require to be instructed by the Master. Both in the manner of Speaking and Gesture... Friday [the students] shall rehearse after Dinner until three o'clock what they had learnt in that Week and after three o'clock they shall repeat what they had learned the same Week between the Hours of 4 and 5 o'clock... Saturday...[a]t ten of the clock in the Morning two or three of the Boys being thereunto appointed 8 days before by the Master shale with great Silence beheard declaiming on some subject.²⁶²

Keith Thomas may be correct that Tudor schools were 'dominated by the hourglass, the clock, and the bell',²⁶³ but in acoustic terms these temporal units were inflected with the sounds and sights of performing bodies making 'clever *utilization of time*, of the opportunities it presents and also of the play that it introduces into the foundations of power'.²⁶⁴ 'Now, what has this [performance] to do with literary style?', asks Dionysus of Halicarnassus, 'to which I should reply, that his style is designed to accommodate it, being full of moral and emotional overtones, and thus dictating the form of the delivery'.²⁶⁵ Writing, in the Elizabethan grammar school, was never an activity isolated from the sound and movement of the body.

As an example of this inseparability, we may look at themes in particular, models for which the students of Merchant Taylors' would likely have sought in Aphthonius' *Progymnasmata*. So, for example, *ecphrasis* should 'make use of a relaxed style', the amplification of evil deeds should be made to stimulate 'the hearer', and it is particularly effective to imitate the voices of 'proposed speaker[s]' (*ethopoeia*) in the course of a speech.²⁶⁶ More generally, with respect to the format of these compositions, punctuation would be inserted not to separate clauses by meaning, but rather for pauses in breath, or for 'sentences in their pronouncing', as

²⁶² *Educational Documents*, 113-4. The 1560 statutes for Westminster also stipulate that, on Saturday, 'two or three appointed by the Schoolmaster shall declaim on a set theme, publicly in Hall before the whole College, a bell being rung beforehand when the Master orders it' (*Educational Charters*, 517).

²⁶³ Keith Thomas, *Rule and Misrule in the Schools of Early Modern England* (Reading, 1976), 6.

²⁶⁴ de Certeau, *Practice of Everyday Life*, 38-9.

²⁶⁵ Dionysus of Halicarnassus, 'Demosthenes', in *Critical Essays*, trans. Stephen Usher (Cambridge, Mass., 2000), 441.

²⁶⁶ Aphthonius, *Progymnasmata*, in *Greek Textbooks of Prose Composition and Rhetoric*, ed. and trans. George A. Kennedy (Leiden, 2003), 117, 106, 115.

Mulcaster would assert.²⁶⁷ Furthermore, the moral statements (such as found, for example, in Erasmus' *Adagia*) that were to be used in composing themes would first be read and explained by the master in order that the student had access not only to the matter, but its delivery as well.²⁶⁸ And, of course, the student would always have in mind the oral delivery and aural reception of his work during composition. Each student, according to Brinsley, was required to 'pronounce his Theam without book; you [the master] in the meane looking on that which is pronounced, & examining each fault...this will be a great furtherance to audacitie, memory, gesture, pronuntiation'.²⁶⁹ This manner of training and assessment extended to all forms of classroom performance. Any recitation of verse should be read 'in a kinde of singing voice'; practicing declamations would 'bring audacity, help gesture, pronuntiation, memory, and much provoke them to an ingenuous emulation and contention'; the composition of poetry, which was primarily a rhetorical exercise, must be 'uttered as prose'; dialogues must be uttered 'pathetically one to another'; above all, students should 'pronounce every matter according to the nature of it, so much as you can; chiefly where persons or other things are fained to speake'. Echoing Cicero in *Brutus*, Brinsley declares that 'the finest scholar without this is accounted no bodie: and a mean scholar having attained this facultie, is ordinarily reputed and commended above the best'. In all this, it was the task of the master to provide a performance model for imitation, since the sounds and gestures appropriate to each text would be performed by the pupils 'presently, if the Master do but reade them so before them'.²⁷⁰ Even for the simple task of reading aloud, Renaissance schoolmasters followed Quintilian's instructions 'to make it clear how a boy is to learn when to take a fresh breath, where to make a pause in a verse, where the sense ends of begins, when the voice is to be raised or lowered'.²⁷¹

There was, too, as Lynn Enterline has argued, a 'daily theatricality' of the classroom that extended beyond the performance of written compositions. The ability to feign emotion or demeanour (through looks or gestures), for example, was as much a factor in the proper delivering of speech ('according to the nature of it') as it was in

²⁶⁷ Mulcaster, *Elementarie*, 121.

²⁶⁸ Brinsley, *Ludus Literarius*, 178-84.

²⁶⁹ *Ibid.* 177-8.

²⁷⁰ *Ibid.* 73, 206, 213, 217, 211, 73.

²⁷¹ Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria*, 1.8.1.

the overall dynamics of the classroom, as the Renaissance accounts of life at Westminster School reveal:

they were all of them (or such as were picked out, of whom the Mr made choice by the feare or confidence in their lookes) to repeat and pronounce distinctlie without booke some piece of an author that had been learnt the day before. Betwixt 9 and 11 those exercises were reade which had been enjoyed us overnight (one day in prose, the next day in verse); which were selected by the Mr; some to be examined and punished, others to be commended and proposed to imitation.²⁷²

A child could therefore manage his educational experience through his ability to affect a particular emotion ('feare or confidence in their lookes'); a look of confidence or audacity, for example, could prevent a student's inadequacy from being discovered and punished, just as a look of timidity could provide the opportunity to display one's facility in a particular lesson or speech. In punishment as well, the wails, screams, and sobs recorded by Erasmus and others would provide another classroom spectacle, one perhaps exaggerated by boys in order to mitigate the severity of the beating or induce an admiration in his audience for the ability to sustain such an ordeal.²⁷³ Whatever the case, it seems clear that through these performances students came to view the emotions as inseparable from persuasion. This was true not only of their own performances, but also the ones they saw and heard from their master, whose primary job, according to the Dean of St Paul's, was to 'styrre[] up' the 'myndes of children' to 'vertue and diligence', all the while rebuking 'the idle and sluggish, and [praising] the attentive and diligent'.²⁷⁴

In effect, this stirring of emotions, first within himself, and then in the minds of his pupils, made the schoolmaster an orator; Cicero explains:

...it is impossible for the listener to feel indignation, hatred, or ill-will, to be terrified of anything, or reduced to tears of compassion, unless all those emotions, which the advocate would inspire in the arbitrator, are visibly stamped or rather branded on the advocate himself...For it is not easy to succeed in making an arbitrator angry with the right party, if you yourself seem to treat the affair with indifference; or in making him hate the right

²⁷² John Sergeaunt, *Annals of Westminster School* (London, 1898), 279. See Enterline, 'Rhetoric, Discipline', 177: 'Schoolmasters claimed to teach proper 'behavior,' and a text like this one tells us that the school's discipline extended to gestural, expressive, and bodily performance as much as verbal'.

²⁷³ In recommending weeping as an exercise, Mulcaster notes that 'some children seeme to be exceeding full' of such expression of grief 'when feare of beating makes them straine their pipes' (*Positions*, 74).

²⁷⁴ *Educational Documents*, 126.

party, unless he first sees you on fire with hatred yourself.²⁷⁵

Mulcaster was an orator on constant display, perpetually performing, hearing, and correcting voice, gesture, and countenance; in turn, the students exploited this feature of the pedagogical environment with their own affectations. Mulcaster's exercises of 'loude, and soft reading', 'much talking and silence', 'laughing, and weeping', and 'lowd speaking' must therefore be understood in the context of this theatre of master and pupils.

The connection between delivery and the overtly speech-oriented exercises in *Positions* has already been noted, and it is likely that Mulcaster's students did indeed practice such activities in the course of a day. Even singing, acknowledged by Mulcaster for its benefits in training the 'instrumentes for her utteraunce', was not an uncommon occurrence in the Elizabethan grammar school, as Westminster's 1560 statutes declare: 'As a knowledge of singing is found to be of the greatest use for a clear and distinct elocution, we will that all the pupils in the Grammar School shall spend two hours each week, viz., from 2 to 3 p.m. on Wednesdays and Fridays, in the art of music'.²⁷⁶ Of the remaining somewhat more 'athletic' exercises in *Positions*, such as fencing, shooting, wrestling, running, leaping, and dancing, for example, there is no evidence to suggest that Mulcaster ever implemented his regime.²⁷⁷ Nevertheless, it should be remembered that, 'Unlike most earlier and contemporary writers, who consider sports to be extra-curricular in that they are normally unconnected with the formal academic curriculum', Mulcaster was unique for requiring that they 'be brought within the school'.²⁷⁸ As well, although the statutes for Merchant Taylors' School were nearly an identical copy of John Colet's statutes for St Paul's, there was a significant addition made by the Merchant Taylors' Company that no 'tenny-play' should be allowed, as it was 'but foolish babling & losse of

²⁷⁵ Cicero, *De Oratore*, 2.189-90. See also Aristotle, *Poetics*, 17; Horace, *Ars Poetica*, 101-7; Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria*, 6.2.26.36.

²⁷⁶ Leach, *Educational Charters*, 513. Mulcaster's recommendations for singing are found in *Positions* (68-9) and the *Elementarie* (65).

²⁷⁷ See Dennis Brailsford, *Sport and Society: Elizabeth to Anne* (London, 1969), 41-4. Despite acknowledging this lack of evidence, Brailsford believes that Mulcaster's 'zeal for the physical well-being of his pupils undoubtedly showed in practice' (44). The association of athletics with rhetoric will be taken up in chapter 2.

²⁷⁸ Barker, *Positions*, xxii-iii.

tyme'. The relationship between Mulcaster and his employers was nearly always strained, so the amendment may be understood in light of the Company's desire to quell Mulcaster's proclivities to recreation—there was, after all, a tennis court next to the school property.²⁷⁹

But whether or not these athletics actually occurred, it is clear, as I have argued above, that the spirit of Demosthenes is everywhere present in Mulcaster's pedagogical concerns. Demosthenes, it was well-known, remedied the 'weakness and fragility' of his body by 'discoursing while running or going up steep places, and by reciting speeches or verses at single breath'.²⁸⁰ It is this idea of physical exertion in developing the body for delivery that is apparent not only in Mulcaster's reforms, but also in his use of academic drama. For the remainder of this chapter, I will discuss Mulcaster's interest in drama, one that reveals his method of addressing the concerns of rhetorical delivery.

4. 'Munkester's Boyes'

Mulcaster was a longstanding advocate and producer of academic drama—an advocacy that seems to have specially marked his tenures at Merchant Taylors' (1561-1586) and St Paul's (1596-1608). According to Merchant Taylors' records, Mulcaster introduced drama into the curriculum shortly after taking charge of the school in 1561.²⁸¹ Between 1561 and the day he left the school, in 1586, available records indicate a total of eight court performances by 'Munkester's Boyes', the texts for which are no longer extant.²⁸² Some titles, however, remain, and they suggest Mulcaster broke with the more usual practice of Elizabethan boy companies staging morality and mystery plays at court; the boys of Merchant Taylors', for example, performed *Timoclia at the sege of Thebes by Alexander* (from Plutarch's *Life of Alexander*), *Percius & Anthomiris* (Herodotus, Ovid?), and *A historie of Ariodante*

²⁷⁹ Draper, *Four Centuries*, 247.

²⁸⁰ Plutarch, *Demosthenes*, 3.3, 11.2.

²⁸¹ Merchant Taylors' MS, Minutes of Court, March 16, 1573; see DeMolen, *Richard Mulcaster*, 154.

²⁸² Sylvia Stoler Wagonheim, *Annals of English Drama, 975-1700*, 3rd edn. (London, 1989), 45-53; *Documents Relating to the Office of the Revels in the Time of Queen Elizabeth*, ed. Albert Feuillerat (Louvain, 1963), 174, 206, 213, 350, 355; *Acts of the Privy Council of England*, ed. John R. Dasent (London, 1894), VIII, 120, and IX, 94; E. K. Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage* (Oxford, 1923), IV, 147; and DeMolen, *Richard Mulcaster*, 192.

and *Geneuora* (from Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*), all of which indicate Mulcaster's interest in tragedy (and pathetic heroines) culled from classical and romance sources. Most of the statutes for Elizabethan schools made provision for dramatic performances during holidays, particularly at Christmas and Shrove Tuesday (as was the case, for example, at Winchester and Westminster), but it was also not uncommon for students to perform one part or act of a play on a daily or weekly basis. Ruthin's statutes to this purpose have already been noted, and their Thursday performances of 'an Act out of Terence's Comedies or Plautus' are matched by Shrewsbury's: 'Euerie thursdaie the Schollers of the first forme before they goo to plaie, shall for exercise declame and plaie one acte of a comedie'.²⁸³ More generally, all dialogues in the classroom were to be uttered 'lively, as if they themselves were the persons which did speake in that dialogue, and so in every other speech'.²⁸⁴ Thus, even formal class dialogues of scenes ripped out of their original contexts involved impersonation, or *ethopoeia*.²⁸⁵

Yet such performances were not confined solely to plays at court or dialogues in the classroom. Between 1561 and 1573, it appears Mulcaster's boys made a habit of staging plays in the Merchant Taylors' Hall for a paying public. This practice seems to be rare rather than unique, for it appears Hitchin School in Buckinghamshire had a similar stage for its scholars, built, as John Bale would write, 'to train the young and babbling mouths of [their] students...to speak clearly and elegantly'.²⁸⁶ The popularity of these plays at Merchant Taylors' eventually led to the banning of future performances by the Company:

...whereas at our co[mm]en playes and such lyke exercises wch be co[mm]enly exposed to be seane for money ev[er]y lewed persone thinketh himself (for his penny) worth of the cheif and most comodious place wthoute respecte of any other either for age or estimacion in the co[mm]en weal; wch bringeth the youthe to suche an impudente famylaritie with their betters that often tymes greite contempte of maisters, parents, and magistrats foloweth thereof, as experience of late of the tumultious disordered psones repaying

²⁸³ Thomas Ashton, headmaster to Sir Philip Sidney, was responsible for Shrewsbury's original statutes; they are reprinted in Thomas Baker, *History of St John's College, Cambridge*, ed. J. E. B. Mayor (Cambridge, 1869), I, 411.

²⁸⁴ Brinsley, *Ludus Literarius*, 222.

²⁸⁵ See Aphthonius, *Progymnasmata*, 115. I discuss *ethopoeia* at greater length in chapter 3.

²⁸⁶ See Enterline, 'Rhetoric, Discipline', 179. George Chapman, who, along with Ben Jonson, was one of the most learned dramatists of the Renaissance, attended Hitchin School in the late 1560s and early 1570s.

hither to see such playes as by o[u]r scholars were there lately plaide the mrs
of this worshipfull company and their deare frends could not have
entertainment and conveyente place as they oughte to have had...
Therefore...yt is ordeyned...that hensforthe their shalbe no
more any plays suffered to be played in this our co[mm]en Hall...²⁸⁷

As this injunction coincides with the year of Mulcaster's first court performances (1572/3), we may attribute the former event to the cause of the schoolmaster's new and rigorous participation in the latter.²⁸⁸ Whatever the case, it is clear that with Mulcaster's resignation in 1586, plays by Merchant Taylors' boys both at hall and court ceased completely. By the same token, academic drama was renewed in the St Paul's curriculum shortly after Mulcaster took up the school's headmastership in 1596, a practice which ended when he left in 1608.²⁸⁹

The foregoing account is merely to give some approximation of Mulcaster's interest in drama; but what of its uses? If ever a schoolmaster was in danger of Censure's criticism that 'They make all their scholars play-boys!',²⁹⁰ or Hamlet's that 'many wearing rapiers are afraid of goose-quills',²⁹¹ it would be Mulcaster. For what vocation were these plays in preparation? The anxiety of training mere 'common

²⁸⁷ Minutes of Court, March 16, 1573 (see DeMolen, *Richard Mulcaster*, 154).

²⁸⁸ This, at least, is T. H. Vail Motter's view (*The School Drama in England* (London, 1929), 110).

²⁸⁹ Performances by Paul's Boys were suppressed in about 1590, and indeed, despite dominating court performances in the 1560s and 70s, it appears that few if any boy companies performed at court in the 90s. The revival of Paul's Boys in 1599 has generally been accredited to Edward Pearce, who, according to Andrew Gurr, was appointed choirmaster there in the same year (*The Shakespearian Playing Companies* (Oxford, 1996), 219, n. 4; 339, n. 6). If this is true, however, it seems Pearce might just as easily have inherited a group of boys from Mulcaster (who had been master at Paul's since 1596) already trained in impersonation and perhaps even dramatic dialogues within the classroom. Michael Shapiro thinks Paul's playhouse reopened in 1597 (*Children of the Revels: The Boy Companies of Shakespeare's Time and Their Plays* (New York, 1977), 21), which would make Mulcaster largely responsible, and others have placed the date of Pearce's appointment after the 1599 revival (E. K. Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage*, 4 vols. (Oxford, 1923), II, 19; Harold N. Hillebrand, *The Child Actors: A Chapter in Elizabethan Stage History* (Urbana, 1926), 138). This is, nevertheless, matter for another story, and my interest is primarily in Mulcaster's earlier tenure at Merchant Taylors'. After his departure in 1586, playing at Merchant Taylors' did not resume until 1665, when John Goad, then headmaster, revived the custom (see W. C. Farr (ed.), *Merchant Taylors' School: Its Origin, History and Present Surroundings* (Oxford, 1929), 16).

²⁹⁰ Ben Jonson, *The Staple of News*, in *The Complete Plays*, ed. G. A. Wilkes, vol. 4 (Oxford, 1982), 3rd intermean, ll. 41-2.

²⁹¹ Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, ed. G. R. Hibbard (Oxford, 1987), II.ii.339.

players' extended to other kinds of school performances, as Lyly's *Galatea* reminds us. And certainly, with respect to the 'impudent familiaritie' mentioned by the Merchant Taylors' Company in relation to the public performances in their hall, futile or chaotic ends could invariably be associated with school drama. Jeanne McCarthy thinks that such performances 'seemed to be contributing to a breakdown in the social order', and that 'early modern audiences recognized the real or potential capacity of the boy actor to challenge traditional masculine authority', which accounts for the unruliness of audience members and their attempts to disrupt a children's performance.²⁹² Although no dramatic texts are extant for the Merchant Taylors' productions, it is clear from those school plays that have come down to posterity that this 'breakdown in social order' was a feature not only of the boy-acting environment, but of the scripts as well. Boys were given lines meant to draw attention to the act of playing itself, as well as, consequently, to the performative nature of societal roles.²⁹³ The induction scene of John Marston's *Antonio and Mellida* (performed by St Paul's around 1599) is typical:

Piero: Faith, we can say our parts, but we are ignorant in what mould we must cast our actors.
Alberto: Whom do you personate?
Piero: Piero, Duke of Venice.
Alberto: O, ho! Then thus frame your exterior shape
 To haughty form of elate majesty,
 As if you held the palsy-shaking head
 Of reeling Chance under your fortune's belt,
 In strictest vassalage. Grow big in thought
 As swoll'n with glory of successful arms.²⁹⁴

The self-referential cues provided these boys would, as G. K. Hunter argues, feed into a more general awareness of the 'means of representation', a self-conscious manipulation of gender, authority, 'or whatever',²⁹⁵ and one that resonates with my earlier discussion on the daily theatricality of the classroom. As suggested by Merchant Taylors' in-house performances, as well as by the kinds of scripts offered their boys, it was not always the case that—as Paul Whitfield White asserts—

²⁹² Jeanne H. McCarthy, 'Elizabeth I's 'picture in little': Boy Company Representations of a Queen's Authority', *Studies in Philology* 100 (2003), 454-5.

²⁹³ See Stephen Orgel, *Impersonations: The Performance of Gender in Shakespeare's England* (Cambridge, 1996).

²⁹⁴ John Marston, *Antonio and Mellida*, ed. W. Reavley Gair (Manchester, 1991), Induction, ll. 3-12.

²⁹⁵ G. K. Hunter, introduction to John Lyly, *Campaspe* (Manchester, 1991), 35.

academic drama reinforced the ‘moral and religious values taught through textbook and schoolroom instruction...for leadership within the reformed Christian state’.²⁹⁶

Nevertheless, the ostensible function of school drama was primarily to educate the performer rather than the spectator.²⁹⁷ James Whitelocke recalls his education under Mulcaster in such a way that implicates oratory as the chief end of school acting:

I was brought up at school under mr. Mulcaster, in the famous school of the Marchantaylors in London, whear I continued until I was well instructed in the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin tongs. His case was also to encreas my skill in musique, in whiche I was brought up by dayly exercise in it, as in singing and playing upon instruments, and yearly he presented sum playes to the court, in whiche his scholars wear only actors, and I on among them, and by that meanes taughte them good behaviour and audacitye.²⁹⁸

Here we have some confirmation that Mulcaster did indeed teach music to his students (a practice designed to tune the voice and lend grace to the hands), but more important to the present discussion is Whitelocke’s use of the word ‘audacitye’ to describe the learning outcomes of the academic stage.

‘Audacity’ does, of course, have implications on the disorder noted above by McCarthy, but in the Renaissance this term almost always referred to skill in rhetorical delivery. Boys were viewed by schoolmasters as inherently bashful, and it was the master’s responsibility to ensure that he taught them a boldness of voice, countenance and gesture—a boldness that was trained through the performance of plays and orations. According to Hoole, the academic stage was ‘an especiall remedy to expel that subrustick bashfulnesse, and unresistable timorousnesse, which some children are naturally possessed withal’.²⁹⁹ Curiously, however, the methods of learning audacity often included the ability to act in the opposite manner; that is, to be able to act bashful was, in effect, to conquer bashfulness and become bold. Bashful

²⁹⁶ Paul Whitfield White, *Theatre and Reformation: Protestantism, Patronage, and Playing in Tudor England* (Cambridge, 1993), 101.

²⁹⁷ Both functions, however, were used to defend drama. Thomas Heywood, for example, in his Sidneian defence of acting, maintained that ‘playes haue made the ignorant more apprehensiu, taught the vnlearned the knowledge of many famous histories, instructed such as ca~not reade in the discouery of all our English Chronicles...[and] our Scenes affoord thee store of men to shape your liues by’ (*Apology for Actors*, F3r, G1r).

²⁹⁸ James Whitelocke, *Liber Famelicus*, ed. John Bruce (London, 1858), 12.

²⁹⁹ Hoole, *New Discovery of the Old Art*, 142-3.

beginnings, besides being the appropriate method for beginning a speech,³⁰⁰ also proved to the audience that the orator was in full command of his emotions. Nevertheless, it was the special province of drama, rather than declamation or any other kind of oration, to train audacity, as Thomas Heywood confirms:

In the time of my residence in Cambridge, I haue seene Tragedyes, Comedyes, Historyes, Pastorals and Shewes, publickly acted, in which Graduates of good place and reputation, haue bene specially parted: this is held necessary for the emboldening of their Iunior schollers, to arme them with audacity, against they come to bee employed in any publicke exercise... It teacheth audacity to the bashfull Grammarian, beeing newly admitted into the priuate Colledge... and makes him a bold Sophister, to argue *pro et contra*... To come to Rhetoricke, it not onely emboldens a scholler to speake, but instructs him to speake well... to keepe a decorum in his countenance... It instructs him to fit his phrases to his action, and his action to his phrase, and his pronuntiation to them both.³⁰¹

William Gager defends the academic stage in similar terms; unlike the public players, who come ‘upon the stage... of a lewd... monstrous humor’, Gager maintains that the academic stage is meant ‘honestly to embolden owre pathe’; its speeches ‘trye their voices and confirme their memoryes; to frame their speech; to conforme them to convenient action’;³⁰² William Malim, headmaster of Eton, agreed, declaring that ‘nothing is more conducive to fluency of expression’ than drama.³⁰³ In short, as Whitelocke’s memory of Mulcaster’s tuition reveals, drama was used to cultivate ‘*vox, vultus, vita*, “voice, countenance, life”’.³⁰⁴

5. *Acting and Oratory*

If the spirit of Demosthenes is at work in *Positions* and the *Elementarie*, it is just as much present in Mulcaster’s use of drama to train oratory. According to Plutarch, it was Satyrus, an actor, who first taught Demosthenes the importance of delivery;

³⁰⁰ Fraunce, *Arcadian Rhetorike*, 114, 128.

³⁰¹ Heywood, *Apology for Actors*, C3v-4r. In a passage that no doubt would have appealed to Mulcaster, Heywood asserts that drama’s secondary function is to refine the vernacular: ‘...our English tongue, which hath ben the most harsh, vneuen, and broken language of the world, part Dutch, part Irish, Saxon, Scotch, Welsh, and indeed a gallimaffry of many, but perfect in none, is now by this secondary meanes of playing, continually refined, euery writer striuing in himselfe to adde a new flourish vnto it; so that in the processe, from the most rude and vnpolisht tongue, it is growne to a most perfect and composed language’ (F3r).

³⁰² See Frederick S. Boas, *University Drama in the Tudor Age* (Oxford, 1914), 235-6.

³⁰³ See H. Maxwell Lyte, *A History of Eton College, 1440-1875* (London, 1875), 157.

³⁰⁴ Wright, *Passions of the Mind*, 213.

another actor, Roscius, was responsible for Cicero's skill in *actio*.³⁰⁵ In this sense, academic drama was not designed to produce professional playwrights, nor professional actors, but rather professional speakers, and, more generally, men who could navigate successfully a society heavily circumscribed by decorum. Nevertheless, as recent studies by Andrew Gurr, Jane Donawerth, Joseph Roach, and Peter Thomson have shown,³⁰⁶ the acting styles of professional companies were influenced by oratory well into the seventeenth century: 'The background of even the post-1599 boy companies was... more academic than that of the professional adult players, and their training accordingly was probably not so much in pure acting practice as in the declamatory arts of rhetoric, specifically pronunciation and gesture'.³⁰⁷ The style of acting favoured by the academic stage was more formal and reserved than in the commercial theatre, and thus we note that Hamlet's famous strictures for his common players (III.ii.1-45) are similar to those written into academic drama. One of the boys in *Antonio's Revenge* (acted by St Paul's in 1600), for example, asks his fellow if he

...would'st have me turn rank mad,
Or wring my face with mimick action;
Stampe, curse, weepe, rage, & then my bosome strike?
Away tis apish action, player-like.³⁰⁸

It is this 'player-like' actor who appears as 'Ease' in Spenser's *The Faerie Queene*:

And to the vulgare beckning with his hand,
In signe of silence, as to heare a play,
By liuelie actions he gan bewray
Some argument of matter passioned... (III.xii.4.3-6)

Trained on the academic stage rather than the professional one, Spenser's antipathetic attitude towards the latter may stem from his involvement in the former. But crucially, whatever styles of acting one associated with either stage, it is the ability of the actor to 'bewray' some 'matter passioned' that connects acting to oratory.

When Thomas Wright distinguished the performance of actors from that of orators, he declared that while the former act only in order to 'delight' and 'make men

³⁰⁵ Plutarch, *Demosthenes*, 7.1; Cicero, *De Oratore*, 3.25.102-3; Demosthenes' actor-teacher is called Andronicus by Pseudo-Plutarch (*Lives of the Ten Orators*, 576), and indeed, this is the name used in the Renaissance to connect the concerns of acting and oratory (see the frontispiece for John Bulwer's *Chirologia [and] Chironomia*).

³⁰⁶ See note 4 in my introduction.

³⁰⁷ Gurr, *Playgoing in Shakespeare's London*, 96.

³⁰⁸ John Marston, *Antonio's Revenge*, ed. W. Reavley Gair (Manchester, 1978), I.v.77-80.

laugh', the latter do so 'to stir up all sorts of passions' and use 'gravity, grace, and authority'.³⁰⁹ In this distinction, however, oratory bears more resemblance to one kind of dramatic performance than does acting, for Wright seems to imply here that all actors are comedians, while all orators are tragedians. Still more confusing in his efforts to separate the two activities is his dictum that all orators act 'really', while actors 'feignedly'.³¹⁰ One may be forgiven for enquiring after the legitimacy of this distinction, since both orators and actors are required to summon various emotional states using artificial techniques. The only distinction that seems readily apparent is to do with the respective purposes of the performers (the orator to persuade, the actor to delight), and also with the fact that an orator should correct the actor's craft with 'prudent mediocrity'. Yet this last difference could also be a similarity, especially if we are to take Hamlet's directions to his players as indicative of a growing distaste amongst early modern audiences for overly ostentatious displays of gesture in acting.³¹¹ And of course the distinction between persuading and delighting is a false one. In poetry as in oratory, as Sidney says, the goal is to do both, teach and delight; even Wright admits that the ideal orator—a preacher—would be 'admirable not only for doctrine but also for action'.³¹²

In terms of the relationship between delivery and the emotions, the oppositions set up between actor and orator inevitably break down, despite the declared differences in purpose. According to Wright, the actor learns his voice and gesture from imitating 'men appassionate', and the orator learns his voice and gesture after tempering a second-hand imitation of the actor.³¹³ Both actor and orator, then, must learn the art of impersonation in order for their craft to succeed, and the rule that inevitably governed these impersonations involved the self-inculcation of emotions. As Quintilian says, 'the prime essential for stirring the emotions of others is, in my opinion, first to feel those emotions oneself'.³¹⁴ This is standard advice in treatises

³⁰⁹ Wright, *Passions of the Mind*, 215-6.

³¹⁰ *Ibid.* 215.

³¹¹ See Roy Battenhouse, 'The Significance of Hamlet's Advice to the Players', in *The Drama of the Renaissance: Essays for Leicester Bradner* (Providence, 1970), 3-26.

³¹² Wright, *Passions of the Mind*, 216.

³¹³ *Ibid.* 215.

³¹⁴ Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria*, 6.2.26. Thomas Wright would put it thus: 'if we intend to imprint a passion in another it is requisite first it be stamped in our hearts' (*Passions of the Mind*, 212).

that extend from Aristotle, Horace, and Cicero to discussions on acting well into the eighteenth century. But here is this same advice in a prologue to a 1612 Dekker play:

That Man giue mee; whose Brest fill'd by the Muses,
With Raptures, Into a second, them infuses:
Can giue an Actor, Sorrow, Rage, Ioy, Passion,
Whilst hee againe (by self-same Agitation)
Commands the Hearers, sometimes drawing out Teares,
Then smiles, and fills them both with Hopes and Feares.³¹⁵

The key to accomplishing this self-stirring, or 'self-same Agitation', is, according to classical treatises, to 'assimilate [oneself] to the emotions of those who are genuinely affected', and Quintilian urges the orator to 'draw a parallel from the stage, where the actor's voice and delivery produce greater effects when he is speaking in an assumed role than when he speaks in his own character'.³¹⁶ In other words, stirring the emotions within oneself involves, paradoxically, taking on the emotions of someone else. Indeed, one needed to conjure *visiones* (or 'daydreams') of this 'assumed role' in the imagination 'with such vividness that they seem actually to be before our very eyes',³¹⁷ which in turn acts upon ones own passions in order to create the intended emotion. 'In Dekker's adaptation', as Jane Donawerth notes, 'the poet's fiction inspires the actor with a true emotion, which he then arouses in the audience: players thus move men by the power of emotions that are fictional and true at once'.³¹⁸

So whose emotion is it? Self agitation in both oratory and acting begins with a source of inspiration external to the speaker, which, when brought vividly to the inner imagination, moves the inner soul; the soul, in turn, moves the passions, which in turn are manifested in the sounds and gestures that will re-inspire the same 'other' emotion into the minds and bodies of the audience. Mulcaster describes just such a transfer of emotions between an orator and a listener in his account of the 1559 entry pageant for Elizabeth:

Here was noted in the Queen's Majesty's countenance during the time that the child spoke, besides a perpetual attentiveness in her face, a marvellous change in look, as the child's words touched either her person or the people's tongues and hearts. So that she with rejoicing visage did evidently declare that the words took no less place in her mind than they were most heartily

³¹⁵ Thomas Dekker, *If It Be Not Good, The Deuil is in it* (London, 1612), A4v.

³¹⁶ Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria*, 6.1.26-7.

³¹⁷ *Ibid.* 6.2.30.

³¹⁸ Donawerth, 'Shakespeare and Acting Theory', 167.

pronounced by the child as from all the hearts of her most hearty citizens.³¹⁹ Essentially, the same process that moves the orator, moves his auditors as well. There seems to be very little endorsement in rhetorical treatises that one need necessarily conjure these *visiones* from personal experiences of grief, anger, etc.; the opposite case is more usual, when the orator is asked to bring to mind the emotions of exempla in literature or on the stage.

But claiming as true (or ‘really’) something that was initiated ‘feignedly’ (as external inspiration), is really the emotional aspect of a process of imitation learned in the classroom. Imitation through ‘double translation’ (translating a passage, and then re-translating it back into its original language) was the prime means by which pupils learned composition; Leonard Barkan summarises:

The summit of translation activity in the schoolroom, propounded by Roger Ascham and based on Cicero, required the pupil to go back and forth from a Latin text to an English translation to a reinvented Latin and so on until perfect competence was achieved. This remarkable exercise enforces complex relations between replication and originality: students keep inventing as they travel across the language barrier until they achieve a text that is at once their own voice and the re-creation of a pre-existing model.

In the process of re-translating texts back into Latin, as Barkan continues, students were asked ‘to place themselves in hypothetical situations, sometimes historical, sometimes mythological, and to create their own Latin text. The resulting

³¹⁹ Richard Mulcaster, *The Queen's Majesty's Passage*, in Arthur F. Kinney (ed.), *Renaissance Drama: An Anthology of Plays and Entertainments* (Oxford, 1999), 23. Emotions are transferred from body to body throughout Mulcaster's précis of the pageant, the success of which transfer is confirmed when Elizabeth's facial expressions seem but the outward show of her nation's hearts. Elizabeth's ‘loving behavior’, writes Mulcaster, ‘preconceived in the people's heads upon these considerations was then thoroughly confirmed’; her ‘behavior’, in fact, implants ‘a wonderful hope’ in her people (22). That Elizabeth was herself as much of an actor in the pageant as the other participants is generally accepted; see William Leahy, ‘Propaganda or a Record of Events? Richard Mulcaster's *The Passage of Our Most Drad Sovereigne Lady Quene Elyzabeth Through the Citie of London Westminster The Daye Before Her Coronacion*’, *EMLS* 9 (2003), 6; and also Richard DeMolen, ‘Richard Mulcaster and Elizabethan Pageantry’, *SEL* 14 (1974), 209-221. Fittingly, Mulcaster also contributed to James' 1603 pageant, though, in this case, rather than an account of the progress, the schoolmaster wrote an oration which was performed by one of his students before the king; see Thomas Dekker, *The Magnificent Entertainment*, in *The Dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker*, ed. Fredson Bowers (Cambridge, 1955), II, 291.

exercises...amounted to dramatic impersonations'.³²⁰ Such impersonations, however, did not simply remain on the page, as Hoole suggests: 'I would have them translate the Fables and Themes [from Athonius] into pure English, and to repeat them (being translated) in both Languages, that by that means they may gain the Method of these kinde of exercises, and inure themselves to Pronunciation'.³²¹ Thus, in imagining themselves in situations once owned by others, now made their own, students would discover and enact the expression, voice, and gesture 'at once their own...and the re-creation of a pre-existing model'. When imagining grief, for example, it was not their own experience of it that sprang most readily to mind, but rather that of the vivid descriptions offered to the grief of Dido, Timoclea, Hecuba, Genevora, or any number of pathetic heroines that appeared on Mulcaster's stage. The fiction was made true as a result.

In the emotional double translating I am suggesting here, the lack of distinction between real and feigned emotion would have resulted from a back and forth trajectory of making fake what was once natural, and vice versa. Thus, the exercise of using bashfulness to train audacity is one that introduces the process of something that occurs naturally (bashfulness), and makes it instead into something self-produced. The grief of Timoclea, on the other hand, was a fiction made natural using the imagination. In such a way, boys were taught that the imagination and the body were inseparable in the creation of disposition. An explication of this inseparability begins by acknowledging that the theories of emotion that permeated classical and Renaissance rhetorics were based on a pneumatic understanding of psychology, as Joseph Roach notes:

The *praecordia* or diaphragm was viewed as a barometer of the passions; and the association of breath, thought, and blood explained the characteristic physiological manifestations of strong emotion, including the heaving breast, blushing, bulging veins in the next, choking and purpling with rage, and sighing with grief.³²²

³²⁰ Leonard Barkan, 'What did Shakespeare read?', in Margreta de Grazia and Stanley Wells (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Shakespeare* (Cambridge, 2001), 35-6. On double translation, see Ascham (*English Works*, 245), Brinsley (*Ludus Literarius*, 115, 117), and its treatment in Rhodes, *Shakespeare and the Origins*, 63-8.

³²¹ Hoole, *New Discovery of the Old Art*, 172.

³²² Joseph R. Roach, *The Player's Passion: Studies in the Science of Acting* (Newark, 1985), 27. These theories, as Roach suggests, are implicit in treatises that discuss the control of breath. Mulcaster recommends holding the breath not only because 'it helpeth to expell those residences, which lynger

Consequently, the body was to be trained like an instrument, with the emotions acting as the wind or fingers that give it sound and movement, as Cicero asserts:

For nature has assigned to every emotion a particular look and tone of voice and bearing of its own; and the whole of a person's frame and every look on his face and utterance of his voice are like the strings of a harp, and sound according as they are struck by each successive emotion. For the tones of the voice are keyed up like the strings of an instrument...³²³

The idea was to let the emotions stirred by the imagination so affect the body (like fingers on the string of a harp) that it resulted in the appropriate manifestations in voice and gesture, the sound and sight of which, when combined with a vivid description in words, imprinted itself on the imagination of the audience (thereby reproducing the same emotion initially felt by the orator).³²⁴ The instrument analogy does not of course preclude originality; it is not the case that humans are mere instruments, but rather that they should be tuned instruments. Wind, after all, does not make the sound of a trumpet unless it is blown through one.

Placing before the imagination 'things absent' with 'such extreme vividness that they seem actually to be before our very eyes' was designed to move the soul,³²⁵ in turn, this movement had an appropriate effect on the passions, so that the spirit would be given 'sufficient power over [the] body to alter its physical states, inwardly and outwardly'.³²⁶ Nevertheless, since the feeling stirred 'cannot be distinguished

within the bodie as being lothe depart', but also because it represents 'judgement' or control over the body. This control extends to oratory, for holding the breath 'is good for to open the pipes', 'helpe the eare in listening', and a remedy the 'weaknesse of the toungue, or any vocalle instrument' (*Positions*, 77-8).

³²³ Cicero, *De Oratore*, 3.56.214-5. For a sinister version of this idea, see Shakespeare's *Othello*, where Iago says of his master: 'O, you are well tuned now, / But I'll set down the pegs that make this music' (II.i.200-1).

³²⁴ The idea of the emotions 'striking' the body like fingers on a harp resonates with the intensely physiological understanding of the passions current in the Renaissance. Gail Kern Paster explains: 'The passions are like liquid states and forces of the natural world. But the passions—thanks to their close functional relation to the four bodily humors of blood, choler, black bile, and phlegm—had a more than analogical relation to liquid states and forces of nature. In an important sense, the passions actually were liquid forces of nature, because, in this cosmology, the stuff of the outside world and the stuff of the body were composed of the same elemental materials' (*Humoring the Body: Emotions and the Shakespearean Stage* (Chicago, 2004), 4).

³²⁵ Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria*, 6.2.29-30.

³²⁶ Roach, *Player's Passion*, 25.

from the truth',³²⁷ it is also important to note that this paradox also implied that the passions being stirred could also take control of the person faking them, just as so-called 'real' anger or grief could overcome the body and mind of a person.³²⁸ Roach concludes that 'the actor/orator of the seventeenth century sought to acquire inhibitions',³²⁹ and part of that acquisition process involved—for the schoolboy—the repetitive practice of enacting the emotions with the appropriate gestures, 'a prescribed pattern of action' that could serve 'as a pre-existing mold into which [the passions] can be poured'.³³⁰ So, while Mulcaster's students were taught to stir the emotions with their imaginations, it is also the case that the body was treated as an accomplice in this process, with its patterned actions in fact acting upon the imagination to recall emotions. As this chapter has outlined, such patterned actions in the various oral performances that defined an Elizabethan schoolboy's life, meant that learning and performance became as inseparable as the imagination and the body; and certainly Debra Hawhee's remarks on the relationship between athletics and rhetoric are pertinent to a schoolmaster who evidently valued both physical exercise and drama: 'At the heart of the connection between athletics and rhetoric is an appreciation for the immediate relation between training practices and performance...in a chiasmatic way that incorporates performance into learning, learning into performance'.³³¹

6. Summary

³²⁷ Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria*, 11.3.62.

³²⁸ John Bulwer writes 'Stay, Changeling Proteus! let me count the rapes / Made on thy Form, in thy abusive shapes...' (*Anthropometamorphosis* (London, 1650), prefatory verse).

³²⁹ Roach, *Player's Passion*, 52. According to Michael Schoenfeldt, it is 'self-control that authorises individuality' in the Renaissance (*Bodies and Selves in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 1999), 11).

³³⁰ Ibid. 55. Donne's description of the way rhetoric works on the emotions uses a similar image: 'The way of Rhetorique in working upon weake men, is first to trouble the understanding, to displace, and to discompose, and disorder the judgment, to smother and bury in it, or to empty it of former apprehensions and opinions, and to shake that beliefe, which it had possessed it self before, and then when it is thus melted, to power into new molds, when it is thus mollified, to stamp and imprint new formes, new images, new opinions in it' (*The Sermons of John Donne*, 10 vols., ed. George R. Potter and Evelyn M. Simpson (Berkeley, 1953-61), II, 282).

³³¹ Debra Hawhee, *Bodily Arts: Rhetoric and Athletics in Ancient Greece* (Austin, 2004), 7.

Compared to students at other Elizabethan grammar schools, Spenser, Andrewes, and Kyd may not have experienced a radically different curriculum at Merchant Taylors', but I believe that, under Mulcaster, the degree of emphasis on delivery, and on drama in particular, was unusual. So, although Mulcaster's students read the same books, memorized the same kinds of rules, and wrote the same kinds of speeches as, say, Alexander Nowell's at Westminster, the foregoing discussion has shown that Mulcaster's fascination with the sounds and movements of delivery was greater than most of his contemporaries. His inability, for example, to exclude the province of delivery from a work ostensibly dedicated to writing; his exhaustive treatment of physical exercises designed to improve oratorical skills; and the persistence and frequency of his school drama productions, all argue for a master uniquely disposed to transmit the issues of delivery in a curriculum already predominantly oral and aural in its methods of dissemination and evaluation. Thus, although most studies of Renaissance education—such as Baldwin's and Mack's, for example—tend to be based on available syllabi, I have placed greater stress on teaching methodology and its medium, where, arguably, the distinctiveness of a master's influence was most felt.

The effects of these instructional methods on written composition would be as follows: Firstly, as Robert Sonkowsky argues, 'the desired effect of delivery could be ensured in the process of composing speech'.³³² The inseparability of composition and delivery is, in fact, made explicit by John Bulwer, who declares at the outset of his *Chirologia [and] Chironomia* that 'speech and gesture are conceived together in the mind'.³³³ Commenting on Bulwer's work, B. L. Joseph says that 'not only sound, but also the gestures, could be imagined at the moment when thoughts were turned into language in the mind'.³³⁴ Secondly, the effect of learning these non-linguistic skills through performance in academic drama would, as mentioned above, create a heightened and self-conscious awareness of the means of rhetorical representation. Finally, the chiasmatic relationship between training and performance (that was a feature of classroom drama) inculcated an intensely physical imagination, such that voice and gesture not only registered emotions, but contributed to their agitation as well. 'All these aspects of education', as Neil Rhodes states, 'from lively verbal

³³² Sonkowsky, 'An Aspect of Delivery', 257.

³³³ *Chirologia [and] Chironomia*, 17; see also 247: 'The gestures of the hand must be prepared in the mind, together with the inward speech that precedes the outward expression'.

³³⁴ Joseph, *Elizabethan Acting*, 29.

expression to dramatic performance, reflect a more general awareness of the confluence of poetry (literature), rhetoric (oratory), and acting in Renaissance cultural theory'.³³⁵ As a result of this confluence, I would also add that Elizabethan pupils were attentive to the inseparability of linguistic and non-linguistic skills with regard to knowledge and expression, much in the same way that Mulcaster's elements were inseparable from the physical features of the 'throate', 'tung', and 'fense of tethe' of those who speak.

³³⁵ Rhodes, *Shakespeare and the Origins*, 27.

II

Edmund Spenser

It is generally accepted that the presence of wrestling in Book II of Spenser's *The Faerie Queene* reinforces the 'theme of self-mastery' crucial to the Legend of Temperance. Not surprisingly in a poem designed to 'fashion a gentleman', Guyon, the titular knight of Book II, may be distinguished from other combatants in the poem as an educated and courteous wrestler, the definitions for which Spenser could readily have accessed in recommendations for this sport made in Castiglione's *The Courtier* and Elyot's *The Boke Named the Governour*. These definitions, however, fall short in providing a link between wrestling and the virtue it is called upon to figure. Such a connection, I argue, presents itself in Mulcaster's *Positions*, which draws upon patristic and rhetorical traditions that associate educated wrestlers not only with temperance, but also with the hand gestures appropriate to an orator. So, although Homer, Lucan, and Ariosto may all be present in this Book's wrestling matches, so too are Cicero, Quintilian, and Clement of Alexandria; this latter section of sources encourages a consideration of Spenser's gestures, and offers a hitherto unexplored link between *The Faerie Queene* and the author's education at Merchant Taylors' School.

1. *Athletics and Rhetoric*

Of the two suitors competing for Deianira's hand in *Metamorphoses* 9, one has the misfortune to think it can be won with words. So, to Achelous' finely tuned speech, Ovid's Hercules responds with his own brand of persuasion: 'My hand is better than my tongue. Let me but win in fighting and you may win in speech'.³³⁶ Action, for Hercules, can supplant words. But to find in this story a distinction between the body of the wrestler and the words of the orator is to forget that the honey-tongued Achelous, though ultimately defeated, gives the brawny Hercules a rather good fight. Neither is Hercules a tongue-tied lout. Isocrates, for example, believes Hercules should be admired for his mental rather than his physical strength, and Lucian's Gallic commentator maintains that Hercules 'was a wise man who achieved everything by eloquence and applied persuasion as his principal force',³³⁷ a notion repeated with enthusiasm in the English Renaissance by Thomas Wilson and George Puttenham.³³⁸ While the relationship between the well-developed body and the well-delivered word can be traced intermittently over the two millennia separating Isocrates' gymnasium from Jacques Lecoq's International Theatre School, it receives its most explicit appreciation in the rhetorical treatises of the early Roman Empire, with signs of this recognition appearing in the Renaissance projects that imitated those treatises. Fundamental to this relationship is *pronuntiatio et actio*, or delivery, the final part of rhetoric, and the contribution of athletics—especially wrestling—to enable the orator to wield greater control over his body. Quintilian explains:

But the same name [of 'gymnastics'] applies to those who train gesture and movement to ensure that the arms are held straight, the hands show no lack of education and no country-bred manners, the stance is proper, there is no clumsiness in moving the feet, and the head and eyes do not move independently of the general inclination of the body. No one will deny that these matters come under Delivery, or attempt to separate Delivery from the person of the orator. Nor of course should anyone disdain to learn what he ought to do, especially as "chironomy"—which, as its name tells us, is the "law of gesture"—originated in heroic times...³³⁹

For the ancient Greeks, physical contests were associated with rhetorical contests primarily through their shared agonistic element, a relationship emphasized during this period by a persistent 'crossover between the language of athletics and that of rhetoric',³⁴⁰ with Cicero

¹ Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, trans. Frank J. Miller (London, 1921), 9.29-30.

² Lucian, *Heracles*, in *The Works of Lucian*, trans. A. M. Harmon (London, 1913), I, 67.

³³⁸ Wilson, *Art of Rhetoric*, 42; Puttenham, *Art of English Poesy*, 142.

³³⁹ Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria*, 1.11.17. See also 1.11.19, and Cicero, *De Oratore*, 3.59.220.

³⁴⁰ Hawhee, *Bodily Arts*, 34. Nonetheless, the tradition connecting athletics and persuasion begins with the Greeks, as Isocrates' *Antidosis* reveals: 'some of our ancestors long ago saw that although many arts existed for other matters, none had been established for the body and soul, and when they had invented two disciplines,

and Quintilian, however, the *agōn* becomes understated, and one is presented with a slightly more direct and literal correlation between the gymnasium and the physical bearing so crucial to swaying the minds of an audience. By the time of the Renaissance, vestiges of the Roman legacy in particular find purchase in only a small number of rhetorical and pedagogical works, most evocatively in Richard Mulcaster's *Positions*. And, I suggest, it is an inheritance passed on to Mulcaster's most famous student, Edmund Spenser, who, with his Legend of Temperance, joins the body of a wrestler to the words of St George. Considered in this way, Spenser's delineation of Guyon—the hero of Book II of *The Faerie Queene*—acts, among other things, as a cue to read the hand gestures in those 'heroic times'. For, like Hercules, Guyon prefers to speak with his hands.

According to Lancelot Andrewes, a classmate of Spenser's at Merchant Taylors' School and Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, temperance is a virtue for which 'the gesture must be looked unto', and its preservation draws comparisons with the exertions of a wrestler: 'he that is *athleta* that proveth masteries must bee abstinent and keepe a strait diet'.³⁴¹ To be sure, there are several justifications besides the presence of wrestling which provide suitable motives for a consideration of gesture. The sense of touch associated with temperance since at least the time of Aristotle provides one such route to the hands of Book II.³⁴² And there are several characters in the narrative that express their predominant traits or types through the hands, such as Ruddymane's 'guiltie handes from bloody gore' (II. ii.3.4), Braggadochio's bragging hands (iii.16.8), and Phaon's grieving hands (iv.28.7). Guyon, moreover, is said by the Palmer to have been 'immortalizd' because of his 'liuing handes' (viii.13.5), which, when combined with the 'mighty hands' in an earlier epithet (iv.6.4), represents a small but significant divergence from the 'mightie armes' (I.i.1.2, referring to armour specifically) by which other titular knights are known. But wrestling provides a unique means for approaching Book II and its gestures, particularly when it is set forth in terms indicative of

they handed them down to us: physical training for the body, of which gymnastic is a part, and philosophy for the soul... These two disciplines are complementary, interconnected, and consistent with each other' (in *Isocrates I*, trans. David Mirhady and Yun Lee Too (Austin, 2000), 239).

³⁴¹ Lancelot Andrewes, *The Patterne of Catechisticall Doctrine* (London, 1630), R9v, R5v. The 'masteries' analogy is culled from 1 Corinthians 9.25, a verse discussed below in relation to Guyon's particular mode of wrestling. *Athleta* may, of course, refer to any kind of athlete, though contemporary glosses suggest a wrestler. See also Thomas Newton's gloss for Milton's *agonistes* epithet (*The Poetical Works of John Milton*, vol. 3 (London, 1761), 197).

³⁴² Aristotle, *Nichomachean Ethics* 1118A. See also *De Anima* 422B and 424A.

pedagogical guidance. In this case, wrestling not only reinforces the ‘theme of self-mastery’ in the legend,³⁴³ addresses some of the difficulties inherent in any portrayal of an active and battling temperance, but also connects *The Faerie Queene* to an educational method that understands physical training as inseparable from the art of persuasion. Such a connection, then, enlarges Spenser’s agonistic metaphor to include the body to body transaction distinctive of an education in delivery. Unravelling the Gordian knot in which self-control, speaking hands, and wrestling confirm each other’s functions in Book II begins with Spenser’s sources and ends with the ‘law of gesture’.

2. *The Wrestler*

In 1926, Frederick Padelford and Matthew O’Connor first suggested that Guyon’s name may have been derived from one of Caxton’s etymologies of St George in *The Golden Legend*—a derivation that furnished Spenser with a pertinent link between Holiness and Temperance: ‘George may be sayd...of gyon that is a wrestler’.³⁴⁴ It is an etymology confirmed by the narrative. The Legend of Temperance tells the story of at least five wrestling matches involving its hero, Arthur, Furor, Pyrochles, Impotence, Impatience, Maleger, and the playful damsels at Acrasia’s fountain. Its presence as a defining activity in the poem is accentuated by wrestling-related mythology, courtly advice, and etymology. So, for example, the battle between Arthur and Maleger draws heavily on the myth of Hercules wrestling with Antaeus,³⁴⁵ a myth read in the Renaissance as a struggle against (and victory over) carnal desire.³⁴⁶ Secondly, with reference to courtesy books, wrestling is an exercise recommended by Castiglione because it ‘goeth much together with all weapon on foot’,³⁴⁷ and so we are encouraged to read Guyon’s perambulation throughout Book II (after the loss of his horse) as the sign of a wrestler nonetheless civil and educated. Similar assumptions may also govern Arthur’s fight with Maleger, which develops into hand-to-hand combat only after Arthur’s sword is deemed ineffective—Sir Thomas Elyot, after all, advocates wrestling for his

³⁴³ Susan Snyder, ‘Guyon the Wrestler’, *Renaissance News* 14 (1961), 251.

³⁴⁴ F. M. Padelford and M. O’Connor, ‘Spenser’s Use of the St George Legend’, *Studies in Philology* 23 (1926), 156.

³⁴⁵ See Lucan, *Bellum Civile*, 4.595-660.

³⁴⁶ See H. G. Lotspeich, *Classical Mythology in the Poetry of Edmund Spenser* (Princeton, 1932), 37.

³⁴⁷ Baldassare Castiglione, *The Book of the Courtier, Done into English by Sir Thomas Hoby, Anno 1561* (London, 1928), 40. C. S. Lewis calls Spenser’s presentation of the virtue of temperance ‘a dull and pedestrian one to fallen man’ (*The Allegory of Love: A Study in Medieval Tradition* (Oxford, 1936), 338).

nobleman ‘in case that a capitayne shall be constraigned to cope with his adversary hande to hande, havynge his weapon broken or loste’.³⁴⁸ Finally, wrestling interacts suggestively with the sense of touch figured prominently at various intervals in this allegory, most explicitly in Alma’s Castle, but also during moments when Guyon is given to seizing (Occasion), holding (Amavia), and touching (Mammon). In his colloquy regarding the etymology of wrestling, Plutarch gives the final word to Philinus, who proposes that ‘wrestling (*palê*) got its name from “draw near” (*plêsiazēin*) and “be close” (*pelas*)’.³⁴⁹

Such episodes, myths, and etymologies are only able to substantiate that Guyon should be thought of as a wrestler, but they also invite a consideration of other, ostensibly non-wrestling episodes in Book II as emblematic of a special relationship between this activity and temperance—namely, those moments involving manual agency, such as struggles, throws, and holds. Ambition’s throng in Mammon’s cave, for example, twists and writhes in a series of holds designed to frustrate their fellows’ efforts to ‘ryse or greater grow’: ‘But every one did strive his fellow downe to throw’ (II.vii.47.7-9).³⁵⁰ And Guyon’s destruction of the Bower of Bliss, then, can be appreciated in light of its performance by a wrestler, for it is ‘feld’ by Guyon’s hands; he overthrows Genius’ bowl of wine; and, in place of a verbal refusal to Excess, Guyon removes the cup from his hostess’ ‘tender hond’ and casts it to the ground (II.xii.83, 49, 57), a scene no doubt recalled in Milton’s *Comus* when the brothers ‘wrest’ the magic cup from Comus’ hands in order to protect the Lady’s ‘spare Temperance’ and ‘Sun-clad power of Chastity’.³⁵¹ Perhaps, too, though with different intent, it is Guyon’s manual agency that is invoked synecdochically by Seamus Heaney in ‘Come to the Bower’ (1975):

My hands come, touched
By sweetbriar and tangled vetch
Foraging past the burst gizzards
Of coin-hoards

³⁴⁸ Elyot, *Boke Named the Governour*, 74.

³⁴⁹ Plutarch, *Table-Talk I-III*, trans. P. A. Clement, in *Moralia*, vol. 8 (London, 1969), 2.4. The transliterations are Clement’s.

³⁵⁰ See ‘Epigram 69’ in John Davies’ *Wits Bedlam* (London, 1617): ‘A Flatterer (like a Wrastler) stoupeth low / To him he flatters: so to overthrow...’ (B7r).

³⁵¹ John Milton, *A Mask Presented at Ludlow Castle (Comus)*, in *Complete Poems and Prose*, ed. Merritt Y. Hughes (New York, 1957), ll. 767, 782. Milton gives the following directions for the brothers’ action with Comus: ‘The Brothers rush in with Swords drawn, wrest his Glass out of his hand, and break it against the ground...’ (p. 109).

To where the dark-bowered queen,
Whom I unpin,
Is waiting...³⁵²

Incorporating these kinds of touches, holds, and throws into a classification of wrestling in *The Faerie Queene* reduces but does not eliminate the specificity of their action, since they occur primarily and most vigorously during those moments in the narrative when temperance requires clarification. Quite often, these moments of hand and arm struggles provide Spenser with a means of embedding the active virtue of continence within what for Aristotle is a static virtue,³⁵³ such that Spenser's temperance promises greater affinity with that of Cicero's definition of the virtue as 'the orderliness and moderation in everything that is said and done'.³⁵⁴ So, for instance, whereas Guyon's temperance is largely static (or negative, in the sense of requiring simply a lack of action in response to temptation) when faced with the sights in Mammon's cave, it enjoins an active, dynamic dimension when grappling with the wine bowls and flora of Acrasia's garden.

³⁵² Seamus Heaney, 'Come to the Bower', in *North* (London, 1975), 31. Spenser, who wrote most if not all of *The Faerie Queene* while serving colonialist interests in Ireland, is arguably an abiding presence in Heaney's poems, explicitly so in 'Bog Oak'. Both poets share a fascination with wrestling tropes (see Heaney's 'Antaeus' and 'Hercules and Antaeus'), though if it is true that Heaney gives a voice in his poems to 'the mute inglorious colonisés of Irish history now sadly rebuking or finally retaliating against their colonizers', then Spenser may be counted as one of Heaney's poetic adversaries (Neil Corcoran, 'Seamus Heaney and the Art of the Exemplary', *Yearbook of English Studies* 17 (1987), 122).

³⁵³ A longstanding conversation on whether Guyon could represent continence (an active virtue) rather than, or simultaneously with temperance begins with Lilian Winstanley in her introduction to *The Faerie Queene, Book II* (Cambridge, 1914), esp. p. lii, where she determines that Spenser's temperance is both continence and temperance combined. F. M. Padelford ('The Virtue of Temperance in the *Faerie Queene*', *Studies in Philology* 18 (1921), 334-46), submits that Spenser's temperance is really Aristotle's continence. See Ernest Sirluck ('*The Faerie Queene, Book II, and the Nicomachean Ethics*', *Modern Philology* 49 (1951), 73-100) for an overview of the problem, and a possible solution. The 'paradoxical combination of motion and fixity', however, was not an insurmountable problem for Renaissance writers, and Spenser probably saw no contradiction in making temperance active (see Richard Peterson, *Imitation and Praise in the Poems of Ben Jonson* (New Haven, 1981), 25).

³⁵⁴ Cicero, *De Officiis*, 1.5.15. Ciceronian temperance, as Jennifer Richards notes, 'is the knowledge of how to employ speech and manners decorously, that is, with consideration to one's social context and audience. It is a flexible, political virtue of accommodation' (*Rhetoric and Courtliness*, 60-1). Michael Schoenfeldt remarks that Spenser is 'far more interested in the active dynamic nature of the virtue of temperance than he is in its ability to generate static tableaux of emblematic meaning' (*Bodies and Selves*, 45).

Nevertheless, the concupiscible and irascible passions, figured throughout Book II in various guises, threaten to break free from their reins during many of the legend's wrestling episodes,³⁵⁵ especially during moments when Spenser, seemingly unintentionally, frames temperance using erotic or violent means. An example for each of these means is found in the final canto of the book. The approach to the Bower of Bliss is peppered with various classical tableaux designed to distract the knight of Temperance, whose inevitable response may be summarised thus:

Of that sweet place, yet suffred no delight
To sincke into his sence, nor mind affect,
But passed forth, and lookt still forward right,
Brydling his will, and maystering his might... (II.xii.53.2-5)

Yet, when Guyon chances upon two 'naked Damzelles' as they 'wrestle wantonly' in the clear waters of Acrasia's fountain (II.xii.63-69), his resolve and governance fail with respect to the concupiscible passions—it is an encounter that also acknowledges the sexual potential available to wrestling metaphors, and therefore to a wrestler 'In whom great rule of Temperance goodly doth appear' (II.pr.5.9).³⁵⁶ This latent eroticism conflates the active dimension of temperance with two of its significant challenges—lust and sloth. Unlike Ovid's Salmacis (a nymph also in the business of seducing young men at crystal pools), who 'never varies her ease with the hardships of the hunt',³⁵⁷ Spenser's beguiling damsels—famously called 'Cissie and Flossie' by C. S. Lewis³⁵⁸—are found engaged in the throws and holds which have already helped to define an active temperance. We read of a similar conflation in Donne, which uses terms suggestive not only of an imminent 'wrestling match', but also of a notion very much in accord with the proclivities of Spenser's damsels:

Come, Madam, come, all rest my powers defie,
Until I labour, I, in labour lie...
Unpin that spangled breastplate which you wear,
That th'eyes of busie fooles may be stopt there.³⁵⁹

Shortly after Guyon's temptation at the fountain, we discover such unpinned armour 'hong upon a tree' as Verdant sleeps in Acrasia's lap (II.xii.79-80), a picture that coincides with

³⁵⁵ For the classical Greek concept of the soul (reason) as a charioteer driving the horses of passion and appetite, see Plato, *Phaedrus*, 246A-B.

³⁵⁶ On the classical use of wrestling as a euphemism for sex, see J. N. Adams, *The Latin Sexual Vocabulary* (London, 1982), 157-8.

³⁵⁷ Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 4.309-10.

³⁵⁸ Lewis, *Allegory of Love*, 331.

³⁵⁹ John Donne, 'Elegie [XIX] To his Mistress Going to Bed', in *John Donne: The Complete English Poems*, ed. C. A. Patrides (London, 1994), ll. 1-2, 7-8.

Stephen Gosson's observation that revelry has transformed English 'courage to cowardice', so that 'our wrestling at armes is turned to wallowing in ladies lappes'.³⁶⁰ Indeed, that Spenser has a particular interest in the symbolism of wrestling in the Bower of Bliss may be inferred from the modification of one of his sources. The fountain scene encountered just prior to the unpinned Verdant is a close adaptation of Tasso's *Gerusalemme Liberata* 15.58-66, yet Spenser's main alteration is to replace swimming with wrestling as the principal occupation of the damsels. Such a change elicits comparisons with nude female wrestlers in other traditions, most notably in the ancient schools of Sparta where, as Propertius marvels, 'a girl may without blame disport her body naked among wrestling men'.³⁶¹ Plutarch records that the 'appearance of the maidens without much clothing...in athletic contests' provided, as one might expect, 'incentives to marriage'.³⁶² Marriage may be deferred in an allegory that has yet to address the virtue of chastity, but its incentive has already arrested Guyon's 'wandring eyes' as they take their fill of what, in some traditions, is only the deserved prize of a wrestler.³⁶³ The girls 'ne car'd to hyde, / Their dainty partes from vew of any, which them eyd' (II.xii.63.8-9), and the charge levelled against Spenser is that, like Guyon's eyes, the poet remains fixed on this 'vew' a rather long time (six stanzas of 'delights...bewrayd' (II.xii.66.8)) in what is intended to be the story of temperance.³⁶⁴

The reflexivity of the moment is further impelled by the poet's choice to represent the gaze of a wrestler as settling on other wrestlers, which extends conveniently to the paradox inherent in using art (poetry) to renounce art (the garden). Nevertheless, however lovingly one finds the poet dwelling on his craft, and however unconvincing his solution to this erotic experience, Spenser does at least provide for its end: 'Of which when gazing him the Palmer

³⁶⁰ Stephen Gosson, *The Schoole of Abuse* (London, 1579), B8r. The ability to wrestle in armour was a critical one for soldiers from ancient times until the advent and widespread use of gunpowder, though in terms of an exercise or a contest it required both participants to be naked (or nearly so).

³⁶¹ Propertius, *Elegiae*, trans. H. E. Butler (London, 1914), 3.14.1-4. Plato, with one eye on Spartan practice, recommends wrestling for women in his ideal state, and states that girls under the age of puberty should compete stripped (*Laws* 833C-834D). Psychoanalytic readings of *The Faerie Queene* often put Guyon's age at about puberty or just under (See Benjamin Lockerd, *The Sacred Marriage: Psychic Integration in The Faerie Queene* (London, 1987), 123-37).

³⁶² Plutarch, 'Lycurgus', in *Lives*, trans. Bernadotte Perrin (London, 1914), 15.1.

³⁶³ The prize for each wrestler in the funeral games of the *Posthomeric* is two 'captive-maids' of unsurpassed beauty (Quintus Smyrnaeus, *The Fall of Troy*, trans. A. S. Way (London, 1955), 4.270-83).

³⁶⁴ See Arlene Okerlund, 'Spenser's Wanton Maidens: Reader Psychology and the Bower of Bliss', *PMLA* 88 (1973), 62-8.

saw, / He much rebukt those wandring eyes of his' (II.xii.69.1-2). The necessity of the Palmer's intervention resonates, of course, with a notion of grace consistent throughout *The Faerie Queene*, but that such an intervention occurs for a wrestler observing sexual play underscores the distinction between a classical and Christian view of temperance in relation to the concupiscible passions.³⁶⁵ Specifically, Guyon's inability to avert his own gaze contrasts with the self-control exhibited by an antique wrestler associated in the Renaissance with temperance. Clitomachus—praised by Stephen Gosson for his self-control—was, according to Aelian, a champion Olympic wrestler whose acute sense of abstinence was such that he would 'turn away whenever he saw dogs mating, and if at a party the conversation turned to love he would get up and leave'.³⁶⁶ The Palmer's rebuke to Guyon's lusty stare ends the immediate threat posed by the concupiscible passions (and the poet's delight), but it is a rebuke that, by its very necessity, leaves the threat at large with the further implication that Guyon could never have turned himself away from the wrestlers.

Conversely, no such rebuke or intervention accompanies the 'rigour pittillesse' with which Guyon overthrows the Bower of Bliss (II.xii.83). If, as suggested above, we widen the available terms used to connote wrestling in Book II, then the ruination of the Bower of Bliss puts the finishing touches to a long trail of violent, and therefore intemperate acts in the Legend of Temperance for which the primary vehicle is wrestling itself. The debate over whether Spenser belies his moral allegory (with the intemperate acts of battle necessary for defining it) is well-documented, and is epitomised by Stephen Greenblatt's assessment of the final stanzas of Book II: 'temperance... must be constituted paradoxically by a supreme act of destructive excess'.³⁶⁷ What, then, has wrestling to do with temperance?

It has, of course, a long tradition as a metaphor for this kind of *psychomachia*. In his letter to the Ephesians, Paul uses wrestling as a metaphor for the struggle against evil (6.12), and, with this verse following immediately the exhortation to don the armour of God, it provides yet another promising link between the adventures of Redcrosse and those of Guyon. The Geneva gloss for 1 Corinthians 9.25 ('And every man that prooveth masteries,

³⁶⁵ Lauren Silberman suggests that Spenser's supposed excesses in Book II are actually proof of a sustained critique on the classical conception of temperance as a 'ready-made theoretical framework for acting in the fallen world' ('*The Faerie Queene*, Book II and the Limitations of Temperance', *Modern Language Studies* 17 (1987), 9).

³⁶⁶ Aelian, *Historical Miscellany*, trans. N. G. Wilson (Cambridge, Mass., 1997), 3.30. See also Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, 6.15.3-4, and Gosson, *Schoole of Abuse*, B4r.

³⁶⁷ Stephen Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare* (Chicago, 1980), 172.

abstaineth from all things') ensures that one reads 'masteries' not only as 'to runne' (as most modern translations have it), but also—revealing an indebtedness to Jerome—as to 'wrestle (as then the games of Isthmies were)'.³⁶⁸ Furthermore, there is a convention, extending from Chrysostom's *Homilies* to Milton's *Paradise Regained*, which imagines the three temptations of Christ as a wrestling match.³⁶⁹ The aptness of the metaphor in this case occurs because of the sport's ancient rules, which give victory to the wrestler first able to throw an opponent three times; and this, of course, projects to other significant threes for Christian homilists and poets. Some problems, however, present themselves when one treats these Biblical and patristic metaphors as solely responsible for Spenser's figuration of Temperance as a wrestler. For one, the metaphor in Ephesians, though it joins wrestling with a resistance to temptation and evil, is far removed from an active and dynamic virtue that chooses the path between two extremes (or even the path of justified extremes). Furthermore, the metaphor in 1 Corinthians, as well as in its patristic and later usage, relies on a comparison associated specifically with games and spectacles, which, in *The Faerie Queene*, may serve for the wrestling done by the naked damsels, Diana's nymphs (I.xii.7.9), or by Calidore versus Coridon (VI.ix.43-44), but not by Guyon. So, although Spenser may have had Paul's epistles in mind when aligning temperance with wrestling, I believe that the poet chiefly refers to another tradition that associates temperance with an educated wrestler. It is this tradition that brings us to the gestures of Book II.

3. *The Gymnasium*

Theodorus, in Plato's *Theaetetus*, accuses Socrates of never letting 'anyone go who approaches you until you have forced him to strip and wrestle with you in argument'.³⁷⁰ And

³⁶⁸ Citations are from the 1597 edition of the Geneva Bible. See Jerome, *Biblical Commentary*, ed. J. A. Fitzmeyer and R. E. Brown (Englewood Cliffs, 1968), II, 268: 'Corinth was famous for the Isthmian games celebrated there every two years'. Milton, in *Areopagitica* (1644), must have temperance in mind specifically when he finds himself unable to 'praise a fugitive and cloister'd vertue, unexercis'd & unbreath'd, that never sallies out and sees her adversary, but slinks out of the race, where that immortall garland is to be run for, not without dust and heat' (in *The Works of John Milton*, IV, ed. William Haller (New York, 1931), 309). The 'dust' in this last clause intimates wrestling rather than running, the sprinkling of which, as Plutarch notes, 'wrestlers make much use' (*Table-Talk I-III*, 638E).

³⁶⁹ See Chrysostom, *Homily 13* on Matthew 4.1, and John Milton, *Paradise Regained*, 4.562-68.

³⁷⁰ Plato, *Theaetetus*, trans. H. N. Fowler (London, 1921), 169B. See also *Euthydemus* 277D.

Pindar says of poets that they use ‘words like wrestlers’ limbs’.³⁷¹ Quite possibly Harold Bloom had Plato and Pindar in mind when justifying his choice of authors in *The Anxiety of Influence*: ‘My concern is only with strong poets, major figures with the persistence to wrestle with their strong precursors, even to the death’.³⁷² Such examples only bring us back to metaphors of games and spectacles, yet they deserve brief mention, in part because narrative limbs may indeed wrestle with ‘strong precursors’ in Spenser’s poem. Guyon’s match against Furor, for example, may be read as Spenser wrestling with Virgil’s *Aeneid*, which ends somewhat abruptly with the furor of Aeneas (whose eyes—like those of Spenser’s Furor (II.iv.15)—flash with flames as he kills Turnus), as well as with Homer’s *Iliad* and Ariosto’s *Orlando Furioso* (since each narrative is propelled by, respectively, Achilles’ rage and Orlando’s fury). In fact, on several occasions in Ariosto’s poem, Orlando is considered specifically as a wrestler, not only through various hand-to-hand battles, but also during a frenzied gouging of the countryside, reminiscent of a similar act by Hercules in *Aeneid* 8.³⁷³ In describing the battle between Guyon and Furor, Spenser echoes his models with the use of the bull simile (II.iv.7.8) that attends nearly every classical wrestling bout from the *Iliad* (Book 23, Ajax versus Odysseus) onwards.

Yet here, true to intentions stated in a letter to Gabriel Harvey, Spenser ‘overgoes’ Ariosto et al,³⁷⁴ perhaps expressing what Nietzsche would call a ‘divine envy’, or ‘ardent desire to step into the place of the overthrown poet and to inherit his fame’.³⁷⁵ This, if true, Spenser does by embedding the wrestling narrative in canto iv with some important

³⁷¹ Pindar, ‘Nemean 4’, in *Pindar in English Verse*, trans. A. S. Way (London, 1922), I. 95.

³⁷² Harold Bloom, *The Anxiety of Influence: A Theory of Poetry* (Oxford, 1975), 5. I am indebted in this section to Helen Lovatt’s study of Statius’ *Thebaid*, in which she reads the wrestling between Agylleus and Tydeus as ‘a contest between Ovid and Lucan’ (*Statius and Epic Games: Sport, Politics and Poetics in the Thebaid* (Cambridge, 2005), 16).

³⁷³ Ariosto, *Orlando Furioso*, 23.134-36.

³⁷⁴ Harvey, in a letter to Spenser, reminds the poet of his ‘last letter’, in which Spenser had declared his intention to ‘overgo’ Ariosto (*The Works of Edmund Spenser: A Variorum Edition*, vol. 10, ed. R. Gottfried (Baltimore, 1949), 471). See Lawrence Rhu, ‘Agons of Interpretation: Ariostan Source and Elizabethan Meaning in Spenser, Harington, and Shakespeare’, *Renaissance Drama* 24 (1993), 171-88, esp. p. 174. Rhu shows that the process of ‘interpreting action’, manifested most clearly in the Palmer’s ‘procedural clarification’, is absent in Ariostan narrative strategy.

³⁷⁵ Friedrich Nietzsche, ‘Homer’s Contest’, in *Early Greek Philosophy and Other Essays*, trans. Maximilian A. Mügge (New York, 1964), 56. Eristic metaphors, according to George W. Pigman, reveal ‘an open struggle with the model for pre-eminence, a struggle in which the model must be recognised to assure the text’s victory’ (‘Versions of Imitation in the Renaissance’, *Renaissance Quarterly* 33 (1980), 6).

qualifications which relate not only to the passions expressed in his models, but also to the type of wrestler Guyon embodies. Beginning with his match against Furor, it is apparent that, although some standard wrestling conventions are employed, Guyon's bout will carry an altogether different significance than its antecedents: Guyon, in the act of overthrowing Furor, 'overthrew him selfe vnwares, and lower lay' (II.iv.8.9). The Palmer reacts by advising the knight to 'amenage' instead Furor's 'aged mother' Occasion; she is, as Gerald Morgan suggests, the 'sorrow that is the source of anger', and the 'unappeasable desire for vengeance'³⁷⁶—an insight that speaks directly to the rage of Achilles and Orlando. Spenser's Christian wrestler will ask rather, with Augustine, 'not...whether a pious soul is angry, as why he is angry; nor whether he is sad, but whence comes his sadness; nor whether he is afraid, but what he fears'.³⁷⁷

Nonetheless, Guyon's initial deficiency against Furor adverts to the mimetic body to body transference of emotions that, recalling a similar physical transference between orators and their audiences,³⁷⁸ occurs when Guyon becomes 'enfienced' and 'emboyl[ed]' while Furor's 'currish play' is 'sternly grypt' (II.iv.8-9). The proper outlet of Guyon's passions is provided by the Palmer, and, in the direction to engage *mano a mano* with Occasion, several details indicate this outlet can also be rhetorical in nature. That is, even if Spenser's Occasion resembles in appearance the medieval emblems of Fortune more than she does the Greek figure of *kairos* (who is often depicted in a male athletic form), the action of Guyon seizing the 'hoar lockes, that hong before her eyes' (II.iv.12.3) is resonant with the sophist's kairotic art of 'immanence in a particular rhetorical moment'.³⁷⁹ The spontaneous response to contingency that characterises Gorgiastic *kairos* is emulated in Spenser's narrative by Guyon's need to change tactics in mid-battle with Furor, as well as by the Palmer's advice, which, through Spenser's use of anaphora and aposiopesis, is marked by the hesitancy that might attend any abrupt conditional adjustment: 'He is not, ah, he is not such a foe'

³⁷⁶ Gerald Morgan, 'The Idea of Temperance in the Second Book of *The Faerie Queene*', *RES* 37 (1986), 32. Guyon's timely obedience to the Palmer is reminiscent of the pedagogical advice given by Vergerius: 'But where an active frame is conjoined to a vigorous intellect a true education will aim at the efficient training of both—the Reason, that is may wisely control, the Body, that it may promptly obey' (*De Ingenuis Moribus*, in *Vittorino Da Feltre and Other Humanist Educators*, ed. and trans. W. H. Woodward (Cambridge, 1905), 112).

³⁷⁷ Augustine, *The City of God against the Pagans*, ed. and trans. R. W. Dyson (Cambridge, 1998), 9.5. See Schoenfeldt, *Bodies and Selves*, 18.

³⁷⁸ See Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria*, 6.2.26-30 and 11.3.2-3.

³⁷⁹ Hawhee, *Bodily Arts*, 76. The long forelock (bald behind) is the only attribute shared by both Spenser's Occasion and the Greek figure of *kairos*.

(II.iv.10.4). Philostratus, in his treatise *On Gymnastics*, provides a further connection between Occasion and the wrestler who ‘amenages’ her:

How many different kinds of wrestling holds there are, the *paidotribai* [wrestling teacher] will show, laying down the principles of the opportune moment (*kairous*), the attack, the extent of practice, and the rules for defending oneself or for breaking through another’s defense.³⁸⁰

Moreover, to her struggle with Guyon, Occasion brings an association with bodied speech—‘euer as she went, her tounge did walke / In fowle reproch’ (II.iv.5.1-2)—that is fully realised after her tongue is fastened with an ‘yron lock’: ‘Then whenas vse of speach was from her left, / With her two crooked handes she signes did make’ (II.iv.13.1-2).

To this same struggle, as we will see, Guyon brings a body distinguished by its educated habit. Consequently, although the wrestling of games and spectacles may be appropriate metaphors for the agonistic element of rhetorical battle—between two poets, two orators (as the Greek sophists were fond of imagining it³⁸¹), or even, as Walt Whitman once wrote, between an ‘orator and his hearers’³⁸²—the palaestra of an educated wrestler will yield a somewhat different set of assumptions from that of the *agōn*. In this case, it is the kind of body prepared by and for the struggle that takes precedence over the contest itself; a body, in other words, whose conditioned bearing has significance beyond the gymnasium:

Just as the individual always brings his body into every occasion of his activity...so he brings himself as an upholder of conduct standards like physical adeptness, honesty, alertness, piety, and neatness. The record of an individual’s maintenance of these standards provides a basis others use for imputing a personal make-up to him.³⁸³

This is modern sociology, but because it could just as easily be a passage of Elyot’s or Castiglione’s, it is worth remembering that notions of civility share with rhetorical theory an emphasis on *ethos*,³⁸⁴ and in the case of wrestling it is an *ethos* derived solely from the carriage of the body. Thus the wrestling tropes of *The Faerie Queene* simultaneously invoke and qualify the Greek ‘cross-pollination’ of athletic and rhetorical language with the Roman tendency to pursue a more literal association with chironomy. And, as a Renaissance

³⁸⁰ See Ibid. 84.

³⁸¹ See Daphne O’Regan, *Rhetoric, Comedy, and the Violence of Language in Aristophanes’ Clouds* (Oxford, 1992), 11.

³⁸² ‘Yes, the place of the orator and his hearers is truly an agonistic arena. There he wrestles and contends with them—he suffers, sweats, undergoes his great toil and extasy. Perhaps it is a greater battle than any fought by contending forces on land and sea’ (Walt Whitman, *Complete Writings*, ed. R. M. Bucke, T. B. Harned, and H. L. Traubel, 10 vols. (New York, 1902), VIII, 245-246).

³⁸³ Erving Goffman, *Interaction Ritual: Essays on Face-to-Face Behaviour* (Chicago, 1967), 167.

³⁸⁴ An orator, according to Quintilian, is a ‘good man skilled in speaking’ (*Institutio Oratoria*, 12.1.1).

education is partially responsible for this qualification, I will allow Spenser's boyhood teacher to explicate its finer points.

Richard Mulcaster, who provided Spenser's early education (1561-1569), is more than any of his contemporary schoolmasters committed to the assimilation of physical exercise in the school curriculum. His fundamental theory of education, outlined in *Positions*, is occupied predominantly with a description of various exercises and their justification, and, when he pauses to consider wrestling, Mulcaster cites Clement of Alexandria as his main authority. Wrestling is the exercise most approved of by Clement, since, as he writes, the 'other exercises of the gymnasium demand the postures beneath our dignity'. Furthermore, wrestling should not be used for 'vain competition's sake', nor to 'cultivate the tricks meant only for display'. Rather, by training in the 'art of wrestling erect', an individual encourages movements that 'are much more orderly and manly', and 'are performed with controlled strength'.³⁸⁵ Mulcaster follows Clement in advocating for his wrestler an 'upright' stance 'without any great stouping', though the Renaissance schoolmaster is more specific about style when he eschews a 'pancraticall kinde of wrestling'.³⁸⁶ Pancratic wrestling uses a combination of holding and boxing, a fighting style we find exhibited by Furor, who attacks Guyon 'as a blindfold Bull at randon fares, / And where he hits, nought knows, and whom he hurts, nought cares' (II.iv.7.8-9). Also known as 'all-in wrestling', it is this form of combat that Roland Barthes would define as 'the spectacle of excess'.³⁸⁷ But whereas Barthes' modern 'professional' wrestler (a distant cousin of Cissie and Flossie) is characterised by grandiloquence in gesture, Guyon's manner as an educated wrestler may be identified conversely as physically eloquent. That is, here and elsewhere in the poem, Guyon gives evidence of an education through his use of holds and avoidance of blows (following Mulcaster's advice),³⁸⁸ and he is one of only a few characters in *The Faerie Queene* described as 'upright'—a posture approved by Clement for his Christian wrestler, and one distinct from that given to Occasion (Guyon's next hand-to-hand opponent in this episode),

³⁸⁵ Clement of Alexandria, *Christ the Educator*, trans. Simon Wood (Washington, 1954), 3.10.51.

³⁸⁶ Mulcaster, *Positions*, 84.

³⁸⁷ Roland Barthes, 'The World of Wrestling', in *Mythologies*, trans. Annette Lavers (London, 1972), 15.

³⁸⁸ Here Spenser adds another point of departure from the metaphors of struggle used in 1 Corinthians 9, since, according to Jerome, the verb used by Paul in verse 27 means "I strike under the eye," or in our parlance, "I uppercut." This blow under the eye was considered the knockout blow of the Gr[ee]k boxer' (*Biblical Commentary*, II, 268).

who ‘could not goe upright’ (II.iv.5.7). Furor’s lack of education is defined further in the following stanza:

His rude assault and rugged handling
 Straunge seemed to the knight, that aye with foe
 In fayre defence and goodly menaging
 Of armes was wont to fight... (II.iv.8.1-4)

Later, when Guyon has overthrown himself, Furor’s ‘clownish fistes’ batter Guyon’s ‘manly face’. The opposition between ‘clownish’ and ‘manly’ wrestling recalls, of course, the effects of this exercise as outlined by Clement, though there are traces of this same opposition in rhetorical and romance sources. When done properly, Quintilian and Cicero find that wrestling develops the ‘manly courage’ (*forti ac virili*) necessary for an orator; improperly, and the individual betrays his rusticity, madness, or paganism, as when Mandricardo and Orlando are likened to ‘clowns’ when they fall to fists during their wrestling match in *Orlando Furioso*.³⁸⁹ Similar terms are employed in *The Passetyme of Pleasure* (1517), when Hawes distinguishes rhetoricians by the use of their hands: ‘The good maner / encreaseth dygnyte | And the rudenesse / also inyquyte’.³⁹⁰ And Guyon’s educated body is emphasized also through a comparison with his narrative predecessor, for, in his letter to Raleigh, Spenser indicates that Redcrosse begins his adventure as ‘clownish’ and ‘unfytte through his rusticity for a better place’.³⁹¹ It is education that provides the means for a ‘better place’, and it is a physical education that ensures the body joins with the word to exhibit the signs of this ascendancy.

4. *The Rhetor-Wrestler*

In *Of Education* (1644), Milton recommends one-and-a-half hours of exercise every day, so that students may be ‘equally good both for Peace and War’.³⁹² That he has in mind wrestling in particular here is evident from his borrowing of Plato’s *Laws*:

³⁸⁹ See Cicero, *De Oratore*, 3.59.220, and Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria*, 1.11.17-18. ‘Clowns’ is John Harington’s 1591 translation (Ariosto, *Ludovico Ariosto’s ‘Orlando Furioso’, Translated into English Heroical Verse by Sir John Harington*, ed. Robert McNulty (Oxford, 1972), 23.65).

³⁹⁰ Stephen Hawes, *The Passetyme of Pleasure*, ed. William E. Mead (Oxford, 1928), ll. 1224-25.

³⁹¹ Spenser, ‘Letter to Raleigh’, in *The Faerie Queene*, 717. In an educative sense, then, Book I cures what Hoole might call a ‘subrustick bashfulness’ (*New Discovery of an Old Art*, 143), and Guyon enacts with his body the audacity gained from such an education (see chapter 1, section 5, and also below, where Guyon’s gestures are read by Mammon as bold—though here, as might be expected from this particular speaker, with the negative connotation of ‘rash’).

³⁹² John Milton, *Of Education*, in *Works*, IV, ed. A. Abbott (New York, 1931), 288.

As to the devices introduced by Antaeus or Cercyon in the art of wrestling for the sake of empty glory...since they are useless in the business of war, they merit no eulogy. But the exercises of stand-up wrestling, with the twisting free of neck, hands, and sides...these must not be omitted, since they are useful alike for service in war and for use at festivals...useful both in peace and war.³⁹³

However, in Renaissance England, wrestling at festivals was equated with the ‘empty glory’ Plato derides. Thus, Milton can recommend wrestling in a pedagogical work, but deride the same activity in *Samson Agonistes* during the festival of Dagon: ‘Have they not’, wonders Samson disdainfully, ‘Wrestlers, Riders, Runners, Juglers, and Dancers’.³⁹⁴ For humanist pedagogues, therefore, wrestling ‘for peace’ comprises in its ends mainly the health of the body, as well as a sign of civility expressed through the types of holds or stances employed. For Elyot, ‘the helthe of a man is preserved’ through exercise, and for Ascham, wrestling is ‘verie necessarie, for a Courtlie Ientleman to vse’.³⁹⁵ Wrestling ‘for war’ is of course in preparation for the event of hand-to-hand combat, and is recommended by Castiglione, Elyot, and Ascham, all of whom adhere to a long tradition—beginning with the ancient Greeks—promoting this kind of training in schools. Again, however, during the Renaissance, the terms required alteration, for the invention and increase in use of gunpowder had diminished the need for a soldier in possession of a well-trained body: ‘but for these vile guns’, says Hotspur in *I Henry IV*, ‘He would himself have been a soldier’.³⁹⁶ The redundancy of bodily skill in warfare, and the association of wrestling with ‘empty glory’ might have prompted Henry Peacham to remove wrestling from his list of recommended exercises in *The Compleat Gentleman* (1622). Mulcaster’s interest in wrestling, on the other hand, rises from a slightly different set of assumptions that, in turn, justify this sport’s inclusion in his curriculum—assumptions, too, that may underlie Spenser’s boyhood praise of exercise for its ‘warlike’ and ‘civill’ benefits.³⁹⁷

Despite confessing an admiration for the feats of ancient wrestlers during games, festivals, and wars, Mulcaster ‘neither meane[s] to dally with the gamester, nor to fight with the warriar’ in validating his physical education regime. Rather, he will defend exercise when

³⁹³ Plato, *Laws*, trans. R. G. Bury (London, 1926), 796A, D. According to Diogenes Laertius (*Lives of the Eminent Philosophers*, 3.4), Plato was an Olympic wrestling champion.

³⁹⁴ John Milton, *Samson Agonistes*, in *Works*, I.ii, ed. F. A. Patterson (New York, 1931), 388.

³⁹⁵ Elyot, *Boke named the Governour*, 74; Ascham, *English Works*, 217.

³⁹⁶ Shakespeare, *I Henry IV*, I.iii.63-64.

³⁹⁷ Edmund Spenser, ‘Mother Hubberds Tale’, in *The Shorter Poems*, ll. 781-82. Spenser claims in the dedicatory epistle to have written the poem ‘in the raw conceipt of my youth’.

its end is ‘to maintaine health, and to bring the bodie to a verie good habit’.³⁹⁸ Superficially, this claim does not imply any renovation of Elyot’s ‘health of a man’ and Ascham’s ‘courtly gentleman’, but Mulcaster exceeds them both, the first in degree, the latter in kind. With regard to physical education and health, Mulcaster bases his justifications on the humoral body (drawing heavily on Galen) in a way unparalleled amongst his English contemporaries. More importantly for this discussion, however, Mulcaster extends the notion of a ‘good habit’ of the body to include the gestures of the orator in the redefinition of a gentlemanly carriage.³⁹⁹ Here wrestling’s association with temperance begins to take shape. Mulcaster’s authority, Clement, admits wrestling into a Christian education because ‘in every thing and every place we should not live for pleasure nor for immorality; neither should we go to the other extreme’; a wrestler is defined as one who aims for ‘moderation in all things’.⁴⁰⁰ In adding to this association an exercise regime justified by its role in balancing the humours and ability to train the body of the orator, Mulcaster offers a paradigm which may be applied to Guyon’s behaviour in *The Faerie Queene*. A rhetor-wrestler, in other words, provides a model for understanding the apparently violent methods of achieving temperance in Book II, thereby encouraging the reader to situate moments of the wrestler’s intemperance within the larger framework of the moral allegory. Appreciating Guyon’s ‘excess’ is, in this sense, merely to acknowledge with Sidney the ‘wordish’ affinity between poetry and oratory.⁴⁰¹

A physical education that seeks to enable greater control over the humours has obvious connections with temperance, especially in a poem one of whose central concerns ‘is the relationship between physiology and morality, between matters of the body and conditions of the spirit’,⁴⁰² but perhaps not as readily apparent is the relation of its rhetorical aims to this virtue. Yet, besides the requisite control over the body that an orator must display in voice and gesture, rhetoric provides a context for the legitimate expression of the passions—passions which continue to move the knight of Temperance throughout his legend.⁴⁰³ According to classical rhetorical treatises, the persuasive power of a speech depends upon an

³⁹⁸ Mulcaster, *Positions*, 62.

³⁹⁹ See Aristotle, *Politics*, 8.3: ‘Now it is clear that in education... the body be trained before the mind; and therefore boys should be handed over to the trainer, who creates in them the proper habit of body, and to the wrestling-master, who teaches them their exercises’ (trans. B. Jowett (Princeton, 1984)).

⁴⁰⁰ Clement of Alexandria, *Christ the Educator*, 3.10.51.

⁴⁰¹ Sir Philip Sidney, *An Apology for Poetry*, ed. Geoffrey Shepherd (London, 1965), 139.

⁴⁰² Schoenfeldt, *Bodies and Selves*, 40-41.

⁴⁰³ See Morgan, ‘The Idea of Temperance’, 38.

orator's impact on the audience's emotions. This is achieved by stirring the emotions within himself,⁴⁰⁴ an act distinct from the 'natural' expression of passions above all because of the role of the person feeling them and the occasion of a speech that necessitates their manifestation. Thomas Wright states that 'in the substance of external action for most part orators and stage-players agree; and only they differ in this, that these act feignedly, those really...wherefore these are accounted ridiculous, those esteemed prudent'.⁴⁰⁵ Despite what Wright may say, as discussed in chapter 1, 'those' orators act 'really' not because they first stir and feel the emotions before expressing them (a method, after all, shared by actors), but rather because of who they are (orators) and what they do (oratory). If, as I suggest, wrestling can act as a metaphor in *The Faerie Queene* for the 'body-to-eye-to-brain-to-body'⁴⁰⁶ chain of persuasion that rhetorical *actio* entails, then the manual destruction and overthrowing of the Bower of Bliss by a wrestler locates its apparent excess within the proscribed boundaries of a legitimate outlet. Its function within an oratorical speech is suggested in Spenser's narrative in at least three ways.

Firstly, according to Quintilian, it is in the ending of a speech, or its peroration, that the orator must be 'allowed to release the whole flood of our eloquence',⁴⁰⁷ and we note that, although Guyon very nearly surrenders to his anger against Furor, the Palmer allows its full expression only at the end of the narrative:

But all those pleasaunt bowres and Pallace braue,
 Guyon broke downe, with rigour pittillesse;
 Ne ought their goodly workmanship might saue
 Them from the tempest of his wrathfulnesse,
 But that their blisse he turn'd to balefulnesse:
 Their groues he feld, their gardins did deface,
 Their arbers spoyle, their Cabinets suppressse,
 Their banket houses burne, their buildings race,
 And of the fayrest late, now made the fowlest place. (II.xii.83)

Felling is, as I have noted, an action well suited to a wrestler, but a rhetor-wrestler is

⁴⁰⁴ See Aristotle, *Poetics*, 17; Horace, *Ars Poetica*, 101-107; Cicero, *De Oratore*, 2.45.189-90; Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria*, 6.2.26-36.

⁴⁰⁵ Wright, *Passions of the Mind*, 215-6.

⁴⁰⁶ This formulation alters the oral/aural one used by Smith in *Acoustic World*. Whereas Smith focuses on 'brain-to-tongue-to-air-to-ear-to-brain communication, with a special interest in the middle part of that chain' (18), a similar trajectory for the gestures of the orator would appear rather as 'brain-to-body-to-eye-to-brain-to-body'. As Thomas Wright declares, the operations of the passions always cause 'some alteration in the body' (*Passions*, 95; and also bk. 1, ch. 3). See Ruth E. Harvey, *The Inward Wits: Psychological Theory in the Middle Ages and Renaissance* (London, 1975), 1-2.

⁴⁰⁷ Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria*, 6.1.51.

intimated here not only by the narrative position of this stanza, but also by Spenser's use of *enargeia*, a rhetorical concept that involves moving the affections of an audience through the vivid presentation of events. Therefore, according to Quintilian, a vivid or lively description is inextricably linked to the orator's ability to first feel and physically display the emotions inherent in the scene he wishes to express. And, when Quintilian comes to discuss the stylistic features of *enargeia*, his examples are drawn predominantly from scenes of destruction, many of which could implicate the *Institutio Oratoria* as a mine for poets as well as orators:

“...the floor was filthy, swimming with wine, littered with wilting garlands and fishbones.” What more could anyone have seen who had entered the room? ... No doubt, simply to say “the city was stormed” is to embrace everything implicit in such a disaster, but this brief communiqué, as it were, does not touch the emotions. If you expand everything which was implicit in the one word, there will come into view flames racing through houses and temples, the crash of falling roofs...⁴⁰⁸

The final four lines of Spenser's stanza adhere quite readily to this counsel, as they expand everything implicit in ‘broke down’—even in ways that refract the imagery of Quintilian's example⁴⁰⁹—and capture the emotional tenor of ‘rigour pittillesse’ without, as Demetrius cautions, ‘punctiliously and tediously elaborat[ing]’ the points; *enargeia*, in other words, depends on leaving some details ‘to the comprehension and inference of the hearer’.⁴¹⁰ And, to further contextualise Guyon's ruthlessness at the end of his story, we might also recall with Quintilian that the ‘task of the Epilogue includes not only exciting pity but also dispelling it’.⁴¹¹ Hence, Guyon's pity is aroused for Verdant (II.xii.82.8) only two lines before it is banished (II.xii.83.1), replaced instead with ‘rigour pittillesse’ and the ‘tempest of his wrathfulness’. Occurring as it does within a discussion of forensic rhetoric, Quintilian's

⁴⁰⁸ Ibid. 8.3.66-68. See also Cicero, *De Oratore*, 3.53.202. On Spenser's use of *enargeia*, see Paul J. Alpers, *The Poetry of The Faerie Queene* (Princeton, 1967), 102-5; and John Bender, *Spenser and Literary Pictorialism* (Princeton, 1972).

⁴⁰⁹ Drawing from the content of Quintilian's *enargeia* example was most frequent in pulpit oratory that sought to bring events before the eyes of their audience. The following example is from a sermon preached by Joseph Hall at Paul's Cross in which he sets out to describe ‘those hellish feudes in Scotland’ in days past: ‘...we neuer knew what it was to heare the murdering peeces about our eares; to see our churches and houses flaming ouer our heads; to heare the fearefull cracks of their fals mixed with the confused out-cries of men...’ (*An holy panegyrick. A Sermon Preached at Paules Crosse vpon the anniversarie solemnitie of the happie inauguration of our dread soueraigne Lord King James, Mar. 24, 1613* (London, 1613), F4r-v). In chapter 4, I suggest that Kyd made use of Quintilian in a similar manner.

⁴¹⁰ Demetrius, *De Elocutione*, trans. W. Rhys Roberts (Cambridge, 1902), 173.

⁴¹¹ Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria*, 6.1.46.

advice seems especially relevant to the complex interaction of pity and justice that Gerald Morgan has sketched in his discussion of Book II.⁴¹² Guyon's emotional destruction of the Bower, then, is really a problem for the Stoic rather than, for example, Sidney's poet-orator, or even Erasmus' Folly, who praises emotions as the 'spurs or goads, as it were, encouraging the performance of good deeds'.⁴¹³

Thus, to return to *Positions*, although many of Mulcaster's exercises are justified ostensibly by their role in controlling the humours, this in itself has direct implications for the orator's ability to persuade an audience. But the practice of raising and controlling emotions for the purpose of delivery appears more overtly in Mulcaster's physical education regime, where we find such exercises as, in Chapter 14, 'Of laughing, and weeping'. In fact, many of the exercises in Mulcaster's scheme are recommended due to their use in training the skills of delivery. The first exercise to appear in *Positions* is 'Of lowd speaking', on which the author claims to linger because 'it is both the first in rancke, and the best meane to make good pronouncing of any thing, in any auditorie, and therfor an exercise not impertinent to scholars'.⁴¹⁴ 'Good pronouncing' in rhetorical manuals refers not simply to the voice, but to gestures as well,⁴¹⁵ and several exercises in *Positions* train both parts with respect to delivery. Dancing, for example, teaches 'reason in gesture'; playing with a top will train the 'armes and hands' and rectify the manual deficiencies taught by 'ignoraunt nurses and mothers'; walking is good for 'the benefit of breathing, to deliver... long periodes'; running prevents the 'distorsion or writing of the mouth'; and leaping makes the body 'declare his consent' with the mind, so that it cooperates with the tongue in the 'uttering of joy'.⁴¹⁶ So, when Mulcaster recommends upright wrestling because it makes the body 'better breathed', helps 'haviour', and 'strengtheneth the sinews',⁴¹⁷ he is thinking not only of its health benefits, but also of its

⁴¹² Morgan, 'The Idea of Temperance', 32-34.

⁴¹³ Erasmus, *The Praise of Folly*, trans. Clarence H. Miller, 2nd ed. (London, 2003), 45.

⁴¹⁴ Mulcaster, *Positions*, 68.

⁴¹⁵ See Fraunce, *Arcadian Rhetorike*, 106; Wilson, *Art of Rhetoric*, 241; Quintilian, *Institutio Oratorio*, 11.3.2.

⁴¹⁶ Mulcaster, *Positions*, 82, 88, 93, 97, 98-99. Besides wrestling, Guyon engages in a Pyrrhic dance with Pyrochles (II.v.10-12), he leaps more than any other titular knight (II.v.18.8, vii.6.6), and of course he is pedestrian throughout Book II.

⁴¹⁷ Ibid. 83, 85. Spenser calls Artegall 'better breath'd' (v.ii.17.5) in relation to swimming. Although Mulcaster recommends swimming in *Positions* (100-102), Michael West has argued persuasively that, rather than his former headmaster, Spenser draws on Digby's *De Arte Natandi* (1587) for the depiction of Artegall's aquatic battle with Pollente ('Spenser, Everard Digby, and the Renaissance Art of Swimming', *Renaissance Quarterly* 26 (1973), 11-22).

associations with the well-delivered speech. ‘The auncient Palestra’, he reflects, was used ‘to prove the good bringing up of youth’ and was a ‘most certaine argument of abilitie well qualified’.⁴¹⁸ It is this tradition that invites us to a consideration of the hand gestures of Book II, for the pedagogical jurisdiction of the ancient palaestra pertained specifically to ‘chironomy’, or the ‘law of gesture’.

5. *Chirosophus*

The purpose of this section is by no means to provide an exhaustive account of gestures in *The Faerie Queene*, but it is merely to suggest, by way of a few examples, that Spenser positions and describes gestures within his narrative in a manner consistent with that of an orator. We might expect, then, that gestures will correspond with the sense rather than the literal meanings of words, just as they will register a character’s intentionality and agency within an emotional spectrum; they will nuance rather than oppose (or radically depart from) the surrounding narrative. Gestures, according to Fraunce, should ‘rather followe the sentence than expresse euerie particular word’,⁴¹⁹ or, as Quintilian would say, ‘gesture should be adapted to rather to his thought than to his actual words’.⁴²⁰ The relationship between gesture and agency is described more fully by John Bulwer:

Since whatsoever is perceptible unto sense, and capable of a due and fitting difference; hath a natural competency to express the motives and affections of the mind, in whose labors the hand which is a ready midwife takes oftentimes the thoughts from the forestalled tongue, making a more quick dispatch by gesture. For when the fancy hath once wrought upon the hand, our conceptions are displayed and uttered in the very moment of thought. For, the gesture of the hand many times gives a hint of our intention...⁴²¹

Of course, these gestures occur, along with their respective functions, throughout the poem; but as Book II is concerned with a wrestler who learns and communicates with his body, their descriptions in this particular legend hold significance as one impetus for Spenser’s wrestling trope. Arthur’s wrestling victory over Maleger, for example, occurs when the knight’s memory (‘He then remembred well, that had bene sayd’) triggers an alteration in his ‘puissant hands’ (II.xi.45-46), a narrative trajectory that may be argued to mimic the order of

⁴¹⁸ Ibid. 83. See Vives, *De Institutione Feminae Christianaem*, 12.113: ‘the rules of gesticulation and the ancient palestra...[which] Cicero and Quintilian considered essential for the orator’ (ed. and trans. C. Fantazzi and C. Matheussen (Leiden, 1996), 150-51).

⁴¹⁹ Fraunce, *Arcadian Rhetorike*, 120.

⁴²⁰ Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria*, 11.3.89

⁴²¹ Bulwer, *Chirologia [and] Chironomia*, 17.

the final parts of rhetoric, *memoria* and *actio*.⁴²² Another embrace has, perhaps, more relevance to the connections shared by wrestling, rhetoric, gesture, and an education that provided training in all five parts of rhetoric, including *inventio*, *dispositio*, and *elocutio*.

Book I of *The Faerie Queene* is often interpreted as in some way connected with ‘language, its use and misuse, its potential and limitations’, and hence finds Redcrosse learning to verbally interpret divine signs, or emblems—the most discernible instance of this education occurring in the knight’s reading of the vision of New Jerusalem, which is nonetheless shaped and corrected through dialogue with Contemplation (I.x.55-67).⁴²³ To this sacred word, Guyon adds a body. This incarnation is emphasized in various ways throughout Book II, sometimes as subtly as the moment when Redcrosse’s synecdochic ‘hand’ (‘the organ of [God’s] might’) becomes joined in the next stanza with Guyon’s fleshly hand in ‘pledges of good will’ (II.i.33.3, 34.2).⁴²⁴ A more obvious example occurs when Guyon must read an emblem of his own. To Amavia’s ‘Pitifull spectacle’, Guyon responds initially as he would to an ‘image or representation of suffering, not a sufferer’:⁴²⁵ ‘Ay me, deare Lady, which the image art / Of ruefull pitie, and impatient smart’ (II.i.44.4-5). That Guyon has learned Redcrosse’s verbal lessons is evident from his effortless and immediate response, which requires no correction, and is confirmed as accurate by the Palmer at the end of the episode (II.i.58.4). Yet to this verbal interpretation, Guyon adds his hands: ‘The gentle knight her soone with carefull paine / Uplifted light, and softly did uphold’ (II.i.46.1-2). Although this is certainly no wrestling match, the hold recalls one of Plutarch’s etymologies of wrestling (‘draw near’ and ‘be close’), as noted above. The comforting hold of a wrestler resonates also with Renaissance interpretations of Jacob’s wrestling match in Genesis 32. William Cowper, for instance, reads the struggle as an example of God’s desire to comfort his people: ‘This I marked for thy consolation, thou that art the Warriour and Wrestler of God,

⁴²² If, as James Norhnberg suggests (*The Analogy of The Faerie Queene* (Princeton, 1976), 297), Maleger’s humoral combination of ‘cold and drery’ (II.xi.22.4) aligns him with melancholy, then it is fitting that he wrestles Arthur, for, according to Mulcaster, wrestling is an ‘emie to melancholy’ (*Positions*, 84).

⁴²³ Ake Bergvall, ‘Formal and Verbal Logocentricism in Augustine and Spenser’, *Studies in Philology* 93 (1996), 253; see also Tamara Goeglein, ‘Utterances of the Protestant Soul in *The Faerie Queene*: The Allegory of Holiness and the Humanist Discourse of Reason’, *Criticism* 36 (1994), 1-19.

⁴²⁴ See King James’ advice to his son: ‘For although holinesse be the first and most requisite qualitie of a Christian...[yet] I advise you to moderate al your outward actions flowing there-fra’ (*Basilicon Doron*, in *King James VI and I: Selected Writings*, ed. Neil Rhodes, Jennifer Richards, and Joseph Marshall (Aldershot, 2003), 240).

⁴²⁵ Jeff Dolven, ‘Spenser and the Troubled Theaters’, *ELR* 29 (1999), 182.

that thou maist know, God is the strength of thy life'.⁴²⁶ The moment, then, when Guyon's words become incarnate is one consistent with his function as a wrestler, one defined both by Biblical and classical traditions; his actions are coherent also with those of a rhetor-wrestler, whose gesture with Amavia reflects one recorded by John Bulwer in his 1644 manual for natural and rhetorical hand movements: 'To let down the hand with intent to rear some languishing creature from off the ground is [an] expression of pity and commiseration'.⁴²⁷

Bulwer's *Chirolugia [and] Chironomia* represents one of only a few Renaissance works to discuss hand gestures in detail, and, of these works, it is the fullest by an Englishman. His manual responds to Francis Bacon's desire for an encyclopedic register for the gestures used by Greek and Roman orators—gestures that had nonetheless been taught in English schools for at least a century to accompany orations and dramatic performance.⁴²⁸ Paraphrasing from Bacon's *The Advancement of Learning* (1605), Bulwer justifies his aims thus:

For, the lineaments of the body do disclose the disposition and inclination of the mind in general; but the motions do not only so, but do further disclose the present humor and state of the mind and will; for as the tongue speaketh to the ear, so gesture speaketh to the eye...⁴²⁹

The descriptions of the 'motions' that follow are divided into two separate treatises, *Chirolugia* and *Chironomia* (though they were never published separately), the first dealing with 'natural' hand gestures common to all humanity (and even some beasts), and the latter with those gestures appropriate for an orator. With respect to aims, however, there is little difference between the two parts, for, with some exceptions, the orator is free to use natural gestures during the delivery of speech. Many of the exceptions governing the rhetorical use of natural motions evoke comparisons with ideas central to Book II of *The Faerie Queene*, such as rash versus moderate action: 'too much slowness, too much quickness, and immoderate vastness may be avoided'; sloth versus labour: 'To use no action at all in speaking...is the property of one stupid and sluggish'; and the golden mean: 'In the rhetorical

⁴²⁶ William Cowper, *The Triumph of a Christian* (London, 1609), C6r. Resonant with Guyon's incarnation of Redcrosse's word, the wrestler with whom Jacob struggles in Genesis 32.24 is glossed in the Geneva translation as 'God in forme of man'. Cowper agrees (sig. C1r), and Spenser's classmate, Andrewes, arrives at a similar conclusion in a Christmas sermon (*Works*, 1, 9).

⁴²⁷ Bulwer, *Chirolugia [and] Chironomia*, 156.

⁴²⁸ See Joseph, *Elizabethan Acting*, esp. ch. 3. Bulwer's work is shown by Joseph to adhere quite faithfully to earlier recommendations on gesture by, for example, Richard Sherry (1550), Abraham Fraunce (1588), Cressolius (1620), as well as Quintilian.

⁴²⁹ Bulwer, *Chirolugia [and] Chironomia*, 5. See Francis Bacon, *The Advancement of Learning*, 2.9.2.

endeavours of the hand...the golden mediocrity is best and most worthy'. Furthermore, Bulwer, like Mulcaster, acknowledges the pedagogical and rhetorical status of the gymnasium and ancient palaestra. The Greeks, he writes, had 'two Palaestras wherein a double *chironomia* was practiced (one of arms, another of peace)', which were 'illustrious aids of pronounciation'. Just as the muses were taught hand gestures 'in a convenient Palaestra or gymnasium', so 'the gestures of rhetorical utterance' were developed at the Greek or Roman 'Palaestra or place of exercise'. Bulwer's ideal orator is '*Chirosophus*, [that is], *manu sapiens*, hand-wise',⁴³⁰ which is how Spenser describes his wrestler: 'But he was wise, and wary of her will, / And ever held his hand upon his hart' (II.vi.26.1-2).

We return, then, to the moment Guyon enacts his 'pity and commiseration' by lifting a 'languishing creature from off the ground', and shortly thereafter we find Amavia responding to his embrace with a gesture of her own: 'With feeble hands then stretched forth on hye, / As heuen accusing guilty of her death' (II.i.49.1-2). The gloss for Amavia's hands—'heuen accusing'—indicates the poet's awareness of this gesture's polyvalence. Stretching forth both hands toward the heavens has, according to Bulwer, seven possible meanings, most of them designating devotion, prayer, and admiration. But Spenser probably has in mind a combination of *Gestus XXV*—'dying men are wont to extend and stretch out their hands and fingers, thereby willing to signify that they relinquish the world'—and *Canon XL*: 'Both hands extended out forward together is an action commodious for them who submit, invoke, doubt, speak to, accuse'.⁴³¹ The graphic offered by Bulwer for *Canon XL* shows hands in a position quite similar to those in prayer, with the palms turned inward but not meeting. 'Heuen accusing' hands, therefore, do not open their palms outwards, an unfolding that represents the only distinction between *Canon XL* and *Gestus I*: 'wherein we...beseech, and ask mercy and grace'.⁴³² Amavia's mistake is to 'frye in hartlesse griefe and dolefull tene' (II.i.58.4), as the Palmer suggests, which is an intemperance that leads her to accuse heaven instead of seeking its aid. The perilously close proximity of two kinds of grief (one that quells hope and life, another that brings the sufferer to an admission of need) is emphasized by the very slight alteration that separates a gesture that accuses, and one that beseeches.

A similar gesture is made in the Cocytus by Tantalus, whose outstretched hands are 'Accusing highest Iove' (II.vii.60.7); the gesture's causation is not as simple as the desperate

⁴³⁰ Ibid. 240, 249, 227, 151-2, 156, 171, 156.

⁴³¹ Ibid. 56, 188.

⁴³² Ibid. 21.

desire for food, for we find Spenser reading his classical precedent with the schoolboy habit of discovering the emotions within a narrative through its gestures, so that Tantalus is expressing both hunger (desire) and anger. Tantalus' partner in hell, Pilate, also reaches toward heaven—his hands are 'on high extent' (II.vii.61.5)—but instead of turning outwards in *Gestus* I (or any other gesture of devotion), his hands are engaged perpetually in the same washing motion that 'Delivered up the Lord of life to dye' (II.vii.62.6). His hand-washing gesture is distinguished from *Gestus* II, 'the opening and lifting up of hands', which is a sign of the 'uprightness and integrity of the heart'.⁴³³ Pilate's arms are not raised in accusation like Amavia's and Tantalus', but his hypocrisy distils through his double gesture. The praise, devotion, or request for mercy that his outstretched arms declare cannot be achieved as long as his hands are busy claiming innocence, so that the afterlife of his hand-washing gesture reverses and interprets his earthly one: 'The whiles my handes I washt in purity, / The whiles my soule was soyled with fowle iniquity' (II.vii.62.8-9). Now, however, while his arms may reveal an act of 'purity' or devotion, his hands are 'soyled'. This explains why Spenser places Pilate in the rather strange position of extending his arms upwards while he washes them (out of the water).

Pilate's problem underscores the anti-dualist strain in *The Faerie Queene* that is evident during similar episodes when bodily gestures do not match intentions and feelings. The assumption that a gesture could reliably communicate meaning was always under threat from its misperception, and also through its feigning. Tarquin, who in *The Rape of Lucrece* is 'armed to beguile / With outward honesty, but yet defiled / With inward vice',⁴³⁴ demonstrates the danger of granting integrity to the gestures of the body. In *The Faerie Queene*, the ability of Archimago and Duessa to persuade and fool their victims depends largely on the degree to which their gestures can imitate the words and emotions of their cause. As the great *histriones* in the poem, their hands are continually wringing and trembling—a gesture Bulwer insists is 'scenical and belongs more to the theatre than the forum'⁴³⁵—to the detriment of their sympathisers. Their punishment, however, is prefigured in Tantalus and Pilate, forever engaged in and tormented by a double gesture imitating (in Pilate's case especially) the cause of their hypocrisy. In contrast, though the Palmer also appears with 'trembling hand' when checking Guyon's pulse at II.viii.9.6, Spenser is clear

⁴³³ Ibid. 29.

⁴³⁴ William Shakespeare, 'The Rape of Lucrece', in *The Complete Sonnets and Poems*, ed. Colin Burrow (Oxford, 2002), ll. 1544-45.

⁴³⁵ Bulwer, *Chirologia [and] Chironomia*, 219.

that his emotion of fear is real and not feigned ('sore affraid'), and this, in turn, reminds us of a rhetorical context that provides for the legitimate expression of the passions.

The Palmer, in fact, has a special interest in training Guyon's body, as he attempts, for instance, to lead Guyon 'euer with slow pace' (II.i.7.8), unlike Phaedria, for whom 'Both slow and swift a like do serve my tourne' (II.vi.10.6). And, as discussed above, the training of Guyon's steps is extended to include his hands, a training which would seem to suggest a pun on 'Palmer'. This connection is made perhaps less tenuous when one considers that the Palmer is yoked with a wrestler in particular, for yet another Plutarchan etymology finds that wrestling (*palê*) derived not only from the root words for holding and drawing close, but also from '*palaistê*, "palm," for it is principally with this part of the hand that wrestler's operate'. A pun on 'palm' and 'Palmer' certainly presented itself to Shakespeare,⁴³⁶ and in *The Faerie Queene* its possibility is insinuated by Spenser's consistent focus on hands and touch as integral to understanding temperance—an application that occasionally presents itself as an education of a wrestler's hands. Not unexpectedly, then, this particular form of *actio* turns out to be a feature of Book II rather than Book I, as evinced not only through Guyon's enjoinder of his body to a verbal interpretation (as with Amavia), but also through each Book's house of sojourn. In the House of Holinesse, for example, Redcrosse is healed by 'hearing' Fidelia's 'goodly speach' (I.x.21.2); her words have the power 'to kill, / And rayse againe to life the hart' (I.x.19.8-9). A similar power is granted to speech in the Castle of Alma when the mouth ('the Castle gate' (II..xi.6.6)) defends the house of temperance from the seven deadly sins; but here Spenser is careful to add that 'th'other syde' of the house is defended by the hands ('those two brethren Gyauntes' (II.xi.15.1, 6)), which, like Guyon, are 'stoutly' and 'sturdie' (II.xi.15.7).⁴³⁷ The 'labours of countenance and gesture' are, according to Cicero, '*Animi janua*, the gate of the mind'.⁴³⁸

Also during the siege of Alma's walls, we read that the 'most horrible' of Maleger's troops are reserved for the sense of touch (II.xi.13). We have already looked at the touch offered to Amavia during her suffering, but another similar incident bears scrutiny in light of

⁴³⁶ 'For saints have hands that pilgrims' hands do touch, / And palm to palm is holy palmers' kiss' (Shakespeare, *Romeo and Juliet*, I.v.98-9). Palm fronds, too, as Bulwer states, were 'given to them whose hands were skillfull in arts, and fingers cunning in battle' because their branches 'appear like hands stretched forth' (*Chirologia [and] Chironomia*, 169-70).

⁴³⁷ Guyon is called stout at II.i.42.9, v.24.6, III.i.9.4, and with great sarcasm by Pyrochles at II.iv.45.7.

⁴³⁸ Francis Bacon, *The Advancement of Learning*, ed. W. A. Wright (Oxford, 1920), 2.23.16, translating Cicero, *De Commentariolum Petitionis*, 44.

the actions of an educated, hand-wise wrestler. When Mammon is spied sunning his treasure, he rises ‘in great affright’; but, before he can hide ‘those pretious hils’ from Guyon’s sight, the knight ‘lightly to him leaping, stayd / His hand’ that trembles ‘as one terrifyde’ (II.vii.6.6-7). Why is only one of Mammon’s hands trembling? And why does Guyon’s gesture cause Mammon to react with such ‘great disdain’? An attentiveness to the hands in this episode yields another dimension to Mammon’s fright, one which would also have alerted Guyon to the intentions of this ‘vnciuile wight’.

To begin with, Mammon’s hands are ‘cole-black’ and ‘seeme to haue ben seard / In smythes fire-spitting forge, and nayles like clawes appeard’ (II.vii.3.8-9), similar to the blacksmith Care’s hands in Book IV (v.35), which provides an apt connection between the care or worry associated with the accumulation and guarding of wealth, and the god who offers it. And, though Spenser does not specify which hand trembles, it is likely the poet thought of Mammon’s left. To put forth the left hand, writes Bulwer, is ‘to make a prize of all that comes to hand’, much as Mammon wishes to make of Guyon, and it is also a sign of ‘idleness’, ‘unlawful desire’, and ‘rapacity’, all sworn enemies of temperance. Furthermore, the left hand is a sign of ‘tenacious avarice’, and the ‘symbol of lucre, profit, gain and increase’.⁴³⁹ Although Mammon declares ‘That of my plenty poure out unto all’ (II.vii.8.3), the size of his hoard speaks rather of ‘lucre’, and his primary goal is to increase others by appealing to their avarice. By contrast, the right hand speaks of ‘diligence and insinuating labor’,⁴⁴⁰ which suggests the hand used by Guyon to stay Mammon’s left. In fact, the gesture Guyon uses resembles Bulwer’s *Gestus XXVI*: ‘To extend and offer out the right hand unto any is an expression of pity and of an intention to afford comfort and relief’, and is the ‘hieroglyphic of fortitude’ as well as ‘the witness of salvation’.⁴⁴¹ That he not only reaches for but also touches Mammon’s hand sharpens the nature of Guyon’s witness, as *Gestus XLI*: ‘To take hold gently of another’s hand is a gesture used by those who admonish and persuade’.⁴⁴²

⁴³⁹ Bulwer, *Chirologia [and] Chironomia*, 104-6, 136-7. As Helen Cooney notes, Peter de la Primaudaye calls the left hand ‘malice or craft’ and ‘excess of prudence’; ‘he goes on [to] identify this vice...as “the chief cause of ambition and covetousness”’ (‘Guyon and His Palmer’, *RES* 51 (2000), 184; Cooney is quoting from *The French Academie*, trans. T.B. (London, 1583), 118).

⁴⁴⁰ Bulwer, *Chirologia [and] Chironomia*, 137.

⁴⁴¹ *Ibid.* 58.

⁴⁴² *Ibid.* 67.

Such a gesture, complex and highly suggestive as it is, helps to account for the severity of Mammon's reaction which is rather at odds with his confession 'That of my plenty poure out unto all, / And unto none my graces do enuye' (II.vii.8.3-4). No doubt a being that considers itself a god, as Mammon does, would read the offer of pity, coupled with an admonishment to repentance, as presumptuous. 'I read thee rash', responds Mammon, 'and heedlesse of thy selfe' (II.vii.7.8). The combinatory gesture of pity and witness, however, divulges anything but a rash and naïve Guyon, for it is a response appropriate for one who is both courteous (alleviating the fear in Mammon's hand) and educated (reading a need for spiritual transformation in hands that signify 'unlawful desire'). Guyon's wisdom in this episode is confirmed at the end of his sightseeing journey through the cave: 'All which [Mammon] did, to do him deadly fall...But he was wary wise in all his way, / And well perceived his deceitfull sleight' (II.vii.64.1, 6, 7). It is not through temptation that Guyon finally succumbs, of course, but rather 'For want of food, and sleep' (II.vii.65.3).

The cure for Spenser's hand-wise wrestler commences with a fitting medical image. Approaching Guyon's unconscious body, the Palmer 'With trembling hand his troubled pulse gan try' (II.viii.9.6). It is a gesture that nearly mirrors the method of comfort afforded Mammon by Guyon, and it corresponds also with the emblem (still in use) on the Royal College of Physicians' coat of arms. In Renaissance anatomies such emblems (a vertical arm reaching down to feel the pulse of a horizontal arm) integrated 'the actions of God's hand and the human hand in the same inscription', in order to signify that 'the anatomist's hand does God's work'.⁴⁴³ Similar inferences may be made from the Palmer's gesture, occurring as it does in a canto designed to adumbrate the ultimate dependence of the knight on God's grace (identified largely with Arthur's actions). Katherine Rowe elaborates:

To the extent that early modern anatomies continue to be modelled on the anatomy of the hand...the hand becomes the prominent vehicle for integrating sacred mystery with corporeal mechanism. Its mechanics are paradoxically invested with the external force most important to the form of the body, at once internalizing and illustrating God's agency and design.⁴⁴⁴

This comment holds true for *The Faerie Queene* to the extent that Book II can be modelled on an educated wrestler's 'liuing hands'—hands that integrate the 'sacred mystery' of Holiness with the 'corporeal mechanism' of Temperance. It is an incarnation emphasized in Book II

⁴⁴³ Katherine Rowe, "'God's handy worke": Divine Complicity and the Anatomist's Touch', in David Hillman and Carla Mazzio (eds.), *The Body in Parts: Fantasies of Corporeality in Early Modern Europe* (London, 1997), 303.

⁴⁴⁴ *Ibid.* 287.

not only etymologically through ‘George...of gyon that is a wrestler’, but also rhetorically, for the embodied words of ‘chironomy’ were provided strength, control, and refinement by the schoolmaster’s palaestra. In teaching Christian temperance, a virtue which adds the body to the sacred word, Spenser, understandably so, might have recalled a particular mode of verbal incarnation taught in a school hall on Suffolk Lane in the City of London.

6. *Mulcaster’s Apprentice*

Since R. B. Knowles’ discovery, in 1874, that Spenser attended Merchant Taylors’ School, several scholars (especially in the early half of the twentieth century) have found it ‘irresistible’, as C. S. Lewis would write, ‘to glance through Mulcaster for thoughts that possibly influenced, or were at least congenial to, the mind of Spenser’.⁴⁴⁵ Much of the somewhat meagre inventory of ‘congenial thoughts’ Lewis assembles does not, as he admits, go ‘beyond easy possibilities of coincidence’, although, in the years that have followed the compendious *English Literature in the Sixteenth Century* (1954), few critics have added substantially to his observations—and several earlier ones—regarding a shared delight in allegory, Ariosto, ‘rest after toil’, growth in mutability, ‘*Prince* (the magnificent Prince Arthur’, and the vernacular.⁴⁴⁶ A. C. Judson notes a possible connection between *The Faerie Queene* and Mulcaster’s *Positions* with respect to Spenser’s Book VI depiction of Calidore—‘a man of varied accomplishments, such as skill in the use of arms, athletic prowess, gracious speech, and ability to dance and compose love songs’⁴⁴⁷—but rightly points out that patterns

⁴⁴⁵ Lewis, *English Literature*, 350. Knowles discovered the relevant material while reporting on the Towneley MSS for the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts, a finding which was later privately printed in *The Spending of the Money of Robert Nowell*, ed. A. B. Grosart (Manchester, 1877). See D. Hamer, ‘Edmund Spenser’s Gown and Shilling’, *RES* 23 (1947), 218-225.

⁴⁴⁶ Lewis, *English Literature*, 350, 382. Notable additions to this list of possible commonalities include C. Bowie Millican’s suggestion that Spenser’s northernisms in *The Shepheardes Calender* may have been provided by the northern-born Mulcaster (‘The Northern Dialect of *The Shepheardes Calender*’, *ELH* 6 (1939), 211-213), who is generally accepted as being the December eclogue’s ‘Wrenock’ (G. C. Moore Smith, ‘Spenser and Mulcaster’, *The Modern Language Review* 8 (1913), 368). Evidence of commonplacings as well as of the practice of arguing *in utramque partem* would certainly point towards reading and composition habits inculcated in the Elizabethan classroom, but their occurrence does not presume an influence unique to Mulcaster (see Altman, *Tudor Play of Mind*; and Carol Kaske, *Spenser and Biblical Poetics* (Ithaca, 1999)). The impact of Du Bellay and Ronsard on Spenser may be considered an indirect influence of Mulcaster’s, as it has since at least W. L. Renwick’s ‘Mulcaster and Du Bellay’, *The Modern Language Review* 17 (1922), 282-287.

⁴⁴⁷ A. C. Judson, ‘Spenser’s Theory of Courtesy’, *PMLA* 47 (1932), 122-36, esp. 127.

for this ideal Renaissance gentleman are just as readily available in the courtesy books of Castiglione and Elyot. An alignment of Mulcaster's physical regimen with the courtesy book tradition helps to underscore this schoolmaster's dedication to the complementary training of body and mind, but it also tends to neglect the rhetorical purposes of these exercises, such as I have outlined above. More recent scholarship has focused on Mulcaster's recommendations for 'lowd speaking', 'loude singing', and 'loude, and soft reading' (the first three 'exercises' in *Positions*) as indicative of an abiding fascination with those two close but often quarrelling relations, oratory and acting.⁴⁴⁸

Treating together the concerns of wrestling and hand gestures, as Spenser's narrative does in Book II, this chapter suggests that the more overtly athletic exercises of *Positions* also be added to Mulcaster's oratorical designs (in this case the 'law of gesture' appropriate to a speech), and, as a corollary, it offers another possible link between *The Faerie Queene* and the poet's boyhood teacher. For students at the stage of learning disputations (a skill taught at the grammar school), Vives recommends that 'bodily exercises of a somewhat more strenuous nature should be allowed...[such as] longer and more eager walks, running, leaping, throwing, wrestling'.⁴⁴⁹ Hence, besides wrestling, we might also consider fencing and dancing, for example, as exercises—both recommended by Mulcaster, and engaged in by Guyon—whose requisite physical control and precisely configured movements would serve just as well the orator's need for appropriate posture and gesture. However, as the conventions of classical rhetoric reveal, wrestling has a special relationship with oratory; and whereas Cicero is indifferent whether the orator's gestures develop at the 'parade ground' or in the gymnasium,⁴⁵⁰ Plato whether at the 'festival' or for 'war', Mulcaster distinguishes his wrestling from classical and contemporary forerunners not only by the assumptions that govern its inclusion in a school curriculum, but also by a method of engagement—one that is followed by Spenser's knight of Temperance. In this way, Spenser's identification of Guyon with the wrestlers of patristic and rhetorical education presents an alternative to the carnivalesque applications often made by scholars with respect to sport in the Renaissance.⁴⁵¹

⁴⁴⁸ See Bloom, *Voice in Motion*, 31-39; Potter, 'Performing Arts', 147; and Rhodes, *Shakespeare and the Origins*, 23.

⁴⁴⁹ Vives, *On Education*, 176.

⁴⁵⁰ Cicero, *De Oratore*, 3.59.220.

⁴⁵¹ See Leah Marcus, *The Politics of Mirth: Jonson, Herrick, Milton, Marvell, and the Defense of Old Holiday Pastimes* (Chicago, 1986); and also Peter Stallybrass, "'Wee feaste in our defense": Patrician Carnival in Early Modern England and Robert Herrick's *Hesperides*', *ELR* 16 (1986), 234-52. However, for a discussion of the

Yet more than it provides an illustration of an ordered sport or athletics, the Legend of Temperance foregrounds the prerogatives of non-linguistic—in this case gestural—modes of knowledge and persuasion, particularly in its capacity to register intentionality and emotions (which is also the jurisdiction of rhetorical delivery⁴⁵²). Guyon's habit is to 'draw near' and 'be close', actions consistent with his defining activity, as well as with his primary means of learning and communicating: So, replacing for a moment the image of the suspended Antaeus with one of a Biblical wrestler of comfort, Guyon lifts Amavia's body in an embrace of consolation; Guyon learns to 'amenance' Occasion through his experience of wrestling with Furor; Mammon's gesture of fear and greed is met immediately with an equally physical response of comfort and persuasion to salvation; Pilate and Tantalus are known to Guyon by their gestures, which express a profound inability to 'draw near' and 'be close'; and the Bower of Bliss is overthrown with a wrestler's hands. Wrestling, then, provides Spenser with a metaphor not only for 'self-mastery', but also—because of its educative function both in the poem and in the rhetorical tradition—for 'a form of tacit and practical knowledge passed from body to body not unlike that of a mason, knowledge that remains, in important respects, outside of conscious discourse and resists textualization'.⁴⁵³

Here, finally, a slight distinction may be offered regarding the influence of Mulcaster and that of the textual sources, discussed above, of Quintilian, Clement, Bulwer, or even *Positions*. As evidence from classical and Renaissance theory and practice suggests, the transfer of the 'tacit and practical knowledge' of delivery requires a physical presence, since propensities of voice and gesture are developed in the classroom by a mimetic 'body to body' transaction between master and pupil. 'Nobody teaches geometry this way', notes Aristotle, since delivery 'is a matter of natural talent and largely not reducible to artistic rule'.⁴⁵⁴ Thus, the author of the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* concludes his advice on delivery with a statement of resignation:

I am not unaware how great a task I have undertaken in trying to express physical movements in words and portray vocal intonations in writing...it has been my

'two sorts of sport' in the Renaissance, see Gregory M. Colón Semenza, *Sport, Politics, and Literature in the English Renaissance* (London, 2003), a study which aims to 'move us beyond Bakhtin—to a new definition of sport as a phenomenon as central to Renaissance conceptions of order and control as it was to fears of disorder and excess' (23).

⁴⁵² See Cicero, *De Oratore*, 3.59.223, and Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria*, 11.3.14.

⁴⁵³ Fredal, *Rhetorical Action*, 3.

⁴⁵⁴ Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, 3.1.7.

purpose merely to suggest what ought to be done. The rest I shall leave to practice.⁴⁵⁵ This is why, in *Brutus*, when detailing the faults Sextus Titius had learned from his teachers, Cicero reflects on ‘what care must be used to avoid anything in style of action or speaking which can be made absurd by imitation’; and why, too, Thomas Wilson recommends that ‘we must dedicate our minds wholly to follow the most wise and learned men, and seek to fashion as well their speech and gesturing as their wit and ending’.⁴⁵⁶

In the case of Merchant Taylors’ School, one brief but striking example of this body to body transaction is given in an account of the school’s first examination, which notes only one reservation with respect to the southern-born students of the northern-born teacher: their northern sounds.⁴⁵⁷ Certainly, students read their texts for behavioural cues, but pronunciation and gesture were left largely at the master’s discretion. For the gestures of his epic-romance, then, we can assume that Spenser draws both on literary tradition and his performed models, including, as this chapter argues, on *Positions* and the master who justifies athletics with the outcomes of rhetoric. This connection would seem to hold especially true for Spenser’s presentation of Guyon, whose one defect in physical education is discovered by wrestling with Furor, and amended when his tutor advises where best to place his hands.

⁴⁵⁵ *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, 3.15.27. Like delivery, Milton asserts that temperance is ‘without particular Law or prescription’ (*Areopagitica*, 309).

⁴⁵⁶ Cicero, *Brutus*, 62.225; Wilson, *Art of Rhetoric*, 48.

⁴⁵⁷ As the examination occurred in 1562, it is likely Spenser was in attendance. See Draper, *Four Centuries*, 13. Mulcaster was born in Carlisle, though because he was educated at Eton, Cambridge, and Oxford, one may just as easily contend that the faults in his students’ pronunciation were—as the original examiners thought (not having met Mulcaster during the examination)—a consequence of his employment of northern-born ushers.

III

Lancelot Andrewes

In this chapter, I discuss Andrewes' doctrine of the Holy Spirit and incarnation of Christ in relation to the inspiration and gestures of the orator. I suggest that very little separates the skills learned on the academic stage and those used by the preacher, not only with respect to his readings of gesture and emotion in Biblical narrative, but also to his methods of stirring inward emotions and their bodily expression. As such, this chapter takes issue with T. S. Eliot's assertion that Andrewes' 'emotion is purely contemplative', and instead applies to Andrewes' sermons recent work on the Augustinian grand style by Debora Shuger, as well as Bryan Crockett's study of the 'element of drama inherent in the sermon-centered liturgy'. Contemporary *artes praedicandi*, or preaching manuals, are also employed to help define the style of Andrewes' pulpit performances, which I believe were more theatrical than Andrewes' scholarship has traditionally allowed.

1. *Actio, actio, actio...*

Pondering the thrice-repeated benediction, 'Peace be unto you', in John 20.19, Lancelot Andrewes likens Christ's words to those of Demosthenes, 'As if (like *Actio*, in *Rhetorique*) all in all'.⁴⁵⁸ Indeed, Andrewes thinks primarily of rhetorical gestures when completing the analogy: 'And the way, to *peace*, is the *mid way*: neither to the *right hand*, too much; nor to

⁴⁵⁸ Lancelot Andrewes, *XCVI Sermons* (London, 1629). All references to Andrewes' sermons are from this the first edition of *XCVI Sermons*, and hereafter will appear parenthetically in the text by page number.

the left *hand*, too little' (421).⁴⁵⁹ A comparison between divine things and rhetoric—specifically delivery—would not have been out of place in Andrewes' day. If Aquinas baptised Aristotle, then Augustine did the same for Cicero and Quintilian when, in the fourth book of his *De Doctrina Christiana*, he provided the outline for a divine rhetoric. The main feature of this rhetoric, as Augustine states, is a 'grand style' that 'is not so much embellished with verbal ornament as inflamed by heartfelt emotion'.⁴⁶⁰ So began a long tradition of reconciling the art of preaching with the ancient rules of rhetoric, and, indeed, of attributing this hybrid divine rhetoric to the rhetoric of the Bible. What emerges from this tradition is a preoccupation with delivery, since it is with this last part of rhetoric that the preacher conveys the 'heartfelt emotion' that is supposed to characterise his oratory. As Augustine continues, 'the effect of eloquence on a person of good character is not so much to instruct when painstakingly discussed as to inspire when passionately delivered'.⁴⁶¹ Yet, though Andrewes' comparison may be apt for a sermon, it is by no means uncomplicated, as he acknowledges elsewhere: 'volubility of utterance, earnestness of action, straining the voice in a passionate delivery, phrases and figures, these all have their heat, but they be but blazes' (615).

Nonetheless, Andrewes declares elsewhere that 'by the office of preaching, IESUS CHRIST is lively described in our sight, and (as the Apostle speaketh) is *visibly crucified among us*' (334). *Enargeia*—the 'almost visual presentation of events as if practically going on'⁴⁶²—is an implicit conflation of oratory and drama,⁴⁶³ one which I wish to exploit as it pertains to notions of inspiration, emotion, and gesture in Andrewes' sermons.⁴⁶⁴ The motive

⁴⁵⁹ The line is reminiscent of Mulcaster's advice on playing with the top and scourge: 'It were to be wished, that it were whipt with both the handes, in play to traine both the armes, seing use makes the difference, and no infirmitie in nature...For wheras naturally both the armes be almost of equall strength, thorough our owne default we make the difference' (*Positions*, 88).

⁴⁶⁰ Augustine, *On Christian Teaching*, trans. R. P. H. Green (Oxford, 1999), 4.118.

⁴⁶¹ *Ibid.* 4.59.

⁴⁶² Cicero, *De Oratore*, 3.53.202. Quintilian refers to *enargeia* as 'vividness', which presents a subject 'in such a way that it seems to be actually seen' (*Institutio Oratoria*, 8.3.62).

⁴⁶³ According to W. B. Worthen, 'Performance signifies an absence, the precise fashioning of the material text's absence, at the same time that it appears to summon the work into being' (*Shakespeare and the Authority of Performance* (Cambridge, 1997), 17).

⁴⁶⁴ The relationship between *enargeia* and the emotions is often acknowledged by Andrewes, particularly in the presentation of Christ's suffering: 'Now as the looking *from* worketh a moving *from*, so doth the looking *to* a moving *to*' (381). In another Good Friday sermon, just prior to his description of Christ's wounds, Andrewes

for using *enargeia* is, of course, to elicit an emotional response from an audience, which Andrewes does throughout his sermons by making events from the Bible present and personal: ‘And is it not thus with us that are now *in theatre*, “upon the stage?”’, asks Andrewes regarding an Old Testament story. ‘Yes indeed ... This is but *vetus fibula per novos histriones*, “the same play again by other actors”’ (175). In the first place, though, it is a drama enacted by the preacher, as Bryan Crockett suggests:

...the very nature of oral performance fosters an experiential sense of history, of action, of drama. The modulations of sound through the course of an auditory performance...immerse the audience in a sequential experience: one that works through time to present change, conflict, resolution. The preacher’s reliance on the action of the word means that there is an element of drama inherent in the sermon-centered liturgy.⁴⁶⁵

The elements of drama I locate in Andrewes’ sermons are those of the academic stage, which taught Andrewes how to stir emotions inwardly and express them with his body. Still, it must be said that, for Andrewes, the association of delivery with acting was in need of qualification, as actors, he says, ‘With some spring within, their eyes are made to *r[o]wle*, and their *lipps* to *wagg*, and their *brest* to give a *sobb*: all is but *Hero’s Pneumatica*, a *vizor*, [n]ot a very *face*’ (694).⁴⁶⁶ Preachers, on the other hand, were to be stirred by ‘some spring without’, or, the Holy Spirit. However, as I suggested in chapter 1, the opposition between acting and oratory breaks down at the level of stirring the emotions, as in both cases it is an outer inspiration or ‘some spring without’—another’s grief imagined, or Christ’s suffering, for example—that gives rise to the inner. This process is crucial not only to *enargeia*, but also to the conveyance of emotion, since a vivid representation relies on the ability of the speaker to deliver the impersonations and feelings appropriate to the scene.

Thus, despite Andrewes’ avowed separation of his own profession from that of acting—a repeated avowal that in turn highlights the telling similarities between the two vocations—it would be a mistake to think of the performance of his sermons as somehow restrained and minimalist, and thereby attach a Calvinist puritan understanding of acting and

says that ‘Our very eyes will soon tell us no place was left in His body, where He might be smitten and was not...the more noble the person, the greater the grief, and the more heavy ever is the spectacle’ (341).

⁴⁶⁵ Bryan Crockett, *The Play of Paradox: Stage and Sermon in Renaissance England* (Philadelphia, 1995), 6. Andrew Pettegree states that, ‘As the preacher wove his web of allegory and exhortation, he would know that a large part of the repertoire of biblical stories familiar to his auditors emerged from performance drama: the mediaeval mysteries, miracle plays and farces’ (*Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion* (Cambridge, 2005, 77)

⁴⁶⁶ The problem of hypocrisy in relation to acting and oratory is an old one. See Plato, *Gorgias*, 502B-C.

rhetoric onto what is probably an Augustinian and Lutheran one. In divine oratory, inspiration—with all its pneumatic associations with breath, speech, and emotion⁴⁶⁷—becomes the indwelling of the Holy Spirit. And while the functions of inspiration are little different in either sphere, in divine oratory the extent to which a preacher uses his own artifice (in order to let the Spirit work) becomes a rather thorny issue.⁴⁶⁸ In other words, nearly all Reformation writers agree that the Holy Spirit is required to inspire the preacher and audience, but disagree on how this occurs.⁴⁶⁹ For Calvin, there can be no human artifice, as preachers must ‘banish all the inventions of the human mind...that the decrees of God alone may remain steadfast’. ‘But now’, he continues, ‘when an unpolished simplicity...makes a deeper impression than the loftiest flights of oratory, what does it indicate if not that the Holy Scriptures are too mighty in the power of truth to need the rhetorician’s art?’⁴⁷⁰ Calvin’s sentiments in this regard were most appreciated amongst puritan circles, whose preaching gradually came to be complained of as ‘frigid, toothless discourse, never piercing deeper than the eare’.⁴⁷¹

Whereas Milton railed against preachers who substituted the ‘sincere milk’ of the Word with ‘windy ceremonies’,⁴⁷² I show that Andrewes attempted to combine both, just as

⁴⁶⁷ See Roach, *Player’s Passion*, 27.

⁴⁶⁸ As Debora Shuger suggests, ‘While most Catholics and liberal Protestants argued that grace operates through nature and therefore true eloquence, i.e., eloquence sustained by the Holy Ghost could be an instrument of grace, stricter Protestants tended to mistrust eloquence as a man-made intrusion into the work of the Spirit’ (*Sacred Rhetoric: The Christian Grand Style in the English Renaissance* (Princeton, 1988), 70).

⁴⁶⁹ Disagreements in this regard are closely related to the debates surrounding the *Admonition to Parliament* on the efficacy of read sermons versus those delivered *viva voce*. An overview of the positions held by John Whitgift, Thomas Cartwright, Richard Hooker, as well as John Field and Thomas Wilcox, is provided by Peter Mack in *Elizabethan Rhetoric*, 253-79.

⁴⁷⁰ John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, trans. Henry Beveridge (Grand Rapids, 1995), 4.8.9, 1.8.1. As Victor Shepherd argues, Calvin’s theology concerning the omnipotence of God casts ‘a shadow of unreality over everything he says about human affirmation’ (*The Nature and Function of Faith in the Theology of John Calvin* (Macon, 1983), 89).

⁴⁷¹ Cornelius Burges, *The First Sermon Preached to the Honourable House of Commons Nov. 17, 1640* (London, 1641), 74. John Fenwick wrote that puritans ‘set up a new Kinde of reading-preaching, and suppress sound preaching...and fill their places with Metaphysicall, cloudy-brain’d humanists...who usually stuffe their Sermons out of Aristotle’s Ethicks’ (*Downfall of the Pretended Divine Authoritie of the Hierarchy* (London, 1641), 6).

⁴⁷² John Milton, *An Apology Against a Pamphlet*, ed. Harry Morgan Ayres, in *Works*, III.i, 345.

he combined human artifice with divine inspiration.⁴⁷³ For Andrewes, unlike Calvin, Scripture required preaching: ‘receive we cannot, unlesse first we *heare*... And indeed, the *hearing* of Him is a way to His *receiving*. For, though, not everie one that *heares*, *receives*, yet none *receives*, but he *heares* first’ (639).⁴⁷⁴ Donne, whom in many respects Andrewes anticipates, agreed:

It is not therefore the Gospell merely, but the preaching of the Gospel, that is this spirit. *Spiritus sacerdotis vehiculum Spiritus Dei*; The spirit of the Minister, is not so pure, as the spirit of God, but it is the chariot, the meanes, by which God will enter into you.⁴⁷⁵

As such, this chapter argues against the prevailing assumption, beginning with T. S. Eliot, that ‘Andrewes’ emotion is purely contemplative’.⁴⁷⁶ A more recent study provides an equally reserved portrait of the preacher:

There are no emotional peaks and troughs in an Andrewes sermon: no digressions or subsidiary passages of reflection, no purple passages which ask for dramatic contrasts in the pace of delivery or pitch of the voice. Instead, an Andrewes sermon is a relentless, ever-increasingly pitched ascent, or carefully calibrated crescendo.⁴⁷⁷

⁴⁷³ In this, Andrewes was not alone. Erasmus, Hyperius, Melancthon, and Bartholomaeus Keckermann all ‘assume the relevance and importance of classical rhetoric’, and were able to hold ‘in considerable tension the divine and the human activities involved in presenting sacred matter’ (Barbara Lewalski, *Protestant Poetics and the Seventeenth-Century Religious Lyric* (Princeton, 1979), 218, 226).

⁴⁷⁴ Andrewes appears to have flirted with Puritanism and Calvinism as a student at Cambridge, which is hardly surprising given the contemporary reputation of this university as a puritan stronghold. Nevertheless, evidence of Puritanism in Andrewes’ early works is scarce, and any sympathy with Calvin quickly turned to antipathy (see Nicholas Tyacke, *Anti-Calvinists: The Rise of English Arminianism, c. 1590-1640* (Oxford, 1987)). Sir John Harington records an anecdote whereby a young Andrewes was asked to defend ‘certain state points of Puritanisme’, to which he replied that ‘they were not onely against his Learning, but his Conscience’ (*A briefe view of the state of the Church of England...to the yeere 1608* (London, 1653), H1r).

⁴⁷⁵ Donne, *Sermons*, v, 145. Donne was ordained in 1615, and preached his last sermon in 1631, so there is some overlap with Andrewes’ preaching career, which began in 1578 (as catechist at Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, with ordination in 1580), and ended in 1626, just prior to his death. It is T. S. Eliot’s belief that Donne and Andrewes are complete opposites in terms of their delivery especially; while the former is a ‘religious spellbinder’, Eliot believes Andrewes is contemplative and impersonal (*For Lancelot Andrewes: Essays on Style and Order* (London, 1928), 20).

⁴⁷⁶ Eliot, *For Lancelot Andrewes*, 29.

⁴⁷⁷ Peter McCullough, *Lancelot Andrewes: Selected Sermons and Lectures* (Oxford, 2005), xxxix. McCullough’s notion of a ‘carefully calibrated crescendo’ echoes Eliot’s assessment that Andrewes’ emotion ‘grows as he penetrates more deeply into his subject’ (*For Lancelot Andrewes*, 29). Marianne Dorman maintains that Andrewes ‘never used the sermon for exciting emotion’ (*Lancelot Andrewes: A Perennial Preacher of the Post-Reformation English Church* (Tuscon, 2004), 23), and Trevor Owen paraphrases Eliot:

However, rather than, or in addition to a ‘carefully calibrated crescendo’, I read these sermons as much more dynamic, keeping in mind that Andrewes was trained in oratory through classroom and public performances of declamations and plays. After all, Sir John Harington records that, unlike most preachers at Elizabeth’s court—whose sermons often went ‘in one ear, and out at the other’—Andrewes’ sermons ‘left an *Aculeus* behind in many of all sorts. And Henry Noel one of the greatest Gallants of those times, sware that [as] he was a Gentleman, he never heard man speak with such a spirit’.⁴⁷⁸ Indeed, rather than being ‘contemplative’, Andrewes’ sermons may be marked by the audacity in delivery learned at Merchant Taylors’.

‘Before, neither *courage*, nor *skill*’, Andrewes notes of the apostles’ speeches in Acts 2, ‘now, both: that any man might see, there was a *new spirit* come into them’ (613). It is interesting to find this notion of audacity entering Andrewes’ interpretative strategies, for it is a description of boldness conspicuously absent in the Biblical text. According to Andrewes, the Holy Spirit gave the apostles the following attributes, in this order: ‘¹ *courage*, ² *language*, ³ *discretion*, and ⁴ *learning*’ (612). Such skills and attributes match nearly perfectly the order of education provided by the Renaissance schoolmaster, such that, in revision of Luther’s claim that the Holy Spirit ‘is a rhetorician (*rhetoricatur igitur Spiritus sanctus*)’,⁴⁷⁹ for Andrewes the Holy Spirit is also a schoolmaster. As in the case of Mulcaster’s pedagogical aims with the performance of plays and orations, the Holy Spirit gives the apostles

audere, to dare, in regard of their *courage*... In saying [*they began*] it is, as if before they had beene *tongue eyed*; had never spoken. No more they had: never, as they spoke now; never, with that *confidence*... But, after this *mighty Winde*, had filled them and blowen up the fire...then, they spake *what they had heard and seene*, even before *Kings*, and were not abashed. (613)

As discussed in chapter 1, such terms as ‘*audere*’, ‘not abashed’, and ‘confidence’ were inseparable from the rhetorical ends of the academic stage.⁴⁸⁰ Also significant in Andrewes’

‘Donne in his sermons projects an extremely vivid persona, as dazzling as some of the speakers in his dramatic monologues. Andrewes, however, reveals almost nothing of his personality’ (*Lancelot Andrewes* (Boston, 1981), 72-3).

⁴⁷⁸ Harington, *A briefe view of the state of the Church*, H2r.

⁴⁷⁹ Quoted in Shuger, *Sacred Rhetoric*, 236. According to Donne, ‘no secular Author...doth more abound with perswasive figures of Rhetorique, nor with musicall cadences and allusions...then some of the Secretaries of the Holy Ghost’ (*Sermons*, x, 103).

⁴⁸⁰ See Heywood, *Apology for Actors*, C3v-4r, and Whitelocke’s recollections of Merchant Taylors’ in *Liber Famelicus*, 12.

reading of Acts is that the Holy Spirit provides the skills of delivery before the addition of knowledge, which is suggestive also of my reading of Mulcaster's politics of pedagogy: Just as the Holy Spirit came in 'sound' first to instil language into the tongues of the apostles, so the Renaissance pedagogue viewed sound (divorced from language) as primary. It is as if the Holy Spirit compressed into one brief moment the years of training offered in a grammar school. Learning 'tongues' in this case would carry with it the notion of audacity mentioned in Andrewes' sermon—a notion not found in the Bible, but rather in the classroom.

Indeed, while the purpose of the academic stage was to teach delivery, it was also to refine language,⁴⁸¹ and it was a learning process that was fused with the impersonation of characters in various emotional states. So we read in Andrewes' sermons that the Holy Spirit gave the apostles the inspiration not only for vehement expression, but for language as well, 'Not the crudities of their owne braine...No, but pithie and wise *sentences*' (614). But in what way does the body receive and express this inspiration?

...you know what sound an *Echo* is: a sound at the second hand, a *sound* at the *second hand*, a sound at the rebound. *Verbum Domini venit ad nos; The word of the LORD cometh to us*: there is the first sound, *To us*; and ours is but the *Echo* the *reflection* of it to you. (601)

What is at issue here, then, is not where the words come from, but rather the nature of the echo and the instrument that makes it. Stirred within first (by outer stimuli), or else no imparting occurs, true, but the way such stirring was trained meant also that Renaissance students saw no difference between the emotions being impersonated, and the emotions they in fact felt; impersonal and personal, inner and outer, were not at odds here. T. S. Eliot writes that 'Andrewes's emotion is purely contemplative; it is not personal, it is wholly evoked by the object of contemplation, to which it is adequate; his emotions wholly contained in and explained by its object'.⁴⁸² However, while I believe Eliot may have been perfectly accurate in his description, he was yet wholly inaccurate in his conclusion; for it was the very impersonal nature of Andrewes' contemplation of the emotions that in fact made them so personal. It was, in other words, a strategy of stirring the emotions trained in the schools that enabled Andrewes to make intensely personal or 'real' that which was decidedly impersonal or 'feigned' (to use Wright's terms).⁴⁸³ If 'we cannot reach to *naturall* grief', says Andrewes,

⁴⁸¹ See Heywood, *Apology for Actors*, F3r.

⁴⁸² Eliot, *For Lancelot Andrewes*, 29.

⁴⁸³ McCullough, on the other hand, takes issue with both premise and conclusion: Andrewes, he says, 'was decidedly not the disembodied, atemporal, contemplative mind of Eliot's vision', but rather a preacher who 'in his sermons engages human passions, both his own and those of all who then heard and now read him'

‘yet [God] wisheth us to mourne with a *Civill* [one]’ (342). This way of thinking about the emotions is particularly evident in Andrewes’ devotional writings, to which I will refer shortly. What tends to emerge is an idea of ‘civil’ mourning connected not only to the communal actions of a ceremony, but also to a ‘civil’ education which taught boys to incite and control the emotions.

It is the function of the orator, as Roach writes, ‘to discover the passions of the mind with [his body]...thereby transforming invisible impulse into spectacle and unspoken feeling into eloquence’.⁴⁸⁴ Even for divine oratory, as Andrewes says, ‘The manner of the *Place* doth teach us, what manner of *Affection* is to be in them’ (421), and in the same paragraph he uses the gestures of the body as an analogy for understanding eternal truths. ‘Thought is an activity of the flesh’, writes Tertullian, ‘let the soul consider a matter: the countenance tells the tale, the face is a mirror of all intentions’.⁴⁸⁵ Reading the gestures and other bodily expressions in a text was to read a narrative; and this, too, was replicated in the delivery of a sermon when the emotions were distilled from the Biblical passage being explicated, incarnated in the preacher, and communicated to the audience. Andrewes likens this rhetorical incarnation to a second coming of Christ:

...when time comes that we will utter [thoughts], [it] doth take to itselfe an *aierie body* (our breath by the vocall instruments being framed into a voice) and becometh audible to the outward sense: (And this we call the second *begetting*, or speaking.) Right so, the aeternall WORD of GOD, by DOMINVS *dixit*, by the very breath of GOD, the *Holy Spirit* (which hath His name of *Spiro*, to breath)...had a *body framed Him*, and with that body, was brought forth, and came into the world. (164)⁴⁸⁶

After all, to bring persons vividly into the imagination was to invoke their spirit and impersonate them using voice and gesture, an incarnation which meant that the orator was always ‘actively transforming himself...into some shape he has imagined’. Hence, ‘the rhetoric of the passions’ can offer a ‘complex definition of the relation between matter and spirit, body and mind’, for the emotions belong to the body in their derivation from humours, and they belong also to the soul because they ‘are called into existence and directed by sensory, mnemonic, or imaginative functions of the mind and spirits’.⁴⁸⁷ In this sense, the

(*Lancelot Andrewes*, xlvii). In my analysis, there is no contradiction between disembodiment and the emotions, and I differ also with McCullough in terms of how Andrewes ‘engages human passions’.

⁴⁸⁴ Ibid. 32-3.

⁴⁸⁵ Tertullian, *On the Resurrection of the Flesh*, trans. Ernest Evans (London, 1960), 41.

⁴⁸⁶ On the relationship between breath and speech in the Renaissance, see Rhodes, *Shakespeare and the Origins*, 6-12.

⁴⁸⁷ Roach, *Player’s Passion*, 30, 40.

stirring of emotions also represents a kind of ecstasy, when the speaker is outside of himself as a result of the impersonation of an ‘other’ emotional state.⁴⁸⁸ Vives says *enargeia*, which displays ‘human passions in a wonderful and vivid manner...breathes in [to the auditor or reader] a certain great and lofty spirit so that the readers are themselves caught into it, and seem to rise above their own intellect, and even above their own nature’.⁴⁸⁹ It was these ‘ecstatic’ impersonations that were so strenuously practiced in the Renaissance classroom, primarily as a way to teach audacity in the delivery of speech.

We begin to understand the nature of the Spirit’s instrument and ‘echo’ when Andrewes speaks about the body being tuned to receive the inspiration:

Can any spirit *animate* or give life to members dismembred, unlesse they be first united and compact together? It cannot: *Vnitie* must prepare the way to any *spirit*, though but *naturall*...No Spirit, Not the ordinarie, *naturall Spirit*, will come, but where there is a way made and prepared by *accord* and unity of the body. (598)

In this, Andrewes could very well be following a line of reasoning found in Tertullian, who writes that ‘the flesh [is] the pivot of salvation...since by it the soul becomes linked with God, it is the flesh which makes possible the soul’s election by God.’⁴⁹⁰ This is an unusual trajectory, one not usually associated with Christian thought, and particularly not Calvinism, but it can be corroborated by appealing to 1 Corinthians 15.46: ‘That was not first which is spiritual, but that which is natural; and afterward that which is spiritual’.⁴⁹¹ Even ‘so great a person’ as Christ, says Andrewes, ‘would become such as we are, would so esteeme our Nature, as to take it upon Him; This certainly is a great *dignity* and exaltation of our nature’ (41). In matters of delivery, so too with matters of the body, Andrewes is not to be associated with Calvin, whose followers—perhaps because of a theology that emphasised the depravity of the flesh⁴⁹²—never seemed to advocate or discuss at any length the role of the body in

⁴⁸⁸ See Michael Screech, *Ecstasy and The Praise of Folly* (London, 1980).

⁴⁸⁹ Vives, *On Education*, 126.

⁴⁹⁰ Tertullian, *On the Resurrection of the Flesh*, 45.

⁴⁹¹ In this chapter all scriptural quotes are from the King James Bible of 1611, a choice made due to Andrewes’ involvement in its translation. The evidence suggests that Andrewes was one of James’ chief translators, and that he may have been solely responsible for the translation of the Pentateuch (see Adam Nicolson, *Power and Glory: Jacobean England and the Making of the King James Bible* (London, 2003)).

⁴⁹² As Calvin writes: ‘For although there is still some residue of intelligence and judgment as well as will, we cannot call a mind sound and entire which is both weak and immersed in darkness...as to the will, its depravity is but too well known. Therefore, since reason [is] partly weakened and partly corrupted, a shapeless ruin is all that remains’ (*Institutes*, 2.2.12). Robert Entzminger notes that strict Calvinists viewed the human body as ‘too

sermon delivery.⁴⁹³ Rather, Andrewes' notions of the body, particularly in its role in delivery and the emotions, can be associated with a classical and patristic tradition begun by Cicero, Augustine, and Tertullian—to name a few—and read through Luther.⁴⁹⁴ The body, in this case, has value, not only because God created flesh before instilling a spirit or soul, but also because of its role in presenting Christ's incarnation.

Recalling my discussion of *The Faerie Queene*, we might say that Andrewes thought of such physical preparation (in a rhetorical context) as a 'counterforce', as Carrithers puts it, against man's fallen nature.⁴⁹⁵ In fact, the force applied by the orator to train his body in delivery is often seen as analogous to the operation of grace on the soul. For Andrewes, it is first and foremost an act of will—'*per actum elicatum*, as the *Schoolmen* call it' (341)—that sets these operations in motion. Of the body as an instrument, Andrewes says that God '*spake by the Prophets: and the Apostles, they were but as Trumpets, or pneumatica, Wind-instruments; they were to be winded... This breath hath in it (you see) to make a good Symbole for the Spirit; and CHRIST's b[r]eath, for the Holy Spirit*' (689).⁴⁹⁶ Given this imperative, the preacher's body becomes for Andrewes 'pipes to derive' the Spirit 'to others, that, by preaching, they might impart the *Spirit* [the preacher has] *received: preaching* being nothing els (as the *Fathers* observe, out of the *Num.* XI.) but the taking of the *spirit* of the *Preacher*, and putting it on the *hearer*' (609).⁴⁹⁷ For ancient rhetoric, it was the orator who had to imprint an absent or outside image upon his imagination in order to first be moved,

fundamentally depraved to entrust it to so powerful a weapon as eloquence' (*Divine Word: Milton and the Redemption of Language* (Pittsburgh, 1985), 3).

⁴⁹³ William Perkins is one exception, as I discuss below, and indeed, as Peter Lake suggests, 'the core of the moderate puritan position lay neither in the puritan critique of the liturgy and polity of the church nor in a formal doctrinal consensus', but rather 'in the capacity, which the godly claimed, of being able to recognize one another in the midst of a corrupt and unregenerate world' (*Moderate Puritans and the Elizabethan Church* (Cambridge, 1982), 282).

⁴⁹⁴ Andrewes aligns himself with Luther quite early in his career. In his disputation for Doctor of Divinity at Cambridge (1585) he says in the peroration that 'Luther, Melancthon, Brentius, would be for us: Calvin, Martyr, Bucer, go another way' (*Of the Right of Tithes* (London, 1647), D1v).

⁴⁹⁵ Gail H. Carrithers, *Donne at Sermons: A Christian Existential World* (Albany, 1972), 47.

⁴⁹⁶ See Cicero, *De Oratore*, 3.56.214-5, and my brief discussion of bodily instruments in chapter 1.

⁴⁹⁷ For Donne, the metaphor is one of travel ('it is the chariot, the meanes, by which God will enter you' (*Sermons*, v, 145)), while in Andrewes it is the wind and instruments derived from the rhetorical tradition.

just as for Andrewes it was *actum elicited* which brought vivid images before the imagination in order that the Spirit might move through him.⁴⁹⁸

2. *The Art of Preaching*

The Lutheran reformer, Andreas Hyperius (1511-1564), whose *artes praedicandi* was translated into English in 1577 by John Ludham, states that the preacher must enter the ‘publyk Theatre of the Church’ only when he is ‘adorned with a spyrite and power in teaching’, which includes a ‘zelous and fervent affection’. In this way God can use the same inspiration in the preacher’s mind to ‘illustrate the hartes of the hearers’.⁴⁹⁹ Hyperius’ handbook reconciles classical rhetoric with preaching in a way similar to Augustine’s *De Doctrina Christiana*. ‘Certainly’, says Hyperius, ‘he that hath beene somedeale exercised in the Scholes of the Rhetoritians before he be received into the order of Preachers, shall come much more apte and better furnished then many other’. Moreover, rather than simply other preachers, one must imitate the ‘Maisters, whom hee perceiue, aboute the residue, to bee commended for their excellent grace and dexteritie, in Pronuunciation and behauiour, especially in theyr owne natiue Countrie and region’.⁵⁰⁰ Nevertheless, the chapter devoted to ‘mouing of affections’ claims to offer advice to the preacher distinct from that to the orator, when in fact the only difference is intent: while the orator seeks to move the four affections of ‘Gladnesse, Hope, Fear, Griefe’ for all manner of purposes in the ‘Forum’, the preacher seeks to move his audience in the church ‘most specially to the care of obteyning salvation’.⁵⁰¹ This distinction is complicated further when Hyperius suggests that the preacher should somewhat opportunistically digress at those parts of the sermon that may have application to the virtues, classical or Christian. So, for example, if at any point in the

⁴⁹⁸ The sight and sound of the ‘Word and the Sacraments in his Church’ is said by Donne ‘to pay our debt...and by his grace to make our natural faculties...able to concur with him, and cooperate to good actions’ (*Sermons*, I, 313).

⁴⁹⁹ Andreas Hyperius, *The Practise of Preaching*, trans. John Ludham (London, 1577), B6v, B7r.

⁵⁰⁰ Ibid. C1r-v.

⁵⁰¹ Ibid. G1r-v. The idea that an individual could be persuaded to salvation—one shared by Augustine, Luther, Hyperius, and Andrewes—runs counter to the Calvinist notion of the Spirit’s irresistible grace and God’s predestination: ‘unless God’s authority holds pride of place, faith will never be satisfied with the testimonies of men, but when the inward assurance of the Spirit has led the way, it may subsequently allow them some standing’ (*Harmony of the Gospels*, in *Calvin’s Commentaries, Vols. 1-3*, trans. A. W. Morrison (Grand Rapids, 1972), I, 2). We may add these doctrines to the depravity of the flesh as providing some account for Calvinism’s ambivalence towards rhetoric.

sermon, it is clear to the preacher that the material may pertain to ‘sobrietie and temperance’, then here he should ‘tary’ in order to move his auditors’ affections so that ‘they may both covet sobrietie and abandon excesse’. Significantly, then, Hyperius recommends that affections should be moved ‘not in confirmation onely, but also in the Exordium, and conclusion’ and ‘wheresoever else the consideration of those things that are touched will seeme to require’.⁵⁰²

Considering Hyperius’ advice, it is possible to imagine sermons—here specifically Andrewes’—as a drama with the appearance of various characters and emotions as appropriate to the particular demands of the text, rather than simply a steady ‘crescendo’. Certainly, the preacher, says Andrewes, is responsible for ‘the taking of the *spirit*’ and ‘putting it on the *hearer*: or (to expresse it by the type of *fire*) the *lighting* of one *torch* by another; that so, it might passe from man to man, till all were *lightned*’ (609); and such a transmission of the spirit and passions requires the preacher to be like Christ, who made ‘bodily *signes*, the meanes of conveying the graces of His *Spirit* into us’ (616). Joy, for example, requires the movement of the body to express it, as Andrewes recommends when discussing Christ’s recollection of Abraham’s rejoicing (John 8.56):

Heere be two sorts: ¹ One, *Exultation*, a motion of the *bodie*: ² The other, *Ioy* a fruit of the *Spirit*: I am for both. I speake not against *Exultavit*; let the bodie have his part...since all the joy is for *Corpus aptasti mihi*, and that *Verbum caro factum est*, the Word is become *flesh*: that CHRIST hath gotten him a bodie... (69).

In fact, according to Hyperius, a preacher has ‘greater liberty’ than the orator in his efforts to arouse the imagination and emotions of his listeners because he is concerned with a subject of far greater magnitude: eternal salvation.⁵⁰³

The path to salvation begins with the admission of sin, and the way for a preacher to ignite this recognition in his audience is, as Hyperius offers, first to stir its accompanying emotion within himself, and then with ‘wordes, voyce, countenance, and apte gesture, declareth himselfe to lamente and bee sory either for the perill of some, or for the common misery of all men’.⁵⁰⁴ Even William Perkins, whose puritan Calvinist leaning almost necessarily precluded a grand style, declares in his preaching manual that the homilist must inculcate

An inward feeling of the doctrine to be delivered. Wood that is capable of fire doth not burn unless fire be put to it: and he must first be godly affected

⁵⁰² Ibid. G2r, G2v.

⁵⁰³ Ibid. G2v.

⁵⁰⁴ Ibid. G3r.

himself who would stir up godly affections in other men. Therefore what motions a sermon doth require, such a preacher shall stir up privately in his own mind, that he may kindle the same in his hearers.⁵⁰⁵

And, the way to stir these emotions inwardly, as Hyperius suggests for the preacher, is to set ‘before his eyes’ by a ‘vehement imagination’ the ‘formes and similitudes of the thinges whereof hee entreateth’. So much for a *mere* ‘echo’; here is human artifice. Unlike the orator, however, the preacher’s *enargeia* will be inspired by Biblical events—from ‘Divinitie it selfe’—in order to find the ‘places applied to the mouinge of affections’. Like the Attic orator, he will also avoid ‘flatteringe phrases’⁵⁰⁶—or, a highly ornamental, periodic style⁵⁰⁷—in favour of a complete assault on the emotions: the focus is on a ‘playne and perspicuous speach’, designed primarily to convey the bare, honest passions of the speaker; indeed, the preacher may also set ‘aside all arte and cunninge...utterly excluding all furniture’ in order to more ‘vehemently move and encline’.⁵⁰⁸ According to Andrewes, the primary source of inspiration for the preacher is not periodic or epigrammatic: ‘The HOLY GHOST vseth no wast words, nor ever speakes but to the point (we may be sure)’ (580). Thus the audience is not distracted by flowery diction and circumlocution, and receives the full force of the emotional impact generated by voice, countenance, and gesture; the point, of course, is that the audience is not simply entertained, but moved to action. It is for this reason that the emotions become the primary force of persuasion in divine rhetoric—the preacher’s function in the sixteenth-century church was not simply to teach, but also to encourage an active response to an established, shared truth, which, nonetheless, had become stale through its ubiquity and overstatement.

‘Our *wish* hath *lipps*, but no *leggs*’ (421), Andrewes admonishes his audience, and it was his job to implant in them a desire for action. This persistent stress on the preacher’s ability to stir up and pass on emotions also carries with it the notion that it is the emotions rather than the intellect with which we best interact with God. A rhetoric that emphasizes a ‘playne and perspicuous speach’ and the importance of the arousal of emotions in a religious context may be referred to as the ‘Christian grand style’, of which Debora Shuger writes that

⁵⁰⁵ William Perkins, *The Art of Prophecyng* (London, 1607), K3v. Despite Perkins’ endorsement of the inward stirring of the passions, he prohibits the practice—so crucial to *enargeia*—of presenting images before the imagination to achieve this emotional state; rather, the preacher must ‘imprint in his mind...either axiomaticall, or syllogisticall, or methodicall the seuerall doctrines of the place he meanes to handle’ (17r).

⁵⁰⁶ Hyperius, *Practise of Preaching*, G3r-v, G5r, G4v.

⁵⁰⁷ See Cicero, *Brutus*, 95.325-97.

⁵⁰⁸ Hyperius, *Practise of Preaching*, C7v, H1r.

‘it directs itself against those who know the truth yet do not obey it; it attacks the obstinate and stubborn’. Elsewhere, she notes that the ‘Christian grand style is fundamentally oral in giving priority to the passionate, sensuous, and dramatic aspects of language... Our emotions—our loves—unite us to God’, which, ‘for Renaissance thinkers... means that the passionate images of rhetoric can carry the heart and will to God while reason flounders in its inevitable limitations’.⁵⁰⁹ Thus Andrewes rails against preachers who ‘entertaine you with nothing but with discourse about the *mysterie of godlinesse*: but never with exhortation to the *exercise* of it’ (215).

Christian rhetoricians, in fact, argued that the grand style was used by Biblical preachers. As a prime example of how the affections are moved, Hyperius cites Peter’s sermon in Acts 2, in which the apostle explains the purpose of Christ’s crucifixion and resurrection. Peter puts the onus completely on his audience when he says ‘ye have taken, and by wicked hands have crucified and slain’ Christ, which causes his listeners to feel ‘pricked in their heart’ (Acts 2.23, 37). The manner of implicating the audience in this manner is emulated by Andrewes when he asks his audience to look first upon the vision of Christ’s suffering with its mind’s eye, and then ‘pricks their heart’ with the implication of the scene: ‘we verily, even we, are the cause thereof: as verily we are, even the *principalls* in this *murther*; and the *Iewes* and others, on whom we seeke to derive it, but onely *accessaries* and instrumentall causes thereof’ (339). Using Peter’s sermon as a source in this regard is by default an admission that the Holy Spirit acts through the preacher’s *enargeia* to stir or pierce the audience; this is because the efficacy of Peter’s homily is made possible only by the inspiration of the Holy Spirit (Acts 2.2-4). Hyperius’ other significant example of the grand style is Paul’s speech to the elders of the Ephesian church, which also takes place on the day of Pentecost, and has Paul ‘bound in the spirit’; it ends with his audience weeping (Acts 20.22, 37). The coming of the Holy Spirit on that day, confirms Andrewes, allowed the apostles to speak ‘in the *fevor*, which is the *force* of *spirituall efficacie*, to *quicken* the dulnesse of [the listeners’] cold and *dead affections*...even to speak *sparks* of *fire* instead of *words*’ (605). The Holy Spirit, then, shows itself through delivery.

⁵⁰⁹ Shuger, *Sacred Rhetoric*, 44, 248, 241.

For someone trained on the academic stage,⁵¹⁰ delivery meant imitating not only wise and esteemed ‘Maisters’, but also the voices and gestures of fictitious characters presented before his imagination. The preacher should use gesture, writes Augustine, because ‘movements of the hands signify a great deal’, as one knows from actors who ‘give certain signs to the *cognoscenti* and converse with the spectators’ eyes, as it were...All these things are, to coin a phrase, visible words’.⁵¹¹ Luther might have had Augustine in mind when he declared that the Holy Spirit is a rhetorician, but such assertions by patristic or Renaissance writers would no doubt have resulted from reading the book of Acts with classical rhetorical treatises in mind. For it is in Acts that the Holy Spirit descends as a ‘sound from heaven as of a rushing mighty wind’ with ‘cloven tongues as of fire’. In these verses, Andrewes is keen to point out the dual nature of the Holy Spirit’s coming and inspiration: the language is audible and visible, and it inspires sight and sound. ‘The *types*’ of the Spirit’s coming, says Andrewes, ‘were of two sorts, according to the two chiefe senses; ¹ *Audible* to the *ear*, in the *sound of wind*; ² *Visible* to the *eye*, in the *shew of tongues*’ (609). In fact, to read Acts 2.4 rhetorically is also to understand that inspiration begins necessarily with an outer form brought *actum elicatum* to the mind, and which then flows through the body as air through an instrument, only to re-establish the same outer form on the minds and bodies of those inspired. So it is that the apostles speak ‘with other tongues’, just as the preacher’s voice, according to Andrewes, is an ‘echo’ (601), one, as I have already mentioned, the body will mediate with its ‘pipes’ (609).

With respect to human artifice in delivery, Andrewes admits that ‘*volubilitie* of *utterance*, *earnestnesse* of *action*, *streining* the voice in *apassionate deliverie*...be but *blazes*. It is the *evidence* of the *Spirit*, in the soundnesse of the sense, that leaves the true impression’ (615). This is not, however, a disavowal of the theatricality of rhetorical delivery, but rather an effort to contextualise it, and perhaps a self-referential one as well, playing on the fact that Andrewes possessed great facility with regards to delivery—such, indeed, that it wanted a reminder to the audience that the ‘sincere milk’ of the Word also needed to be present in order to make the step from mere oratory to divine oratory. But if the methods of inspiring the emotions are essentially the same for both secular orator and preacher, then what is the

⁵¹⁰ There are no records to suggest that Mulcaster’s boys performed Biblical drama, though it is quite probable given that nearly every other large Elizabethan grammar school did so. See Wagonheim, *Annals of English Drama*.

⁵¹¹ Augustine, *On Christian Teaching*, 2.5.

difference between the pneumatic passions that inspire the orator and the Holy Spirit that inspires the preacher? None, replies Andrewes:

...one and the same *breath* of ours, is *Organon* both *vitae* and *vocis*, is the *instrument* both of *life* and *voice*; the same that we *live by*, is the same that we *speake by*: Even the very like is, in the body *mysticall*; and both the *vitall breath*, and the *vocal*, come both (as we heere see) from the *Holy Ghost*. (603)

Consequently, Andrewes sets up a hierarchical structure of difference between the methods of inducing the emotions in acting, oratory, and preaching. As I noted at the outset, Andrewes maintains that actors stir their emotions with ‘gin or vice or skrew made by art’ (694). And, while orators rely on setting vivid pictures before their imagination, the preacher is to follow ‘these three meanes to procure the Spirit’s comming: ¹ *Prayer*, ² *The Word*, ³ *The Sacraments*’; each one of these methods work ‘as an *arterie*, to conveigh the *Spirit* into us’ (607).

Again, however, this is a nominal distinction, for ‘The Word’ and ‘The Sacraments’ work in the same manner as the *visiones* of the orator, especially because the Eucharist was designed for the remembrance of the suffering of the Word on the cross. Nearly every one of Andrewes’ Good Friday sermons seek to conjure a vivid representation of Christ’s body to his auditor’s imagination, thereby substituting the Catholic’s transubstantiation with the rhetorician’s *enargeia*—the result, one might argue, was the same in both instances: a ‘real presence’.⁵¹² Consider, for example, the following description of the anguished Christ sweating blood in the Garden of Gethsemane:

...in a cold night (for they were faine to have a *fire* within dores) lying abroad in the aire, and upon the cold earth, to be all of a *sweat*, and that *sweat* to be *Blood*; and not as they call it, *Diaphoreticus*, a thin faint sweat, but *Grumosus*, of great Drops; and those, so many, so plenteous, as they went through his apparell and all; and through all, streamed to the ground, and that in great abundance... (345)

⁵¹² Thomas More complained that Protestantism reduced the real presence to ‘none other but a bare sacrament onelye, that is to wytte a token, a figure, a sygne or memoriall of his bodye and hys bloude crucified and shed, and not his owne very body and his bloude in deede’ (*A Treatise upon the Passion* (1534), in *Complete Works of St. Thomas More*, XIII, ed. Garry E. Haupt (New Haven, 1976), 138). According to his most recent editor, Andrewes ‘has a sacramental understanding of language’, and there is only a ‘very small step between Andrewes’s understanding of words and of the eucharist’ (McCullough, *Lancelot Andrewes*, xxxvi). Debora Shuger states that ‘There is only one *body* in [Andrewes’s] texts, the wounded body of Christ; the prose always becomes concrete, vivid, dramatic in depicting that body, making it present—not only as an object beheld, but touched, tasted, embraced, and with Himself returning the gaze’ (*Habits of Thought in the English Renaissance: Religion, Politics, and the Dominant Culture* (Berkeley, 1990), 77).

From the ‘almost visible’ drama presented to his auditors, the Holy Spirit ‘begins within, *a centro*, and worketh outward: alters the *mind*, before it change the *speech*: giveth another *heart*, before another *tongue*: works on the *spirit*, before on the *phrase* or *utterance*: ever, so’ (609). These impulses towards classical conceptions of oratory (and acting), even by a preacher who seems ostensibly to eschew them, were of course nurtured by preaching manuals, but they were trained in the Elizabethan classroom. For a precedent in this regard, Andrewes may have recalled the example of Moses, who first manifested this combination of secular and divine learning,

3. *Moses* ‘sub paedagogo’

In a treatise devoted primarily to the reconciliation of Christianity with secular learning, Augustine legitimises his aims by appealing firstly to Moses, a man who ‘was well aware that true advice, from whatever mind it came, should be ascribed not to man but to the unchangeable God who is the truth’.⁵¹³ Moreover, though he does not say so explicitly, Augustine also figures Moses as an exemplum of oratory when he recollects Christ’s teaching about the Pharisees and scribes who ‘sit in Moses’ seat’ (Matthew 23.2). Christ’s point, which Augustine wants especially to stress, is that truth can be revealed even through hypocrites, so that Moses becomes the inspiration that flows through the person (in the etymological sense given by *personare*, or ‘to sound through’⁵¹⁴) appointed to speak or teach. The words of Moses may be resurrected in the minds of its hearers, even if the speaker does not understand them (non-linguistic before linguistic, sound before sense).⁵¹⁵ The importance of Moses’ teaching, then, relies in this case primarily on its delivery, and it was the same for Moses himself, who was an instrument for the speech of God:

And Moses said unto the Lord, O my Lord, I am not eloquent, neither heretofore, nor since thou hast spoken unto thy servant: but I am slow of speech, and of a slow tongue. And the Lord said unto him, Who hath made man’s mouth? ... Now therefore go, and I will be with thy mouth, and teach thee what thou shalt say. (Exodus 4.10-12)

⁵¹³ Augustine, *On Christian Teaching*, Pr.15.

⁵¹⁴ See Smith, *Acoustic World*, 280. Smith discusses a sermon of Thomas Egerton’s delivered at Cambridge in 1602 in which the preacher ‘cast his auditors as enslaved Israelites, himself as a Moses-figure, “mighty in words and deeds”’ (268). The pun on ‘delivery’ is available here, and it seems Egerton was particularly well known for his skill in *pronuntiatio et actio*.

⁵¹⁵ ‘If they hear not Moses and the prophets’, said Christ to his disciples, ‘neither will they be persuaded, though one rose from the dead’ (Luke 16.31).

The idea of a divine inspiration for oral teaching is of course ubiquitous amongst the prophetic writings in the Bible, and the verse most frequently cited by Hyperius as an example of the inspiration needed by the preacher is Jeremiah 1.9: ‘Then the Lord put forth his hand, and touched my mouth. And the Lord said unto me, Behold, I have put my words in thy mouth’. And Moses, who, alone among the Biblical prophets, mingled secular learning with divine inspiration, becomes for Hyperius the figure in the Old Testament most associated with delivery.⁵¹⁶

The tradition of imagining Moses as a divine orator begins probably slightly earlier than Augustine. Tertullian, in fact, writes that ‘the resurrection is preached by things done, as well as by things said. When Moses hides his hand in his bosom and brings it out dead, and again puts it in, and pulls it out alive, is he not making this a forecast concerning man as a whole?’⁵¹⁷ Cassiodorus, writing after Augustine, teaches that the monk ‘will grasp the art of delivery in reciting the divine law’ given to Moses, and that he ‘gains control of vocal quality’ in reciting the Psalms of David and Moses.⁵¹⁸ Many centuries later, Erasmus picks up on the idea of Moses communicating with his hands as much as with his voice: ‘Moses fights the enemy...with his hands raised up to heaven. As soon as he let them down, Israel’s fortunes sank lower’.⁵¹⁹ Sidney’s examples of poets who could ‘teach and delight’ like orators include first and foremost those who ‘did imitate the inconceivable excellences of God. Such were David in his Psalms...Moses and Deborah in their Hymns’.⁵²⁰ And of course Milton, in the first invocation of *Paradise Lost*, ‘invokes the power that came to Moses and inspired him to be a great oral teacher and then a writer of God’s law’.⁵²¹

When Andrewes mentions Moses it is almost always in the context of education, and, in particular, the use of hands in communication. Andrewes says specifically that the ‘times under *Moses* and the Prophets were as the Nonage of the world; *sub Paedagogo*...at their *A.B.C.* or rudiments’ (25), and he spends an entire sermon considering the hands of Moses. This sermon, preached before Elizabeth in 1590, takes as its text Psalm 77.20: ‘Thou didst

⁵¹⁶ Hyperius, *Practise of Preaching*, Aa2r.

⁵¹⁷ Tertullian, *On the Resurrection*, 77.

⁵¹⁸ Cassiodorus, *Institutions of Divine and Secular Learning*, ed. James W. Halporn and Mark Vessey (Liverpool, 2004), 187.

⁵¹⁹ Erasmus, *Enchiridion Militis Christiani*, trans. Charles Fantazzi, in *Collected Works of Erasmus*, LXVI, ed. John W. O’Malley (Toronto, 1988), 31.

⁵²⁰ Sidney, *Apology for Poetry*, 101-2.

⁵²¹ Robert A. Erickson, *The Language of the Heart, 1600-1750* (Philadelphia, 1997), 96.

lead Thy people like sheep, by the hand of Moses and Aaron'; and, like so many of his sermons, it weaves spiritual application with political advice in such a way as to blur any distinction between the two spheres.⁵²² In this case, Moses' hands represent 'Civil' government, and Aaron's 'Ecclesiastical', though Andrewes is careful to emphasise their mutual dependence: 'but both are absolutely necessarie; and a maymed and lame estate it is, where either is wanting' (283). However, over the course of the discussion, Aaron becomes defined by his words rather than his hands: 'Moses needeth Aaron, for Moses' hands are heavy and need a stay; and Aaron it is that keepeth them steady...by winning that at their hands by his continual dropping his word upon them' (283). The political analogy is mediated by Andrewes' understanding of delivery; specifically, it seems gesture alone cannot constitute performance, but rather the appropriate combination of both voice and gesture: '*per manum Mosis*, is no full point, but needeth (*and Aaron*) to be ioined to it...*Moses and Aaron* make a compleat Government' (283). Besides, Moses' hands are not simply synecdochic; the story of his hands provides Andrewes with an example of their right use in gesture and work:

Mose's owne hand (in the *fourth of Exodus*) when he had lodged it in his warme *bosome*, became *leprous*; but being stretched out, recovered again. Hands *in actu* then they must be: not loosely hanging down, or folded together in idlenesse; but stretched out: not onely to point others, but themselves to be formost in th'execution of every good work. (282)⁵²³

The association of 'idleness' with hands 'hanging down' is not made in Exodus, but rather in rhetorical manuals. For example, Andrewes makes the same connections, in the same order, of hands 'loosely hanging down or folded together' as does John Bulwer in the *Chirologia [and] Chironomia* for his eighth and ninth gesture:

[*Gestus VIII*] ...To appear with fainting and dejected hands is a posture of fear, abasement of mind, and abject and vanquished courage, and of utter despair... [it is a] languishing carriage and behavior of the hand.

[*Gestus IX*] ...To fold the hands is a gesture of idleness, an expression often seen in the hands of lazy lubbers amused with sloth... The wickedness of it, in that his hand is hidden, [is that] slothfulness being so shameful a thing that it needeth to be

⁵²² See Peter McCullough, *Sermons at Court: Politics and Religion in Elizabethan and Jacobean Preaching* (Cambridge, 1998), 147-55; and Lori Anne Ferrell and Peter McCullough (eds.), *The English Sermon Revised: Religion, Literature and History 1600-1750* (Manchester, 2000), esp. part III.

⁵²³ This passage is reminiscent of a similar recommendation by Andrewes in an earlier work, where he describes the gestures that signify and develop the temperate man: 'giving ourselves to ease, it is the way to bring us to hands hanging downe' (*The Patterne of Catechisticall Doctrine* (London, 1630), R8v); the verse quoted in support of this association between ease and 'hands hanging downe' is Hebrews 12.12, though even there no such association exists.

concealed...⁵²⁴

For this last gesture, Bulwer uses Exodus 4 to justify his interpretation in much the same way as Andrewes, even though the action bears no relation to idleness in its Biblical context. God tells Moses that the transformation of his hand will be a ‘voice’ to the people of Israel (Exodus 4.8), and it is this, perhaps, that allows Andrewes and Bulwer to provide their own rhetorical interpretation. Indeed, the recovery of Moses’ hand once it is removed from his bosom and outstretched is, in the Bible, simply a sign of God’s power, but Andrewes interprets the gesture as an indication of the ‘foremost in the execution of every good work’, which corresponds perfectly to Bulwer’s *Gestus* XXX: ‘To exalt or lift up the stretched out hand is the habit of attempting to do and take some famous exploit in hand and is a natural posture of an exalted and victorious power’.⁵²⁵

Yet why should Andrewes have thought gestures so important to Christian devotion? Clearly, of course, the ability to read gestures in Biblical narratives allowed the preacher to discover the emotions that he would then re-discover within himself before transmitting them to his audience. Voice and gesture, as I have noted above, were equally important in conveying the inspiration derived from the emotions, so we can imagine that the ability to read narratives of gestures was appreciable only insofar as one could perform them. However, what also emerges here is an understanding of gesture as having an effect on the soul (in addition to being the tell-tale signs of an inner state). In her study of gestures in Italian Renaissance courtesy books, Zirka Filipczak asserts that the ‘positions and movements of the body loomed so important because they were believed to influence emotions, not just reveal them. Prescribing body language thus served as a way of regulating the passions’.⁵²⁶ On the way to finding such a notion in Andrewes’ works, we might wish to consider the

⁵²⁴ Bulwer, *Chirologia [and] Chironomia*, 37-8.

⁵²⁵ Ibid. 61. A similar exegetical method is applied to Andrewes’ reading of John 20.19, where Christ appears standing: ‘His standing imports something. Standing is the site of them that are ready to go about a matter... To stand is *situs voventis*; to hold up the hands, *habitus orantis*. The meaning of which ceremony of lifting up the hands with prayer is, *ut pro quo quis orat pro eo laboret*, “what we pray for we should labour for;” what we wish for, stand for’ (II, 252). Once again, then, Andrewes treats the Biblical passage with a rhetorical understanding of gesture; for, while in his interpretation Christ’s standing and showing of his hands reveal a task to be undertaken (like his reading of Moses’ hands), the incident is offered in the Bible merely as proof that the person standing in front of the apostles was indeed the same person whose hands were nailed to the cross.

⁵²⁶ Zirka Z. Filipczak, ‘Poses and Passions: Mona Lisa’s “Closely Folded” Hands’, in Gail Kern Paster, Katherine Rowe, and Mary Floyd-Wilson (eds.), *Reading the Early Modern Passions: Essays in the Cultural History of Emotion* (Philadelphia, 2004), 71.

connection between mind and body as outlined by Bulwer: ‘And the sympathy is so strong between the heart and the hand that a holy thought can no sooner enlarge the erected heart, but it works upon the hands which are raised to this expression and extended out to the uttermost of their capacities’. In fact, the hands in this case occupy that middle ground—like the emotions—where flesh and spirit combine, ‘since it is impossible by reason of our great infirmity, we should with our soaring thoughts move beyond the center of our bodies’, we use the hands to supply ‘the place of wings’ which ‘help our hearts in their flight upward’.⁵²⁷

In his *Manual of Private Devotions* (1647), Andrewes recommends several gestures to ‘denote’ the ‘affections of the soul’, such as ‘falling on the knees’ to show ‘humilitie and dejection of the soul’, ‘trembling’ to show fear, ‘wringing of the hands’ to show ‘sorrow’, and lifting up the eyes to show ‘vehement desire’.⁵²⁸ The word ‘denote’ is important here, for it shows an inward to outward causation, yet it is a word added by the 1648 editor of this work, and some evidence occurs in Andrewes’ other writings to suggest that the causation could have been reversed in the original manuscript: gesture, in this case, could affect the soul as well.⁵²⁹ In his *Directions to Pray*, for example, while Andrewes admits that the worship of God is not ‘absolutely or universally tyed to these outward Ceremonies’, nonetheless he goes on to say that they ‘serve to stir up the inward intentions and affections’.⁵³⁰ When read against Renaissance conceptions of the humoral body, it seems plausible to argue that the preacher understood that ‘if bodily fluids are the stuff of emotions, then to alter the character and quantity of a body’s fluids is to alter that body’s passions and

⁵²⁷ Bulwer, *Chirologia [and] Chironomia*, 29, 23, 32.

⁵²⁸ Andrewes, *Manual of Private Devotions*, in *Works*, xi, 6. These are, of course, private actions, but I would suggest that these exercises—not unlike those used in the grammar school—were practiced with their public manifestations in mind. Henry Isaacson, after all, mentions that Andrewes ‘singular zeal’ was in evidence not only in his private devotions but ‘also in his exemplary publicke prayers’ (*An exact narration of the life and death of...Lancelot Andrewes* (London, 1650), *3r).

⁵²⁹ In fact, the editor adds ‘work in me’ later in the text in between the gestures and their affections, which reverses his initial ‘denote’ (*Works*, xi, 277).

⁵³⁰ Andrewes, *Holy Devotions, with Directions to Pray* (London, 1663), D3r. The ‘four elements of repentance’ (fear, sorrow, anger, zeal (*Works*, i, 391)), after all, require some self-inculcation. Andrewes might have recalled here not only the intimate connection of the physical body with the emotions, but also the role of the imagination and body in communicating emotions; for example, gestures read as grief within narratives would necessarily bear the memory of their denotation once performed at will, so that the mere movement of the hands in a wringing motion could imprint the feeling of grief within the imagination. In this scenario, the body itself provides the images of grief, to which the soul responds.

thus that body's state of mind and soul'.⁵³¹ Hence, there seems to be a lack of contradiction between forced bodily responses and those that occur naturally (or from the more usual inner to outer pattern of felt emotions to physical manifestations); the 'sight' of Christ's crucifixion, says Andrewes, should 'make some *teares* to runne from us, or (if we be drie-eyed, that not them, yet) make some *sighes of devotion*' (381). As a contemporary of Andrewes writes, 'the Minds inclination follows the Bodies Temperature'.⁵³² Such, indeed seems to be the case with Lot's wife in a sermon preached before Elizabeth in 1594. While Andrewes says firstly that it was the 'sinne of restinesse of soule, which affected her eyes and knees, and was the cause of all the former', he follows this claim by saying that such wavering resulted from 'Slow steps: the convulsion of her neck: all these caused her wearinesse and feare of new trouble' (303). In the latter statement, Andrewes seems to reverse the former one by acknowledging that Lot's wife's body, as much as her soul, was responsible for committing Orpheus' sin of looking back.

Andrewes' reflections on the consequences of gesture and posture in Biblical narratives lead naturally from an enduring preoccupation with the role of the body in worship, and 'not only the upper parts, the tongue in our head, but even the nether also, the knee in our leg'. Not surprisingly, then, his voice was strong (despite being nearly solitary) in support of the unpopular act of bowing the knee upon each mention of Jesus' name in church liturgy,⁵³³ a belief that appears most stringently in a sermon preached before James in 1614: 'No: Mentall devotion will not serve: He will have both corporall and vocall, to expresse it by' (475). Body and word must combine in order to fulfil the requirements of communication. 'GOD requireth a reverent cariage', says Andrewes a little further on, 'even of the body', and while the body 'doth but signifie *implicite*', a 'vocall *confession*, that doth vtter our minde plainely. And so, is looked for, at our hands' (477). The body is involved in declaring the dispositions, which are often more persuasive than words: 'Many times, we be more perswaded with the *mind* of the *speaker*, then with the *body* of the *speech*; and their *Positions* move not so much, as do their *Dispositions*' (288).

Thus, in several of his sermons, Andrewes' seems to coach his audience in delivery: 'speake out, not whispering, or betweene the teeth; but clearely and audibly; kneel 'gladly;

⁵³¹ Paster, *Humoring the Body*, 52.

⁵³² John Selden, *Titles of Honor* (London, 1614), B4r.

⁵³³ See Peter McCullough, 'Making Dead Men Speak: Laudianism, Print, and the Works of Lancelot Andrewes, 1626-1642', *The Historical Journal* 41 (1998), 415-6.

and *cheerefully confesse Him*' (477-8).⁵³⁴ His exhortation follows from an emphasis on the order of actions stipulated in Paul's epistle: 'That at the name of Jesus every knee should bow...And that every tongue should confess' (Philippians 2.10-11). From this order, Andrewes deduces a pattern of emotional affect that flows from outward actions to inner passions:

Why the *Knee* first? why begins he there? They be marshalled right. For, having by our *Knee bowed*, put our selves in minde of due regard of Him in fear and reverence, we are then the fitter to speake of Him, and to Him. (477)

So, besides the implications on the need for the body to be joined to the word, Andrewes declares that the body could render the speech 'fitter' by placing the orator in an appropriate emotional or spiritual state, itself an act of will upon the movements of the body. It is this right, 'fitter' kind of body joined to the word that is necessary, else 'all is but *sound and syllables*, if not this' (480). Proof that Andrewes practiced stirring the emotions in this way might be established from the state of the manuscript for his *Private Devotions*, as recalled by his 1648 editor, Richard Drake: 'Had you seen the Original Manuscript, happie in the glorious deformitie thereof, being flubber'd with His pious hands, and water'd with His penitential tears'.⁵³⁵

4. *The Great Actor*

John Aubrey remarked in 1690 that Andrewes 'had not that smooth way of Oratory, as now',⁵³⁶ which suggests that the preacher was known for his grand rather than periodic style; but however accurate Aubrey's assessment may be, it certainly appears to be the case that Andrewes was famous for his ability to hold the attention of his auditors. According to Sir John Harington, Andrewes' sermons were unique in Elizabeth's court for their 'spirit', and the Queen's nephew also recalls that he had never seen King James 'more sweetly affected with any Sermon' other than those of Andrewes.⁵³⁷ He was 'an Homer among Preachers', declared John Hacket.⁵³⁸ John Buckeridge called Andrewes 'the great actor and performer' in

⁵³⁴ According to Thomas Sloane, 'the point of humanist rhetoric is not simply to shape a discourse but to *form an audience*, one that will hear and judge—and, more, become the discourse' (*On the Contrary: The Protocol of Traditional Rhetoric* (Washington, D.C., 1997), 203).

⁵³⁵ Andrewes, *A Manual of the Private Devotions*, ed. R[ichard] D[rake] (London, 1648), A8v.

⁵³⁶ John Aubrey, *Brief Lives*, ed. Oliver Lawson Dick (Ann Arbor, 1957), 7.

⁵³⁷ Harington, *A briefe view of the state of the Church*, H2r. Isaacson says that Elizabeth 'tooke such delight' in Andrewes' preaching that she awarded him the prebend at Westminster (*An exact narration*, *2v).

⁵³⁸ John Hacket, *Scrinia Reserata* (London, 1692), G3r.

his funeral sermon for the Bishop.⁵³⁹ Thomas Nashe noted that he mixed ‘the two seuerall properties of an Orator and a Poet both in one, which is not onely to perswade, but to win admiration’.⁵⁴⁰ Henry Isaacson, Andrewes’ friend and first biographer, noted of Andrewes’ ‘painfull Preaching’ that the ‘soules of many’ who heard him ‘were very much elevated, and...stirred up’.⁵⁴¹ And John Bulwer singles out Andrewes amongst all other contemporaries for his skill in hand gestures:

...[it] is reported of that learned and reverend doctor of our church, that he was...always employed in this reasonable service God requires at our hands; and toward the time of his dissolution, his hands were never empty of prayer. And when he could pray no longer *voce*, with his voice, yet *manibus et oculis*, by lifting up the hands and eyes, he prayed still.⁵⁴²

Peter McCullough imagines an Andrewes sermon as a gradual, insistent crescendo with no emotional peaks and troughs, but it is difficult to imagine how such a delivery might have captivated the attentions of what seems to have been a jaded court (with respect not only to religion, but to performance as well).⁵⁴³ His sermons would have had to appeal to James’ pedantry while also combining body and voice in such a way as to best inspire his audience;⁵⁴⁴ and such a combination would involve putting on emotions and taking them off as the text demanded. When the Holy Spirit inspired in such a way, the preacher joined ranks with the prophets of the Old Testament who were the instruments of conveying God’s voice to the people.⁵⁴⁵ This is particularly the case when the preacher impersonates God, Christ, or any other Biblical figure during the sermon, giving or adding speeches extrinsic to the Bible.

⁵³⁹ John Buckeridge, ‘A Sermon preached at the funeral of the Right Reverend Father in God, Lancelot late Lord Bishop of Winchester’, in Andrewes, *Works*, v, 295.

⁵⁴⁰ Thomas Nashe, *Have With You to Saffron-Walden*, in *The Works of Thomas Nashe*, ed. R. B. McKerrow, 5 vols. (London, 1904-1910), III, 105.

⁵⁴¹ Isaacson, *An exact narration*, *2r, *3r-v.

⁵⁴² Bulwer, *Chirologia [and] Chironomia*, 32.

⁵⁴³ ‘Oh stirre vp your languishing zeale, yee noble Courtiers’, spoke Joseph Hall, ‘rouze vp your drouping loue to diuine Truth’ (*The best bargaine. A sermon preached to the Court at Theobalds. on Sunday, Sept. 21. 1623* (London, 1623), B7v).

⁵⁴⁴ Isaacson notes especially that James admired Andrewes not only for a ‘transcendent gift in Preaching’, but also the preacher’s ‘excellency and solidity in all kinde of learning’ (*An exact narration*, *2v).

⁵⁴⁵ Calvin maintains of Old Testament prophets that ‘none such now exist’ (*Institutes*, 4.3.4); but in his impersonations of God, as well as his self-consciousness as a teacher, Andrewes fits with Milton’s description of a prophet not merely as someone who can ‘foretell events’, but also ‘anyone endowed with extraordinary piety and wisdom for the purposes of teaching...Hence under the gospel likewise, the simple gift of teaching...is called “prophecy”’ (*Reason of Church Government*, in *Works*, XVI, 245).

The formal rhetorical name given to these impersonations is *ethopoeia*, which, according to Aphthonius, ‘has a known person as speaker and only invents the characterization, which is why it is called “character-making”’.⁵⁴⁶

One striking example of Andrewes’ use of *ethopoeia* occurs in a homily preached before Elizabeth in 1602, which takes as its text Jeremiah 8.4-7. The pericope is a speech made by God through the prophet Jeremiah and begins with a series of searching questions, followed by a lament over the unresponsiveness of his people. Andrewes begins his sermon by summarising very briefly the content of the speech before turning his full attention to its delivery in an attempt to discover God’s emotions; the narrative, in other words, is informed by and inseparable from its delivery:

The manner of the deliverie is not common, but somewhat vn-usual and full of passion. For seeing, plaine *poenitentiam agite* doth but coldly affect us, It pleaseth GOD, *hac vice*, to take vnto Him the termes, the style, the accents of *passion*; thereby to give it an edge, that so it may make the speedier and deeper impression. (194)

Here God becomes an orator who has actively put on (‘take unto Him’) an emotional state to add force to his words.⁵⁴⁷ That is, God has done what any orator would do, even feigning mutability (by showing anger, sorrow, or complaining) in order to move his auditors (mankind) into action, ‘not respecting what best may become Him, but what may best seem to move us and do us most good’. This is why God ‘chooseth of purpose that *dialect*, that *Character*, those termes, which are most meet and most likely to affect us’ (194). Using this impression as the entry point to his text, Andrewes consequently gives himself licence not only to interpret the text rhetorically, but to speak it in this way as well:

⁵⁴⁶ Aphthonius, *Progymnasmata*, 115. Andrewes would have practiced such impersonations at Merchant Taylors’ not only in full dramatic performances, but also in class dialogues (see above, chapter 1, p. 73). I use the term *ethopoeia* to describe Andrewes’ impersonations, though it falls under the general rubric of *prosopopoeia*. My choice here in particular has been made for specificity, as in the Renaissance *prosopopoeia* was not always clearly defined. George Puttenham, for instance, defines *prosopopoeia* as the attribution of human qualities ‘to dumb creatures or other insensible things’, while he assigns the term *prosopographia* to the feigning of the ‘speech and countenance of any person absent or dead’ (*Art of English Poesy*, 324). Thomas Wilson does not refer to *prosopopoeia* at all, but subsumes its functions under *enargeia* (*Art of Rhetoric*, 204). Cicero uses the phrase ‘*personarum ficta*’ (the impersonation of figures) (*De Oratore*, 3.53.205), and the author of the *Ad Herrenium* calls such impersonations ‘*conformatio*’ (4.66). Quintilian’s *prosopopeia* includes all of the above, except for Puttenham’s definition (*Institutio Oratoria*, 9.2.30-2).

⁵⁴⁷ Luther thought as much of the Holy Spirit, as I note above, though Donne shares Andrewes’ idea of God as an orator: ‘He came to save by calling us, as an eloquent and a perswasive man draws his Auditory...so works Gods calling of us in his word’ (*Sermons*, I, 312).

And, the *Passion*, He chooseth, is that of *Sorrow*: For, all these verses are to be pronounced, with a sorrowful key. *Sorrow* (many times) worketh us to that, by a melting compassion, which the more rough and violent passions cannot get at our hands. (194)

In recommending the verses to be enacted ‘with a sorrowful key’ Andrewes is again encouraging his auditors to treat his text as a performance text, and his aim in this is to ensure that they are not simply listeners to a sermon (or readers of a text), but also that the inspiration passed from the Holy Spirit flows through them as well.

God’s sorrow, in this case, becomes Andrewes’, which in turn becomes his auditors’: ‘as in grief He complaineth of us, that we might be grieved and complain of ourselves that ever we gave Him such cause’. It would have been self-defeating for Andrewes simply to have delivered the verses emotionlessly without adopting a ‘sorrowful key’ himself, for his act of persuasion depends on the notion that speech delivered with an ‘accent of *anger*, or *sorrow*, or such like’ is ‘most fit and forcible to prevaile with us’ (194). This relates also to the ways in which God inspires his people to action:

For, *Passions* be *quick*; there is *life* in them. Therefore...He [Holy Spirit] chooseth to put *life* in us. To shew He would have us *affectionate*, when we are about this worke: and not so cold and so calme as we use to be. (250)

‘The visible preacher is unchanging in costume’, writes Carrithers, ‘but metamorphic in gesture’;⁵⁴⁸ such metamorphoses would have been particularly high-flying during episodes when the preacher would take on a character other than his own, whether Biblical or the voice of everyman. In its most brief and simplest of manifestations, Andrewes interrupts his own train of thought to pose a question in the assumed voice of an interlocutor: ‘That therefore, this text by name, and such other, we shunn and shift, and dare not come neer them. Not come neer them? As neer as we can, by the grace of GOD’ (205).⁵⁴⁹

Yet Andrewes consistently uses more extended *ethopoeia* within his sermons, sometimes even imagining the devil’s response to his explication: ‘If you needs *turne*, *turne* whither you will, but not to GOD. If to GOD, leave your *heart* behind you’ (208). In the Jeremiah 8 homily, it is the voice of God that is embellished, the licence for which, Andrewes’ suggests, is provided by the Holy Spirit, who, in his role as God’s amanuensis, provides also the inspiration for reproducing God’s speech and passions in human beings.

⁵⁴⁸ Carrithers, *Donne at Sermons*, 17.

⁵⁴⁹ Quintilian says that ‘We use [*prosopopoeia*] (1) to display the inner thoughts of our opponents as though they were talking to themselves...(2) to introduce conversations between ourselves and others, or of others among themselves...and (3) to provide appropriate characters for words of advice, reproach, complaint, praise, or pity’ (*Institutio Oratoria*, 9.2.30-2).

The scriptures, after all, are ‘expresly set down here, by the pen of the *Holy Ghost*’, but Andrewes declares that we are to ‘take it as a sentence from GOD’s owne mouth’ (848). There is a rhetorical justification for this licence as well, as Quintilian explains when he describes the use of *prosopopoeia*: ‘We are even allowed in this form of speech to bring down the gods from heaven or raise the dead’.⁵⁵⁰ A typical Andrewes’ impersonations extracts full speeches from one word, keeping in mind always the implicit emotional strain:

There is a word in the *fifth* verse, (the word of *rebellion*) maketh it more greevous. For it is (as if He should say) I would it were nothing but a *fall*, or *turning away*: I would it were not a *fall*, or *turning away* into a *rebellion*. Nay, I would it were but that; but *rebellion*; and not a *perpetuall rebellion*: But, it is both: and that is it which I complaine of. (195)

Using *amplificatio*, or *incrementum*, Andrewes draws out the emotional significance of God’s word choice, so that the full impact of the complaint on God’s (and Andrewes’) audience arises from the compassion and grace so proximate to the disobedient. God, after all, ‘attireth His speech in the habit, vttereth it in the phrase, figure, and accent of *anger*, or *sorrow*’ (194).

And what of the preacher’s imitation of God’s habit and accent? The following passage, for instance, demands the preacher modulate his voice to shift from a somewhat subdued opening to a more emotional response as he ponders the ways in which God uses his questions:

The point He presseth, is not, our *falling*, but, our lying still: not our departing, but our *not returning*; nor our *breaking* of, but our *holding out*. It is not: why *fall*, or *stray*, or *revolt*? But, why *rise* ye not? *Returne* ye not? *Submit* ye not yourselves? Thus might He have framed His interrogatories. Shall they *fall* and not *stand*? He doth not; but, thus: Shall they *fall* and not *rise*? Shall they *turne* from the right and not *keepe* it? No: But, shall they *turne from* it, and not *turne to* it? As much to say as; Be it you have *fallen*, yet lie not still; *erred*, yet goe not on; Sinned, yet continue not in sinne, and neither your *fall*, *error*, nor *sinne erunt vobis in scandalum*, shall be your destruction or doe you hurt. (196)

The first section of this passage (prior to ‘Thus might He...’) asks for a somewhat phlegmatic pitch to match the repetitive (‘ye not’) and disinterested (‘fall, or stray, or revolt’) diction, as well as to reproduce aurally the less severe nature of the disobedience; but when Andrewes imagines how God must have ‘framed His interrogatories’, the tone shifts to reflect the ‘accents of passion’ and ‘sorrowful key’ used by God when making the same pleas. The passage culminates in a further impersonation, whereby Andrewes restates God’s words from the verse (‘Shall they fall and not rise?’), and subsequently imagines how God might have framed his advice had he not used questions alone; however, the tenor of the questions carries

⁵⁵⁰ Ibid. 9.2.32.

into the explication, and is suggested through the use of zeugma as well as in the final pleading clause, which echoes the significance of the *amplificatio* in the previous quoted passage (a compassionate God who is nonetheless aggrieved).

In fact, the delivery of his exegesis would be matched and reinforced by the delivery of the verses themselves. Because Andrewes repeats words and phrases from the pericope throughout the sermon, it will be useful to see, or hear, how he conceived of God's delivery. In all of his sermons, Andrewes divides the Biblical text under consideration into its constituent parts—a constituency that nevertheless varies from sermon to sermon, and sometimes includes individual words, grammatical divisions, images, ideas, and sometimes any combination of these, which leads to further subdivision throughout the speech.⁵⁵¹ Each part receives its own explication, which includes also the justification for its existence as a part in addition to its relation to the whole. To see how Andrewes divides the Jeremiah 8 pericope, it will be useful first to quote the passage in its entirety, showing with parenthetical numbers the three divisions that inform the rest of the sermon:

Thus saith the *Lord*: [1] shall they fall and not arise? shall he turne away, and not turne again? [2] Wherefore is this people of Ierusalem turned back by a perpetual rebellion? they gave themselves to deceit, and would not returne. I hearkened and heard, but none spake aright: no man repented him of his wickednesse, saying, what have I done? Every one turned to their race, as the Horse rusheth into the battell. [3] Even the Storke in the aire knoweth her appointed times; and the Turtle, and the Crane, and the Swallow observe the time of their comming; but my people knoweth not the judgement of the LORD. (193; Jeremiah 8.4-7)

The passage is divided firstly by meaning, which is little more than Andrewes' rephrasing or retranslation of the original, and then, immediately afterwards, it is furnished with its delivery:

1. The first, by a gentle yet forcible expostulation (*Verse 4.*) *Will you not? Why will ye not?* 2. The second, by an earnest protestation (*Verse 5.*) *How greatly He doth hearken after it.* 3. The third, by a passionate *Apostrophe* (*Verse 7.*) *by turning Him away to the foules of the ayre, that doe that naturally every yeare, which we cannot be got to, all our life long.* (194)

So, to moments of *ethopoeia*, when Andrewes imitates God's speech as delivered through the prophet Jeremiah, we must add a certain tone of voice. In doing so, however, we are faced with the difficulty of re-animating the sound of a 'gentle yet forcible expostulation', 'earnest protestation', or 'passionate apostrophe', muted as it has been by the letter of a text now four

⁵⁵¹ This practice was lamented by George Herbert: 'Crumbling the text into small parts, as the person speaking or spoken to, the subject and object, and the like, hath neither in it sweetness, nor gravity, nor variety, since the words apart are not Scripture, but a dictionary' (*A Priest in the Temple* [1652], in *The Works of George Herbert*, ed. F. E. Hutchinson, 4th ed. (Oxford, 1959), 234-5).

hundred years old. It is somewhat easier, perhaps, to retrace the gestures that would have accompanied the ‘earnest protestation’ or ‘passionate apostrophe’ that Andrewes imitates and replicates throughout the sermon.

Andrewes’ comments regarding God’s delivery occur just after the opening, or exordium of the sermon; there are two gestures recommended by Bulwer for use in the introduction of a speech, the first being an erect thumb with the ‘other fingers gently bent in’, and the second being ‘the middle finger applied unto the thumb, the other three let loose’. In both cases, but especially in the first, the gesture is recommended because it best leads ‘to the forming of the other actions of the hand’.⁵⁵² So, in those moments in the exordium not given to pronouncing in a sorrowful key, we may assume that Andrewes adopted one or the other of these hand gestures based on formal exigency and also on their facility with regards to the ease of alteration it afforded. Corresponding to the first of the three divisions of the Jeremiah pericope would have been a gesture appropriate to a sense of ‘gentle yet forcible’ interrogation. ‘Will you not? Why will ye not?; Andrewes might have chosen at this moment to ‘extend out the right hand by the arm foreright’, which is ‘the natural habit wherein we sometimes allure, invite, speak to, cry after, call, or warn to come...give warning, admonish’.⁵⁵³ This gesture carries with it a combined notion of protection and instruction, which is appropriate to the paternal and affectionate demeanour of God’s ‘gentle yet forcible’ attitude. Extending the right hand also denotes ‘pity and...an intention to afford comfort and relief, used also as a token of assurance, peace, security and promised safety, and salvation’.⁵⁵⁴ Later in the sermon, Andrewes offers just such an interpretation of this first section of the passage:

He, even He, that GOD, from whom we thus *fall*, depart, revolt, reacheth His hand to them that *fall*; turneth not away from them, that turne to Him; is readie to receive, to grace them; even them, that *rebelled* against Him. It is so: for He speaketh to them, treateth with them, asketh of them, why they will not *rise, retire, submit* themselves.
(196)

At this later point in the sermon, one can imagine Andrewes repeating the gesture used during the initial division, for in saying ‘reacheth His hand’, a raised right hand would convey exactly Andrewes’ interpretation. The establishment of this stable and hierarchical relationship—reinforced by the gestures appropriate to peace, security, comfort, and beseeching—provides the context for a nonetheless grief-stricken, and possibly angry God.

⁵⁵² Bulwer, *Chirologia [and] Chironomia*, 198.

⁵⁵³ *Ibid.* 42.

⁵⁵⁴ *Ibid.* 58, the gesture Spenser likely imagined Guyon enacting in *The Faerie Queene*, II.vii.6.

To follow the second of his delivery notes (‘an earnest protestation, how greatly He doth hearken after it’), Andrewes would have raised his left arm to join his right, in such a way as to increase the force of the invitation, warning, or admonishment—doing so would create *Gestus I (Supplicio)*: ‘The stretching out of the hands is a natural expression of gesture, wherein we are significantly importunate, entreat, request, sue, solicit, beseech’.⁵⁵⁵ If, as he did this, he grasped his left index finger with his right hand, Andrewes would have added ‘earnestness’ and ‘greater vehemency’.⁵⁵⁶ This combined gesture intensifies the earlier invitation and admonishment of the initial raising of his right hand only; and, on the way to expressing the indignation, grief, and anger of the ‘passionate apostrophe’, Andrewes would have been expected to shake his hands while they were already raised: ‘To shake or hold the stretched and raised hand over any is their expression who offer to chastise and show a willingness to take revenge’—Bulwer’s explanation for this gesture claims that ‘by an anthropopeia, in many places of scripture this gesture implies the chastising hand of God’.⁵⁵⁷ However, in line with the grief and sorrow conveyed by the ‘passionate apostrophe’, these shaking, outstretched hands could very easily join together to become wringing hands: ‘Both hands clasped and wrung together is an action convenient to manifest grief and sorrow’; ‘To wring the hands is a natural expression of excessive grief used by those who condole, bewail, and lament’.⁵⁵⁸ That Andrewes might indeed have shaken his hands during this expression of grief is confirmed at another point in the sermon when he again adopts God’s voice in an ‘anthropopeia’⁵⁵⁹—here Andrewes is imagining God listing his means of persuasion:

My outward calling by my *word*, my inward movings by my *Spirit*, my often exhortations in your eares, may no lesse often inspirations in your hearts; *Tactus mei & tractus*, my touches and my twitches; my benefits not to be dissembled, my gentle chastisements, my deliverances more then ordinarie... (197)

While my assignment of specific gestures is of course conjectural (and there are several hand gestures appropriate to showing grief), yet it divulges somewhat more reliable and specific performance cues than those related to the voice. In any case, whatever gestures were used, they would have formed a pattern throughout the sermon, forcing a re-enactment at several other points of the sermon when God’s passion becomes rephrased: ‘For it is as if he should

⁵⁵⁵ Ibid. 21.

⁵⁵⁶ Ibid. 200.

⁵⁵⁷ Ibid. 64.

⁵⁵⁸ Ibid. 187, 32.

⁵⁵⁹ The term *anthropopeia* (‘the making of men’) is, I think, unique to Bulwer in the English Renaissance, and he uses it three times in his work; essentially, it is God’s *ethopoeia*, or his impersonation of man.

say, I would it were nothing but a fall or turning; I would it were not a fall or turning away'; 'As much to say as; Be it you have *fallen*, yet lie not still; *erred*, yet goe not on' (196). The words may change slightly each time, but their relation to the original divisions of the passage would have been clear from the gestures employed (in this sense, gesture would function also as a mnemonic device to auditors who may have been following the emotional pattern rather than that created by Andrewes' maligned text-crumbling).

Andrewes also provides delivery notes to his auditors so that they may respond to God's plea appropriately. After all, asks Andrewes of the congregation, 'Should not this move us?' The correct response begins with the question '*Quid feci?* What have I done? He expecteth no great matter; no long processe; but two words, but three Syllables: and those, with no loud voice, to spend their spirit or breath; but, even softly said, for He layeth His eare and *listeneth* for it'. Whatever one says, it should not be 'for forme, or with affectation, but, in truth and with affection' (one must first feel the emotions before delivering them), and it must be said 'with the right touch; with the right accent' (198). Andrewes provides an example that was no doubt delivered with a vehement passion:

What have I done? ¹ What, *in respect of it selfe*: What a foule, deformed, base, ignominious act! which we shame to have knowne; which we chill upon, alone and no body but our selves. ² What, *in regard of GOD*, so fearefull in power, so glorious in Maiesty! ³ What, *in regard of the object*: for what a trifling profit; for what a transitorie pleasure! ⁴ What, *in respect of the consequent*: To what prejudice of the state of our soules and bodies, both heere and for ever! O what have we done! How did we it? Sure, when we thus sinned, we did *we knew not what*. (198)

If this represents a response delivered with the 'right touch' and 'right accent' we can imagine Andrewes providing gestures suitable to the emotions expressed.

Moreover, because God in this sermon's text provides an analogy from nature (Jeremiah 8.7), Andrewes claims he is justified in using nature for his delivery cues. After all, 'Thus speaketh GOD, often, and with divers. The *slothfull* body He setteth to schoole, to the *Ant*' (199); so the auditors are brought to a 'lesson with these four' birds in the text: the stork, turtle-dove, crane, and swallow—all must serve 'as masters to teach us' since, 'by these four fowls, there is not taught the time, but even the manner also how to perform our repentance'. The turtle-dove, in particular, reveals the correct emotions:

1. That *vox turturis*, which is *gemebam*, a mournfull note: 2. That the very name and nature of the storke...full of *mercy* and *compassion*: 3. That the *Swallowe's nest*, so neere the *Altar of GOD*, (*Psal.* 84:) 4. That the painfull *watching*, and abstinence of the *Crane*, specially when they take their flight...That these (*Emblem-wise*) teach us the ¹ *mournfull bewailing* of our life past; ² *the breaking off our former sinnes, by workes of mercie*; ³ *the keeping neere this place, the house, and Altar of GOD*; ⁴ *the abstinence and watching* to be performed, during this time of our *returne*: That is, that all of these are allyed to the exercise of our *Repentance*, and are meet vertues to

acompanie and attend the practice of it. (200)

To Andrewes' *'Quid fecit?'*, then, and his extended hyperbole, we must add a 'mournful note'. Many of the gestures which fit such a response involve striking a 'table or some such thing' with the hand, or putting the hand to the face, which suggests not only sorrow and self-accusation, but also shame.⁵⁶⁰ However, one particular gesture from Bulwer's work conveys not only the 'mournful note' of the turtle-dove, but also the shame, anguish, and desire for repentance that Andrewes wants to 'exercise' or 'practice': 'We strike our breasts with the hand, as it were, protesting against the sins included in that mansion'.⁵⁶¹ In accompanying Andrewes' mournful and vehement 'shame', this gesture would also corroborate the appeasement required for the judge, as well as the chastisement required of the repentant.

5. *'Bringeth home this our text...'*

'That Virgin Monarch, Queen Elizabeth of famous memory', records John Bulwer

having heard (or rather seen) a sermon that was preached before her with the advantage of pronunciation, was much affected and taken therewith; and having the same sermon afterwards presented unto her, when she came to read it, and found not the insinuations of elocution and gesture, gave her judgment of it that it was one of the best sermons she ever heard, and the worst she ever read.⁵⁶²

Whether or not this anecdote pertained to Andrewes specifically, its sentiment expresses the foundation of this homilist's view on the relationship between text and performance, Word and human artifice: *contra* Calvin, the Gospel required preaching. And, from the foregoing analysis, it appears that an Andrewes' oration was much more dynamic and theatrical than the staid and contemplative image provided by modern critics.

Educated in a regime that trained rhetorical skills through the performance of drama, declamation, and physical exercise, we should perhaps not be surprised to find in Andrewes' sermons the same 'appreciation for the immediate relation between training practices and performance' I locate in Mulcaster and Spenser.⁵⁶³ The emotions that draw individuals to devotion are, after all, inseparable from the will and movements that express them: 'make some *teares* to runne from us, or (if we be *drie-eyed*, that not them, yet) make *some sighes of devotion*'; 'that we may endeavour to feele, and endeavouring may feele, and so grow into delight of this *looking*' (381, 348). This is why we find countless examples of the preacher

⁵⁶⁰ Ibid. 59, 182, 71-2.

⁵⁶¹ Ibid. 74-5.

⁵⁶² Ibid. 158-9.

⁵⁶³ Hawhee, *Bodily Arts*, 7.

exhorting his listeners to perform the emotions offered through Andrewes' voice and gesture, emotions that 'bringeth home this our text to us, even into our own bosomes; and applieth it most effectually, to me that speake, and to you that heare, to every one of us' (359). Thus, we are encouraged to consider the preacher's body in light of its participation with words that so often sought to make visible and audible the scenes of the Bible. Far from negating human artifice in this respect, then, Andrewes justifies the self-stirred emotion because it prepares the body to receive the inspiration that will pass this same emotion to his audience. For the majority of Calvinist and puritan preachers, the spirit did all; in Andrewes, 'Heere be two sorts: ¹ One, *Exultation* a motion of the *bodie*: ² The other, Ioy a fruit of the *Spirit*: I am for both. I speake not against *Exultavit*; let the bodie have his part...since all the joy is for *Corpus aptasti Mihi*, and that *Verbum caro factum est*, the *Word* is become *flesh*: that CHRIST hath gotten him a bodie' (69).

IV

Thomas Kyd

This chapter shows how methods of emotional inspiration and conveyance are made dramatic in *The Spanish Tragedy*. The representation of delivery is especially pronounced in Hieronimo's academic play, *Soliman and Perseda*, which, I argue, traces the bounds and influence of declamatory rhetoric at the nexus of speech and writing. Yet the concerns of declamation occupy Kyd throughout the play, and it is the aim of this chapter to reveal how in the relationship between Hieronimo and Horatio one may discover an analogue for the kind of rhetorical inspiration most often associated with forensic declamatory exercises. The common ground occupied by Kyd and, in this case, Quintilian and Seneca the Elder, is comprised of paternity, grief, mutilation, and the pursuit of justice; and, just as this ground was put to use by his forebears, it seems Kyd has employed its various features to plot not only a revenge tragedy, but also a template for analysing and discovering the possibilities of his media. As such, it is suggested that *The Spanish Tragedy* shares with Mulcaster's pedagogical works a concern with delivery and its role in negotiating the relationship between orality and literacy.

1. *Endless Tragedy*

The temper and structure of *The Spanish Tragedy* has for many years been described as Senecan.⁵⁶⁴ By this, of course, scholars mean to assert Thomas Kyd's debt to Senecan tragedy in terms of direct quotation, style, dramatic device (the prologue and ghost for example), and its recreation 'of the emotional and political climate of a Senecan play';⁵⁶⁵ but the present discussion suggests that Seneca the Elder's *Controversiae*, among other kinds of rhetorical advice and exercises, can be treated as a parallel influence, particularly in light of Joel Altman's observation that the play's conflicts provide the 'neutral places in which to arouse emotions, ask certain broad philosophical questions, and expound a variety of attitudes towards the tragic story being unfolded'.⁵⁶⁶ Certainly, as J. R. Mulryne offers, 'Our view of Andrea's quest is divided and complex, as is our view of Hieronimo's; and Hieronimo's experience is rendered tragic, as we give and withhold sympathy, not straightforwardly heroic'.⁵⁶⁷ These views tend to encourage a consideration of rhetoric in *The Spanish Tragedy* not only as window dressing, or even as a 'vital constructive element',⁵⁶⁸ but also, to some extent, as a subject of the play itself. Kyd's 'readiness to appreciate device in its own right' may be evidenced not only in his drama, but also in his 1588 translation of

⁵⁶⁴ See Fredson Bowers, *Elizabethan Revenge Tragedy* (Princeton, 1940), 41-7; Joost Daalder, 'The Role of "Senex" in Kyd's *The Spanish Tragedy*', *Comparative Drama* 20 (1986), 247-60; T. S. Eliot, 'Seneca in Elizabethan Translation', in *Selected Essays* (London, 1932), 65-108; Eugene D. Hill, 'Senecan and Vergilian Perspectives in *The Spanish Tragedy*', *ELR* 15 (1985), 143-65; F. L. Lucas, *Seneca and Elizabethan Tragedy* (Cambridge, 1922); and Percy Simpson, 'The Theme of Revenge in Elizabethan Tragedy' in *Studies in Elizabethan Drama* (Oxford, 1955).

⁵⁶⁵ J. R. Mulryne, introduction to Thomas Kyd, *The Spanish Tragedy*, ed. J. R. Mulryne (London, 1989), xvii; all quotations from the play are taken from this edition. Mulryne follows Eugene Hill's description of a Senecan 'climate' as 'the texture of evil in a hopelessly corrupt polity...[and] the bursting forth of malign forces...from the underworld, forces which in the course of the play infest and destroy a royal house' (see Hill, 'Senecan and Vergilian', 146). And yet, even Fredson Bowers—one of the progenitors of the Seneca-Kyd connection pursued by subsequent scholars—claimed that the 'debt to Seneca has been exaggerated'; the main Senecan source is, of course, the ghost, but in 'none of Seneca's plays does the ghost of the recent dead rise to demand vengeance for his own murder, as Andrea does'. Bowers thought Kyd got the idea from Italian tragedy of the early sixteenth century (*Elizabethan Revenge Tragedy*, 74, 84).

⁵⁶⁶ Altman, *Tudor Play of Mind*, 269.

⁵⁶⁷ Mulryne, *The Spanish Tragedy*, xvii.

⁵⁶⁸ Jonas A. Barish, 'The Spanish Tragedy, or The Pleasures and Perils of Rhetoric', in *Elizabethan Theatre*, IX, ed. J. R. Brown and B. A. Harris (London, 1966), 59-86.

Tasso's *Padre di Famiglia* (1583), where he alters the original text in a telling manner; where Tasso (whom Kyd calls 'that excellent Orator and Poet') maintains that beautiful sounds help order the memory for delivery, Kyd says the opposite is also possible:

For Poesy hath neuer more spirit added to it, with the greatest arte and industrie, then when it is set forth with wel disposed Epythetons, and signifca~t termes, [that] the one ordered with the other, may altogether consent, or musically aunswer crosse, as hath arteficially beene used by Orators, which though it be pleasant to the eare, is painfull to the memorie...⁵⁶⁹

That sound could also be 'painfull to the memorie' is a direct contradiction of Tasso, and it 'makes sense if one allows, as Kyd's text seems to imply, that poetry or oratory may rightfully treat even significant terms of argument as formal media'.⁵⁷⁰

Appreciating rhetorical strategy as distinct from an ordered narrative is to make oratory conversant with poetry rather than a simple follower of its needs, and it is also, I would suggest, to make plot and character declamatory. Declamations were, after all, considered first and foremost in the Renaissance a 'Theame of some matter, which may be controuerted, and so handled by parts, when one taketh the Affirmatiue part, another the Negatiue, & it may be a third moderateth or determineth betweene both'.⁵⁷¹ If the grammar school habit of arguing *in utramque partem* contributed to the designs of *The Spanish Tragedy*, then, I shall argue, so too did the skills in rhetorical delivery that were taught as inseparable from this habit. As I have discussed in preceding chapters, arousing emotions was considered an activity integral to persuasion, and it was the special office of delivery to ensure the orator's self-stirred emotions were passed successfully to his audience. By describing the manner in which grief is inspired and transferred in *The Spanish Tragedy*, I aim to show how Kyd's play makes dramatic not only the function of delivery, but also the capacity of

⁵⁶⁹ Torquato Tasso, *The Housholders Philosophie*, trans. T. K. (London, 1588), F1v-F2r.

⁵⁷⁰ James Siemon, 'Dialogical Formalism: Word, Object and Action in *The Spanish Tragedy*', *Medieval and Renaissance Drama* IV (1990), 109. Siemon suggests a few instances in *The Spanish Tragedy* where Kyd employs such 'painfull' incongruities: '...the ghost's categorization of deaths of friends among soul-pleasing spectacles, Isabella and Bel-Imperia's classifications of their suicides as revenge, and Hieronimo's refusal to speak after he has revealed everything' (114, n. 41). It is Kyd's addition of 'painfull to the memorie' that contradicts Tasso's idea that sweet sounds could only aid memory.

⁵⁷¹ Brinsley, *Ludus Literarius*, 184.

its media to render emotion. And, because the grief inspired in this play is paternal, I make connections between *The Spanish Tragedy* and the father-son paradigm of imitation and declamation in classical rhetoric. In this, I follow Erik Gunderson's recent study of declamation and paternity, particularly his assumption that rhetoric, 'which derives so much of its own authority from the idea of the father', also 'plays the good son by offering back this patrimony of linguistic authority to a maimed father who no longer seems in possession of his full faculties'.⁵⁷²

The staging of language has been the subject of several critical studies of *The Spanish Tragedy*,⁵⁷³ and in reading the play 'in light of contemporary debates about the heterogenous and intertwined fabrics of language, culture, and nation', Carla Mazzio has discovered a probable link between the concerns of Kyd and that of his former schoolmaster.⁵⁷⁴ Kyd's engagement with the vernacular in relation to anxieties about the influence of foreign languages seems most implicit in the play within the play, *Soliman and Perseda*, which Hieronimo intends to stage in several 'unknown languages, / That it may breed the more variety' (IV.i.173). 'His logic for staging the play in sundry languages', notes Mazzio, 'is articulated in terms commonly deployed in arguments about the status of English... "breeding" and "variety" are terms invoked time and again in discussions about the vernacular'.⁵⁷⁵ Mulcaster's own intervention in this regard is to treat foreign 'denisons' with imperialistic aims, claiming, or enfranchising words for England through usage and spelling, and thereby breeding variety through appropriation.⁵⁷⁶ If Mazzio is correct that 'Kyd's *play* speaks... to the

⁵⁷² Erik Gunderson, *Declamation, Paternity, and Roman Identity: Authority and the Rhetorical Self* (Cambridge, 2003), 59.

⁵⁷³ See for example Altman, *Tudor Play of Mind*, 267-82; Barish, 'The Spanish Tragedy', 59-85; Michael Hattaway, *Elizabethan Popular Theatre: Plays in Performance* (London, 1982), 101-28; Peter Sack, 'Where Words Prevail Not: Grief, Revenge, and Language in Kyd and Shakespeare', *ELH* 49 (1982), 576-601; and Siemon, 'Dialogical Formalism'.

⁵⁷⁴ Carla Mazzio, 'Staging the Vernacular: Language and Nation in Thomas Kyd's *The Spanish Tragedy*', *SEL* 38 (1998), 213.

⁵⁷⁵ *Ibid.* 216. See Raphael Holinshed: 'no one speache vnder the sonne spoken in our time... hath or can haue more varietie of words and copie of phrases [than English]' (*The Firste volume of the Chronicles* (London, 1577), v, 197).

⁵⁷⁶ Mulcaster, *Elementarie*, 172-6. Paula Blank notes that 'the dominion of Latin... was widely envisioned by Renaissance writers not only as a historical consequence of the Roman conquest of

representational power of a nation...unable to find, to locate, or ultimately to excise, its own voice', then my initial discussion of Mulcaster's inability to remove English sound from his orthography, as well the account of his first external examiners, may well reveal a further connection between the playwright and a teacher 'who was perhaps the most prolific and outspoken champion of the enriched and enriching mother tongue'.⁵⁷⁷ That drama was significantly involved with the anxieties over the development of the vernacular seems to have struck Mulcaster and Kyd just as it did Heywood, who acknowledged that English was a 'gallimaffry' of other languages, and that 'by this secondary meanes of playing' it is 'continually refined'.⁵⁷⁸ But both the 'secondary' and primary ('an ornament to the Citty') means of playing were, for Heywood, justified through the aims of rhetoric; it was the 'audacity', the 'musicall and plausiue' pronunciation, 'comely and elegant gesture', and the 'moderate and fit countenance sutable to all the rest' that made the primary and secondary 'meanes' of playing possible.⁵⁷⁹ And, of course, it was this same 'audacity' of voice and gesture in relation to delivery for which Kyd was trained under Mulcaster.

Kyd's extensive training in rhetoric and performance at Merchant Taylors' may account for the playwright's 'feeling for the connection between language and gesture' that Jonas Barish finds in *The Spanish Tragedy*. The figures of rhetoric, in this case, cease to become 'mere aimless embroidery'; Barish continues:

They no longer represent self-indulgence on the playwright's part, nor do they suggest a flagging imagination. They now work actively to order the materials in the play. In addition to being 'auricular' and 'rhetorical', they have conceptual force. They help articulate the relationships among the characters; they aid the plot to incarnate itself as a physical event on a physical stage. At the same time, they gradually serve the playwright to turn a critical eye on language itself. Words come to oppose physical events as well as buttress them, and in the tension between speech and act lies much of the tragic force of the plot.⁵⁸⁰

Thus, for example, the 'dialectical unity' that emerges when Horatio and Bel-Imperia reciprocate a series of words and gestures in Hieronimo's arbour impels the tragic

England and the continent, but as a means by which that conquest was achieved' (*Broken English*, 126); thus, a similar conquest could occur for England through English.

⁵⁷⁷ Mazzio, 'Staging the Vernacular', 222, 214.

⁵⁷⁸ Heywood, *Apology for Actors*, F3r.

⁵⁷⁹ *Ibid.* C4r.

⁵⁸⁰ Barish, 'The Spanish Tragedy', 59, 67.

force with greater intensity (when this unity is eventually sundered by the noose and knives of Lorenzo and his companions):

Horatio: ...put forth thy hand,
That it may combat with my ruder hand.
Bel-Imperia: Set forth thy foot to try the push of mine.
Horatio: But first my looks shall combat against thee.
Bel-Imperia: Then ward thyself: I dart this kiss at thee.
Horatio: Thus I retort the dart thou threw'st at me.
Bel-Imperia: Nay then, to gain the glory of the field,
My twining arms shall yoke and make thee yield.
Horatio: Nay then, my arms are large and strong withal:
Thus elms by vines are compassed till they fall.
(II.iv.36-45)

In such a way, Barish argues that 'the patterned rhetoric' of the play 'participates deeply in the configuration of the action', but, in doing so, offers 'to some degree a critique of rhetoric, an assessment of the limits of impassioned speech'.⁵⁸¹ Indeed, to draw another parallel between dramatic 'action' and rhetorical *actio*, the stricture for orators passed down from Cicero and Quintilian is that gestures must always complement words, not 'parasiticallie' (as an ape, with exaggerated movements),⁵⁸² but in following the sense and emotion of language. 'This double voice', writes Neil Rhodes, 'of speech and gesture, constitutes the affective power of both rhetoric and drama',⁵⁸³ and in *The Spanish Tragedy*, as Barish claims, when this double voice resolves into its constituent parts, it leaves the stage 'littered with silent corpses for whom there is nearly no-one alive to mourn'.⁵⁸⁴ When, for example, the 'healthy reciprocity between words and acts' exemplified by Horatio and Bel-Imperia is broken by the murderers, it sets in motion a chain of events that leads, finally, to Hieronimo biting out his tongue and murdering the Duke and himself with 'the last instrument available to facilitate expression' (the knife used to mend a pen).⁵⁸⁵

Yet, in important ways, Kyd's play traces in the medium of writing not the end of impassioned speech, but rather the means of its continuance. The necrotic sequence of speech and writing followed by Hieronimo in the final scene is in fact interrupted by a gesture. 'First take my tongue and afterwards my heart' (IV.iv.191), says Hieronimo directly before biting out his tongue; 'yet', observes Castile, 'can he

⁵⁸¹ Ibid. 79, 82.

⁵⁸² Fraunce, *Arcadian Rhetorike*, 120.

⁵⁸³ Rhodes, *Shakespeare and the Origins*, 28.

⁵⁸⁴ Barish, 'The Spanish Tragedy', 83.

⁵⁸⁵ Ibid. 82.

write' (195). But Hieronimo never allows himself to write, gesturing instead for a knife 'to mend his pen', and following this request with his final act of the play. In the play's action, then, gesture occupies a middle ground between speech and writing, and one that also points to the intermingling of both media in the conditions of performance. Gestures, in this sense, recall Mulcaster's concept of the letter as fixed but also moved by the sound that it ultimately sets into motion—bodily movements in performance are of course visual, but they are also entirely occupied with the concerns of sound (to which they must be matched); they are linguistic and non-linguistic, verbal and imagistic. Kevin Dunn elaborates:

...the concept of gesture...stands at the juncture between language and image, or, put otherwise, that functions as the joint between them. It therefore reveals not the essence of the figure, which may be represented hieroglyphically, but the disposition, the motive, and the affect of that figure, that part of the figure that may only be witnessed when it is in motion. That is, gesture marks the necessary incompleteness of the attempt to reduce the body to a sign, to mere meaning.⁵⁸⁶

Disposition, motive, and affect pertain to agency, and here again we recall the politics of pedagogy that emerges from the *Elementarie* and *Positions*; Mulcaster's regime trained not only linguistic skills, but also the subjective sounds and movements that create language and register the emotions. When Hieronimo bites out his tongue, 'he does so not because speech has availed him nothing. Instead he silences himself because his speech has been all too efficacious...the only thing left for Hieronimo to say...is that in fact he has become an agent without any ratifying political legitimation'.⁵⁸⁷ As Knight Marshal, Hieronimo cannot find justice for his murdered son, but neither can he find it from those who ratify his position as judge:

Hieronimo: Justice, O, justice to Hieronimo.
Lorenzo: Back, see'st thou not the king is busy?
Hieronimo: O, is he so?
King: Who is he that interrupts our business? (III.xii.27-30)

It is through gesture that Hieronimo enacts his agency and 'justice', signing for a knife, and stabbing his superiors.⁵⁸⁸ This gesture, however, rather than ending the play, carries its disposition, motive, and affect into the final scene.

⁵⁸⁶ Kevin Dunn, "Action, Passion, Motion", 31.

⁵⁸⁷ Ibid. 50. See Mazzio, 'Staging the Vernacular', 222.

⁵⁸⁸ Milton uses a similar image as a metaphor for victory in argument, when he claims to have engaged Salmasius 'in single combat, and with this stylus, the weapon of his choice, stabbed the reviler to the heart' (*Defensio Secunda*, in *Works*, VIII, 14).

Indeed, *The Spanish Tragedy* is not so much a ‘critique of rhetoric’ (or, its failure), as it is an exploration of the means with which it impacts an audience long after a speech has ended. By setting up the story of Hieronimo as a play within a play, watched by the Ghost of Andrea and Revenge, Kyd dramatises the transfer of emotions that lies behind the persuasive force of rhetoric, and persists (if the orator has been successful) in the lives of its audience.⁵⁸⁹ The final lines of the play are telling in this respect, since they offer a reply to the putative stillness and silence that Barish discovers in the dead bodies of the previous scene:

Revenge: Then haste we down to meet thy friends and foes:
 To place thy friends in ease, the rest in woes.
 For here, though death hath end their misery,
 I’ll there begin their endless tragedy. (IV.v.45-8)

‘Death’ is shown here to fulfill a rhetorical function, and in this sense corroborates Barish’s argument that Kyd has assimilated the concerns of rhetoric to the action of the play: ‘That is, not just Hieronimo’s desires, but those he has aroused, shape the play’s ending’.⁵⁹⁰ Hieronimo’s loss of speech results in a gesture that, in turn, produces a beginning (of an ‘endless tragedy’) rather than an end; loss of voice provides the inspiration for more voices. So, that Hieronimo’s agency should result in self-annihilation is only part of the story, for the emotions pertaining to revenge and suicide that he has stirred within himself are now stirred in the hearts of his audience (Revenge and Andrea). In this sense, the twice-removed audience of actual spectators (who have at one point been thrice-removed) is not necessarily moved to revenge, but rather to consider its arousal and transfer.⁵⁹¹ Dramatising the concerns of delivery

⁵⁸⁹ Marguerite Tassi considers the Painter addition to the 1602 edition of *The Spanish Tragedy*, and notes that its anonymous author was alive to the general concerns of Kyd: ‘What emerges from this dramatization is not a ‘critique of rhetoric’...rather, the scene offers a compelling example of how the passions give shape and purpose to art’ (‘The Player’s Passion and the Elizabethan Painting Trope: A Study of the Painter Addition to Kyd’s *The Spanish Tragedy*’, *Explorations in Renaissance Culture* 26 (2000), 83).

⁵⁹⁰ Dunn, “‘Action, Passion, Motion’”, 51.

⁵⁹¹ As Barry Adams offers, the reactions of an on-stage audience ‘subject as they are to the playwright’s direct and immediate control, have an obvious interest and importance [to the actual spectators]. An audience in the theatre will ordinarily find in the playwright’s image of itself a guide or model, and its responses will be affected accordingly’ (‘The Audiences of *The Spanish Tragedy*’, *JEGP* 68 (1969), 223).

(speech, gesture, and the stirring and conveyance of emotion) thus provides the framework upon which to interrogate rather than exhort the motives for revenge.

If we accept that ‘rhetorical performance constitutes a nonlinguistic bodily skill of character presentation’,⁵⁹² then Hieronimo’s gestures suggest that such a skill was of particular interest to Kyd. At least two other episodes in *The Spanish Tragedy*—Hieronimo’s encounter with Bazulto, and the production of *Soliman and Perseda*—confirm the importance of nonlinguistic forms, in such a way that Hieronimo’s final actions (and their effect on Andrea and Revenge) may be understood as the culmination of a series of like performances. With regard to *Soliman and Perseda*, it should be noted first of all that the play appears to be an academic drama: Hieronimo wrote it while still a youth studying ‘in Toledo’ (IV.i.77); it is defended by its association with plays given at court (‘Nero thought it no disparagement...’ (87)); and ‘It was determined to have been acted / By gentleman and scholars too / Such as could tell what to speak’ (101-3). Mulryne notes in his edition that this last line is ‘not clear’, but if this is a drama written by a student, to be acted by boys at court, then it seems quite plausible that ‘what to speak’ refers to *pronuntiatio et actio*; Balthazar, in fact, repeats the line back to Hieronimo as ‘how to speak’. It must be remembered, too, that these lines appear before the actors know about Hieronimo’s desire to perform the play in ‘unknown languages’, and so argue their affinity with delivery rather than linguistic meaning. Yet even the adoption of Latin, Greek, Italian, and French for the actors’ lines is a move that should be considered for its nonlinguistic effect: ‘But this will be a mere confusion’, complains Balthazar of Hieronimo’s request, ‘And hardly shall we all be understood’ (180-1). *Soliman and Perseda* will, as Michael Hattaway declares, ‘communicate by its pure sound’;⁵⁹³ sound, and gesture too. After all, in the course of the play’s performance, it becomes clear that its audience responds to the emotions being expressed rather than the words:

⁵⁹² Fredal, ‘The Language of Delivery’, 252.

⁵⁹³ Hattaway, *Elizabethan Popular Theatre*, 110. Lukas Erne suggests that ‘Hieronimo’s play has precisely those characteristics the reformers objected to in the Roman Mass, the linguistic unintelligibility and the “real presence”’ (‘Thomas Kyd’s Christian Tragedy’, *Renaissance Papers*, Southeastern Renaissance Conference (2001), 18; and see Huston Diehl, ‘Observing the Lord’s Supper and the Lord Chamberlain’s Men: The Visual Rhetoric of Ritual and Play in Early Modern England’, *Renaissance Drama* 22 (1991), 147-74).

King: See, Viceroy, that is Balthazar, your son,
That represents the emperor Soliman:
How well he acts his amorous passion.
Viceroy: Ay, Bel-imperia hath taught him that.
Castile: That's because his mind runs all on Bel-imperia.
...
King: Here comes Lorenzo, look upon the plot,
And tell me, brother, what part plays he?
(IV.iv.20-4, 33-4)

These last two lines are spoken directly after Soliman (Balthazar) has just uttered (in Latin), 'But let my friend, the Rhodian knight, come forth' (30). 'This is not', as Joel Altman has observed, 'an audience absorbed in the play. Their attention fixes on the surface—on the actual identities of the performers, their technique, and the real-life sources of their inspiration'.⁵⁹⁴ I would only elaborate by adding that such fixation on 'technique' means that the audience is responding to the actors' nonlinguistic qualities of gesture, tone, volume, and countenance as they register and convey the emotions ('amorous passion'). Thus, Kyd stages the very qualities with which Hieronimo will enact his agency only moments later.

Earlier in the play, a similar deferral of meaning occurs when the emotions expressed and passed on by nonlinguistic forms take precedence in the definition of character. Performing his judicial functions as Knight Marshal of Spain, Hieronimo is asked in III. xiii. to plead the cases of three citizens. Distracted from their cases, however, Hieronimo takes notice of an old man standing just apart from the citizens; the man is known first as an index of emotion, a 'silly' or pitiable person:

Hieronimo: But wherefore stands yon silly man so mute,
With mournful eyes and hands to heaven upreared?
Come hither, father, let me know thy cause.
Senex: O worthy sir, my cause, but slightly known,
May move the hearts of warlike Myrmidons
And melt the Corsic rocks with ruthful tears.
(III.xiii.68-73)

Countenance and gesture define Senex before his words, and his words before the inscription in the suit: 'What's here? "The humble supplication / Of Don Bazulto for his murdered son"' (III.xiii.78-9). As Joost Daalder has suggested of this sequence, the

⁵⁹⁴ Altman, *Tudor Play of Mind*, 280. This point is accentuated when Hieronimo's play has just finished, and, with the stage littered with bodies, the King responds with 'Well said, old marshal, this was bravely done!' (IV.iv.68). Altman summarises: 'Having never entered into the play's meaning, they then fail to see any relationship between the murder of their children onstage and Hieronimo's tale of a hanged son' (281).

‘silent protest’ of Senex ‘symbolizes the play’s notion that language cannot cope with injustice and that action is necessary instead’.⁵⁹⁵ Certainly, Hieronimo’s description of Senex as the ‘lively portrait’ and ‘lively image’ of his grief (85, 162) resonates with Heywood’s defence of acting as exceeding both oratory and painting (as in Sidney’s defence):

What English blood seeing the person of any bold English man presented and doth not hugge his fame, and hunnye at his valor...as if the Personator were the man Personated, so bewitching a thing is liuely and well spirited action, that it hath power to new mold the harts of the spectators and fashion them to the shape of any noble and notable attempt.⁵⁹⁶

The emotions expressed by Senex fly contagiously from his body to Hieronimo’s;⁵⁹⁷ in a dramatisation or parody of rhetorical persuasion, Hieronimo enacts the emotions of Senex based on the latter’s physical manifestation of sorrow:

...Within thy face my sorrows I may see.
Thy eyes are gummed with tears, thy cheeks are wan,
Thy forehead troubled, and thy muttering lips
Murmur sad words abruptly broken off
By force of windy sighs thy spirit breathes;
And all this sorrow riseth for thy son:
And selfsame sorrow feel I for my son. (III.xiii.163-9)

That this conveyance of emotion occurs in a scene where Hieronimo is to learn how best to plead the cases of his citizens only further accentuates the oratorical nature of Senex’s ‘well spirited action’. It is in his discussion of forensic rhetoric, after all, that Quintilian suggests that the advocate must stir himself to feel the same emotion as the victim he represents: ‘For then the judge seems no longer to be listening to a voice bewailing another’s ills, but to hear the voice and feelings of the unhappy victims,

⁵⁹⁵ Daalder, ‘The Role of “Senex”’, 257. Donna Hamilton argues that ‘the conclusion inevitably emerges that drama is the form most capable of expressing the human experience because it is both poesis and pictura, and has, as well, real sound and action’ (*The Spanish Tragedy: A Speaking Picture*, *ELR* 4 (1974), 205).

⁵⁹⁶ Heywood, *Apology for Actors*, B4r.

⁵⁹⁷ Hieronimo’s reaction to Senex’s face is similar to one made by Shakespeare’s Antony to the face of Octavius’ servant: ‘Passion, I see, is catching, for mine eyes, / Seeing those beads of sorrow stand in thine, / Began to water’ (*Julius Caesar*, III. i. 286-8). Ciceronian pathos, outlined throughout this project, has been described by Wayne Rebhorn as a ‘process of “contagion”’, whereby a speaker’s passionate display ‘directly affects the feelings of the listener, spreading from one to the other like a...disease’ (*The Emperor of Men’s Minds: Literature and the Renaissance Discourse of Rhetoric* (Ithaca, 1995), 87).

men whose appearance alone would call forth his tears even though they uttered never a word'.⁵⁹⁸

Quintilian adds that the plea would 'awaken yet greater pity' if it was put into the mouth of the victim 'by their advocate', and indeed we find just such a reversal of roles when Hieronimo asks Senex to be his advocate in the underworld. Unlike Orpheus, who descended to Hades to retrieve Eurydice, Hieronimo wants to 'Knock at the dismal gates of Pluto's court' not to rescue his beloved son, but to get 'by force' a 'troop of Furies and tormenting hags / To torture Don Lorenzo and the rest' (III.xiii.110-3).⁵⁹⁹ But, in case he is not successful in forcing his way in, Hieronimo asks Senex to plead his case:

...Come on, old father, be my Orpheus,
And if thou canst no notes upon the harp,
Then sound the burden of thy sore heart's grief,
Till we do gain that Proserpine may grant
Revenge on them that murdered my son.
Then will I rent and tear them thus and thus,
Shivering their limbs in pieces with my teeth.

Tear the papers (III.xiii.117-23)

The written leases and bonds of the three citizens are here ripped up—with the same Bacchanalian cruelty, perhaps, that attended Orpheus' dismemberment—using the very instrument Hieronimo obviously believes has the most capacity to render grief.⁶⁰⁰ Words, here in their written form, are useless to Hieronimo; he wants only

⁵⁹⁸ Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria*, 6.1.26. Lorna Hutson argues that the 'very rhetorical techniques for evaluating probabilities and likelihoods in legal narratives were perceived by dramatists in the London of the late 1580s and 1590s to be indispensable for their purposes in bringing a new liveliness and power to the fictions they were writing for the increasingly successful and popular commercial theatres' (*The Invention of Suspicion: Law and Mimesis in Shakespeare and Renaissance Drama* (Oxford, 2007), 2; see also chapters 2 and 6, where Hutson describes the relationship between forensic rhetoric and revenge tragedy).

⁵⁹⁹ Although the previous scene finds Hieronimo digging at the earth with his dagger in order that he might 'ferry over to th'Elysian plains, / And bring my son to show his deadly wounds' (III.xii.72-3).

⁶⁰⁰ Christopher Marlowe, with whom Kyd had shared lodgings, provides a similar gesture of futility when his King Edward tears the paper bearing Mortimer's name: 'This poore revenge hath something eased my mind. / So may his limbs be torn, as is this paper!' (*Edward the Second*, ed. Charles R. Forker (Manchester, 1994), vi.141-2). Kyd, of course, makes this action oral. There is an interesting forensic connection here between Hieronimo's tearing of the papers and Lorna Hutson's discussion of Tutivillus, the medieval writing demon who records the faults of individuals, only to manually tear up his evidence upon the Christian's repentance. Unlike Hieronimo, however, Tutivillus uses his teeth not

the nonlinguistic ‘notes’ and ‘sounds’ of ‘grief’—these qualities, moreover, are craved because they alone can convey the emotions that he wants not only to feel from Senex, but also to inspire him to vengeance. The forensic reversal of advocate and victim thus highlights the difference between the two men: whereas Senex has sought earthly justice from the existing legal hierarchy, Hieronimo abjures this structure (of which he is a vital cog) in order to take matters into his own hands. Significantly, Kyd sets out this disparity in terms which suggest the emotional force of rhetorical delivery (Senex’s imagined persuasion of Prosperpine), as well as in the figure of Orpheus, who stood in the Renaissance for the relationship between rhetoric and poetry.⁶⁰¹

In addition to his part in the rescue of Eurydice, Orpheus was of course remembered for his ability to order intense grief into songs of such beauty that they could tame beasts, and, in this sense, he ‘represents the ideal toward which Hieronimo and Kyd strive—an artistic response which will engulf the chaos and allow human endeavor to continue’.⁶⁰² The suicide and murder that ends IV.iv may, as Gregory Colón Semenza has argued, show Hieronimo resisting the ‘comedic impulse’ of tidy resolution,⁶⁰³ but, as I have argued, the ‘endless tragedy’ of the final scene does not offer Kyd’s resistance to this same impulse, but rather his dramatisation of the unique ability of performance to express emotions. Kyd, in other words, points to the proper context of enacting the ‘random and imbecilic’ events of life: ‘Nature so adorned neither destroys others nor need be destroyed itself’.⁶⁰⁴ After all, the actual audience is not under the same illusion as the characters in the play that heaven ignores their cries. ‘Why wail I then’, asks the Viceroy, ‘where’s hope of no redress?’ ‘O yes’, the Viceroy reminds himself in the next line, ‘complaining makes my grief seem less’ (I.iii.31-2). The cathartic effect of ‘complaining’ in such a manner was seen in the Renaissance to be physiological in nature, with Mulcaster’s fourth exercise, ‘much

to tear, but rather to stretch his parchment, thereby adding more space to record faults (*Invention of Suspicion*, 23-30).

⁶⁰¹ See Puttenham, *Art of English Poesy*, 96.

⁶⁰² Hamilton, ‘*The Spanish Tragedy*’, 214; see Rhodes, *Shakespeare and the Origins*, 27, 122, 129.

⁶⁰³ Gregory Colón Semenza, ‘*The Spanish Tragedy and Revenge*’, in Patrick Cheney, Andrew Hadfield, and Garrett A. Sullivan (eds.), *Early Modern English Drama: A Critical Companion* (Oxford, 2006), 59.

⁶⁰⁴ Hamilton, ‘*The Spanish Tragedy*’, 217.

talking and silence', for example, claiming for 'much talking' a clearance of 'melancholie, or dulling phleame', an awakening of mind and senses, and a 'comfort from speeche, which makes roome for the health, where reume kept residence'.⁶⁰⁵ '[I]f I silent be', laments Spenser, 'my hart will breake, / or choked be with ouerflowing gall'.⁶⁰⁶ 'But break, my heart', says Hamlet, 'for I must hold my tongue'.⁶⁰⁷

Hieronimo does not, of course, acknowledge this function of complaint, in part because he must so frequently hide his inner grief while he hatches his plan of revenge. In fact, with revenge as his main motive, it is in Hieronimo's best interests to keep his anger and grief unexpressed until the final moments of the play, when his explanatory speech is merely the afterthought of a vengeance completely enacted in sounds and gestures understood less for their meaning than their emotional appeal. Prior to the full expression of revenge, however, Hieronimo will 'rest...in unrest, / Dissembling quiet in unquietness, / Not seeming that I know their villanies' (III.xiii.29-31). That is, he will not exact revenge 'as the vulgar wits of men, / With open, but inevitable ills'; rather, he will cloak his designs in 'kindship', 'Closely and safely fitting things to time' (21, 24, 26). As James Siemon has suggested of this passage, 'the wise are distinguished from the "vulgare" and the "nobilitie," not by learning or wisdom conventionally defined...but by *style*'.⁶⁰⁸ Like the ideal courtier, Hieronimo will manifest 'a certain *sprezzatura*, so as to conceal all art and make whatever is done or said appear to be without effort and almost without any thought about it'.⁶⁰⁹ He will, moreover, play the part of the ideal student, as set out by Mulcaster:

If he have any excellent towardnes by nature, as commonly such wittes have, whereby he passeth the residue in learning, it will shew it selfe so orderly, and with such modestie, as it shall soone appeare, to have no loftiness of

⁶⁰⁵ Mulcaster, *Positions*, 71. This is not to suggest that 'much talking' and complaints are equivalent, but merely that there was a physiological connection between speaking and comfort. Henry Peacham declares that God 'hath opened the mouth of man' in order 'to powre forth the inward passions of his heart' and 'to shew foorth, (by the shining beames of speech) the priuie thoughts and secret conceites of his mind' (*The Garden of Eloquence* (London, 1593), AB3r).

⁶⁰⁶ Spenser, *Amoretti*, in *The Shorter Poems*, 'Sonnet XLIII', ll. 3-4.

⁶⁰⁷ Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, I.ii.159.

⁶⁰⁸ James Siemon, 'Sporting Kyd', *ELR* 24 (1994), 559.

⁶⁰⁹ Castiglione, *Book of the Courtier*, 43.

juxtaposition to Hieronimo's intended audience rather than an example of satisfaction partially realised.

However, Kyd's audience is aware throughout *The Spanish Tragedy* that Hieronimo's words do reach the spiritual world; his grief, after all, moves the Ghost of Andrea and, to a lesser extent, Revenge. This perceived absence, and its corrective, is actually played out by Andrea and Revenge when the latter is caught sleeping by the former. Revenge responds thus:

Thus worldlings ground, what they have dreamed, upon.
Content thyself, Andrea: though I sleep,
Yet is my mood soliciting their souls;
...
Nor dies Revenge although he sleep awhile,
For in unquiet, quietness is feigned... (III.xv.18-20, 23-4)

Barry Adams notes of this passage that Revenge 'chooses to manifest his quasi-divinity under the aspect of Providence rather than Creator'.⁶¹³ Peter Sacks agrees:

...there *is* a connection between the diamantine heavens and the fallen world. Hieronimo's words do penetrate above, and the principle of Revenge does watch over events. But this is paradoxical, for there would have been no revenge had not Hieronimo felt the absence of justly enforced retribution...⁶¹⁴

Loss is Hieronimo's inspiration, just as the wholesale loss of life offers Revenge the inspiration to begin an 'endless tragedy', and just as the story of this sense of loss has provided the inspiration for *The Spanish Tragedy*. Like Orpheus, Kyd has encompassed the grief and destruction of his matter in a form that combines orality and literacy. In what follows, I outline some possible rhetorical inspiration for this form.

2. Seneca the Youngest

Kyd's play was famous in the Renaissance for its strong emotional appeal, as Thomas May's comedy, *The Heire* (1622), confirms:

Polimetes: ...I must expresse a grieffe
...like a Father for his onely sonne,
Is not that hard to doe, ha, Roscio?
Roscio: Oh no my Lord,
Not for your skill, has not your Lordship seene
A player personate Ieronimo?
Polimetes: By th'masse tis true, I haue seen the knaue paint grieffe
In such a liuely colour, that for false

⁶¹³ Adams, 'Audiences of *The Spanish Tragedy*', 229.

⁶¹⁴ Sacks, 'Where Words Prevail Not', 585.

And acted passion he has drawne true teares
 From the spectators eyes, Ladyes in the boxes
 Kept time with sighes and teares to his sad accents
 As had he truly bin the man he seemd.⁶¹⁵

As I have introduced in the foregoing discussion, this ‘acted passion’ is as much a subject of the play as it is one of its performative dynamics. I wish now to consider not only persuasive emotion, but also its connection to the grief of a father who has lost a son; after all, it is this particular aspect of Kyd’s play that seems to render the actor ‘truly...the man he seemd’. Tracing the inspiration for this aspect of *The Spanish Tragedy* involves turning to similar father-son paradigms in classical rhetoric (particularly in Quintilian and Seneca the Elder), and their treatment in the work of Erik Gunderson.

One of the most extensive treatments of emotional appeal in classical rhetorical theory is provided in Book 6 of Quintilian’s *Institutio Oratoria*. Before commencing with his advice to orators, Quintilian provides an emotional appeal of his own, where he explains to his patron that the recent death of his son has caused a delay in his work:

For what father with a spark of proper feeling would pardon me for having the heart to pursue my researches further, and would not hate me for my insensibility, had I other use for my voice than to rail against high heaven for having suffered me to outlive all my nearest and dearest...⁶¹⁶

The description of the loss of his youngest son, ‘little Quintilian’, is itself marked by a heart-wrenching beauty: ‘Child of my vain hopes, did I see your eyes fading in death and your breath take its last flight? Had I the heart to receive your fleeting spirit, as I embraced your cold pale body...’⁶¹⁷ Rather than a digression, however, there are several factors which indicate that Quintilian’s account of his son’s death is directly participant with the concerns of Book 6.

Firstly, in recollecting the pain of his loss, Quintilian exercises the very skill he recommends for orators, who must stir up within themselves the emotions they wish to express. If an orator desires to ‘awaken pity’, for example, he ‘must actually believe that the ills of which we complain have befallen ourselves’,⁶¹⁸ in order to ensure that the audience also feels this emotion, he must also describe these ‘ills’

⁶¹⁵ Thomas May, *The Heire* (London, 1622), B1r.

⁶¹⁶ Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria*, 6.Pr.4.

⁶¹⁷ *Ibid.* 6.Pr.12.

⁶¹⁸ *Ibid.* 6.2.34.

vividly (*enargeia*). Furthermore, with respect to forensic rhetoric, Quintilian offers the following advice when the orator must deliver a speech on behalf of a client:

But if the mere delivery of words written by another has the power to set our souls on fire with fictitious emotions, what will the orator do whose duty it is to picture to himself the facts and who has it in his power to feel the same emotion as his client whose interests are at stake?⁶¹⁹

In describing his son's 'cold pale body', Quintilian also makes use of *prosopopoeia* when he imagines himself speaking to his son ('Child of my vain hopes...!'): 'The bare facts are no doubt moving in themselves', he writes shortly afterwards in his recommendations, 'but when we pretend that the persons concerned themselves are speaking, the personal note adds to the emotional effect'.⁶²⁰ The 'assumed role', said to 'produce greater emotional effect', is in this case his own as it would appear in the afterlife meeting his son. Finally, it appears the death of his son occurred just as Quintilian was about to begin writing a 'book on the causes of the decline of eloquence'; in fact, he calls the death of his son a 'like affliction' to the 'decline of eloquence' that marked the interruption of his research.⁶²¹ However, it appears that the death of his son also provides the impetus for a renewal of eloquence. After all, it is a description of the circumstances of his son's death that provides entry to Quintilian's discussion of the emotions, and one that allows him 'to face my task with greater spirit'.⁶²²

In telling his own story, then, Quintilian seems to set up not only a model for other orators, but also a vision of grief that other orators may use when stirring their own emotions. This kind of emotional transference has been discussed in previous chapters, but it is worth calling attention here to the loss that inspires it. Joseph Roach explains:

The dying son has figuratively as well as literally inspired, breathed spirit into, the father and rhetor, who in turn has offered up his pathos to inspirit the 'dreams' and 'visions' of orators by engaging their imaginative sympathies with his bereavement. Spirit, the breath of life...stands as a symbol of the oratorical and theatrical act of impersonation, the physical embodiment of one soul, its passions and its actions, by another.⁶²³

⁶¹⁹ Ibid. 6.2.35.

⁶²⁰ Ibid. 6.1.26.

⁶²¹ Ibid. 6.Pr.3.

⁶²² Ibid. 6.Pr.15.

⁶²³ Roach, *Player's Passion*, 25.

Quintilian, in effect, has made his emotion contagious, such that the ‘imaginative sympathies’ of his readers have rendered them ‘little Quintilians’ not in the sense of dead sons, but of new sons who have been adopted as a result of the transmigration of soul (‘the breath of life’) that occurs when they take on the father’s grief. This oratorical lineage is offered by Quintilian when he discusses how the *Institutio* was once meant to be the ‘inheritance’ for his son, whose death now prompts the author to ‘bequeath it, like my patrimony, for others than those to whom it was my design to leave it’—in other words, his ‘sons’ are now ‘our young men’ who wish to learn rhetoric.⁶²⁴ Quintilian’s description of grief, therefore, inspires and remakes his audience as sons even as it details the death of a son; the content of the model thus becomes a source.

The gain of life from death (or new beginnings from death), inspiration from loss, pertains of course to the paradox of Christianity, particularly with respect to the death of a son, and when we come to consider *The Spanish Tragedy* in light of similar losses, such paradoxes will inevitably inflect Kyd’s play with religious tones. Wounds, after all, are rarely treated by Kyd as terminal, but rather as passages through which spirits move:

Andrea: My valour drew me into danger’s mouth,
Till life to death made passage through my wounds.
(I.i.16-7)

Isabella: Ay, here he died, and here I him embrace:
See where his ghost solicits with his wounds...
(IV.ii.23-4)

Hieronimo: From forth these wounds came breath that gave me life;
They murdered me that made these fatal marks.
(IV.iv.96-7)

C. L. Barber believes that this ‘mode of expression...seems likely to have been shaped by religious prototypes, here meditation on Christ’s suffering and his wounds. The curiously inappropriate line, “From forth these wounds came breath that gave me life,” seems almost a slip, conditioned by Christian commonplace’.⁶²⁵ Nevertheless, in the first example, while Andrea is of course referring specifically to his soul, in the case of Isabella’s and Hieronimo’s speeches about Horatio, spirit is conflated with the

⁶²⁴ Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria*, 6.Pr.1, 6.Pr.16.

⁶²⁵ C. L. Barber, *Creating Elizabethan Tragedy: The Theatre of Marlowe and Kyd*, ed. Richard Wheeler (Chicago, 1988), 152.

breath of speech in a persuasive manner. Horatio's wounds 'solicit' Isabella, just as they inspire, give breath to, Hieronimo's oration delivered before his stunned *Soliman and Perseda* audience;⁶²⁶ the dead son, whose body Hieronimo addresses ('Here lay my hope, and here my hope hath end' (IV. iv. 90)), has therefore 'figuratively as well as literally inspired, breathed spirit into, the father and rhetor'.⁶²⁷ If Hieronimo's line is a 'slip', then it might easily have been 'conditioned' by a rhetorical commonplace as a Christian one; perhaps both. So even if, as some have argued, Kyd has written a 'Christian tragedy',⁶²⁸ I would suggest that it is so because of the playwright's dramatic treatment of rhetoric and the transfer of emotions so crucial to persuasion. Considered in this way, we may read the relationship between Hieronimo and Horatio as resonant with the relationship between the 'rhetorical' father and son; this connection builds throughout the play, and may even be initiated as a motif when Hieronimo pleads the case of his son's suit for Balthazar's reward.

Following victory over Portugal, the King hears his general describe the exploits of Spain's soldiers. Horatio, it turns out, has distinguished himself rather well on the field, defeating Balthazar in 'single fight'; the son's victory redounds to the father's credit:

King: ...But now, Knight Marshal, frolic with thy king,
For 'tis thy son that wins this battle's prize.
Hieronimo: Long may he live to serve my sovereign liege,
And soon decay unless he serve my liege. (I.ii.96-9)

This short exchange expresses the social order and harmony of the Spanish court, and it also outlines the ways in which the statuses of father and son are connected. Even the fall of Balthazar brings about a similar fall in the Viceroy, not just because the battle is lost as a result of the son's defeat, but also because of the grief the Viceroy feels in believing his son dead (I.iii.5-42). In the case of Hieronimo and Horatio, it would seem the son's rise corresponds with an equal rise in the father. But this same

⁶²⁶ A similar association is offered by Antony to Caesar's wounds in Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar*: 'Over thy wounds now do I prophesy— / Which like dumb mouths do ope their ruby lips / To beg the voice and utterance of my tongue' (III.i.262-4). Later in the play, in a scene reminiscent of Hieronimo's speech over the body of his son, Antony presents the body of Caesar to his audience, claiming an inability to speak except that Caesar's wounds 'speak for me' (III.ii.221).

⁶²⁷ Emrys Jones notes that Hieronimo does 'not really come dramatically alive' until 'after his son's death' (*The Origins of Shakespeare* (Oxford, 1977), 197).

⁶²⁸ See Erne, 'Thomas Kyd's Christian Tragedy', and Frank R. Ardolino, *Thomas Kyd's Mystery Play: Myth and Ritual in The Spanish Tragedy* (New York, 1985).

correspondence is the very reason that Hieronimo's speech is rendered ineffective—Horatio's good fortune only reinforces the existing social structure, and, hence, while it brings Hieronimo a measure of favour ('frolic with thy king'), ultimately it undermines any attempt to push this favour past the bounds of familial lineage. So, Horatio's claim for the reward due him after conquering Balthazar is lessened not because Lorenzo has the 'law of arms' on his side, but rather the law of inheritance. Hieronimo attempts to persuade the King otherwise:

But that I know your grace for just and wise,
 And might seem partial in this difference,
 Enforced by nature and by law of arms
 My tongue should plead for young Horatio's right.
 He hunted well that was a lion's death,
 Not he that in a garmet wore his skin:
 So hares may pull dead lions by the beard. (1.ii.166-72)

The proverbial insult aimed at the King's nephew in the last three lines here may prompt the King's decision to ignore Hieronimo's speech and instead split the reward between Lorenzo and Horatio. Yet, I believe Hieronimo's speech lacks persuasive power because its premise is based on a family bond—the 'law of arms' in this case is brought in to the speech to serve his fatherly desire—in which the King has alternate interests (the furthering of his nephew). Horatio's success in advancing the interests of the King has in fact inspired nothing more in Hieronimo than the subsequent inspiration for the King's own interests. When the family bond, however, is ruptured through murder, not only do Hieronimo's speeches acquire emotional force, but, through the nonlinguistic means responsible for this force, they carry the father's agency beyond the existing social hierarchies until the King, at the last, has no choice but to watch and listen.

That the father's 'rise' (to agency, persuasion) will in some way require or coincide with the loss of the son is intimated throughout the play; inevitably so in a story of paternal revenge, perhaps. But it may be that in delineating his story of a father's revenge in a play so often given to oration (and entrusted to the Orphic association of rhetoric and poetry), Kyd drew inspiration from Quintilian, the death of whose son, while it may not resemble circumstantially the many dead sons in *The Spanish Tragedy*, yet prefigures a certain kind of inspiration based on paternal grief designed to be inherited by future 'sons'. At the extradiegetic level, after all, Kyd's play is inspired by paternal grief, and even this level of interpretation is mediated by the dramatist's portrayal of an onstage audience that is in a general sense moved by

this kind of loss as well.⁶²⁹ Within the play's narrative, its great orators, Hieronimo and the Viceroy, have both lost sons (the latter believes it to be the case at I.iii, and of course knows it at IV.iv), and throughout we are asked to consider not just revenge, but the proper or dutiful response of a father to a dead son, as Bel-Imperia, for instance, declares: 'But monstrous fathers, to forget so soon / The death of those, whom they with care and cost' (IV.i.18-9). Hence, the relationship between Hieronimo and Horatio can, at one level, be read as commensurate; the son's fall precedes the father's. But rhetorically, subjectively, and in terms of Kyd's art, their relationship is inversely proportionate, as it seems to be in Quintilian's proem.

This inverse proportion is emphasised quite subtly during the first of Hieronimo's spectacles, a masque presented for the King and Portugal's Ambassador. The King responds to the masque just as he does to *Soliman and Perseda*; it 'contents' his eye, but he 'sound[s] not well the mystery' (I.iv.138-9). Hieronimo's explanation does not at first appear to undermine the King's position. Of the three knights who take the crowns from three separate kings, the first represents 'English Robert, Earl of Gloucester' who 'Enforced' the Portuguese king 'To bear the yoke of the English monarchy' (I.iv.141, 145-6); the second knight represents 'Edmund, Earl of Kent in Albion' who 'came likewise, and razed Lisbon walls' (153-4). The third knight, however, is told by Hieronimo to represent 'Brave John of Gaunt' who 'took our King of Castile prisoner' (164, 167). Significantly, though the King provides the coda to each of the first two of Hieronimo's explanations (both of which, according to King, argue that 'Portingale may deign to bear our yoke, / When it by little England hath been yoked' (159-60)), it is the Ambassador who perhaps gleefully rescues a tongue-tied King with the interpretation of Hieronimo's third conquered king: 'This is an argument for our viceroy, / That Spain may not insult for her success' (168-9).⁶³⁰

The King's praise for Hieronimo's masque is, as Siemon observes, rather hurried,⁶³¹ and perhaps it is because he sees at last how Hieronimo's masque does not

⁶²⁹ A. J. Hartley, speaking from his experience of staging *The Spanish Tragedy*, feels that 'Kyd's play presents the actor and director...lines which do not so much manifest emotion as symbolize it' ('Social Consciousness: Spaces for Characters in *The Spanish Tragedy*', *Cahiers élisabéthains* 58 (2000), 3).

⁶³⁰ An Elizabethan English audience must certainly have enjoyed the moment, coming as it does at the expense of the arch-enemy Spain, but it is just as likely that Kyd uses the masque to further the play's action rather than pander to popular taste.

⁶³¹ Siemon, 'Sporting Kyd', 564.

simply suggest the fragility of Spain's borders, but also that of kingship; the entertainment at its most fundamental level depicts three knights taking the crowns of three kings. Unlike the earlier interaction between Hieronimo and the King, a stable social order is not emphasised, or even recognised, and, just as he does later on in *Soliman and Perseda*, Hieronimo uses nonlinguistic performance to enact his agency in defiance of existing hierarchies.⁶³² It would appear, moreover, that the inspiration for this performance, and any traversing of social boundaries, has coincided with a loss for his son: Just prior to the entertainment, of course, Horatio's reward for Balthazar's capture had been halved by the King, which may account for Hieronimo's audacity in staging the masque. This loss is further emphasised in the masque scene when the King, in drinking a toast to Hieronimo, takes Horatio's cup from him, an indication and reaffirmation not only of Horatio's inferior class (in reply, perhaps, to Hieronimo's audacity), but also of a father's gain (in agency, but more importantly with respect to the inspiration for the subversive masque) from a son's loss.

Horatio's death, of course, more directly inspires Hieronimo's subsequent speeches. As with several others in *The Spanish Tragedy*, Hieronimo conceives of speech as breath—'Where shall I run to breathe abroad my woes' (III.vii.1)—but his breath only comes 'From forth these wounds' of Horatio (IV.iv.96); indeed, his 'tongue is tuned' by his 'hapless son' (84-5). But while all of Hieronimo's expressions of emotion can be attributed to the death of his son (much as Quintilian's son inspired a discussion of emotions) it is his final oration that dramatises this kind of inspiration, as well as its conveyance from speaker to audience. Here is the explanation of *Soliman and Perseda* as offered by Hieronimo to the King:

...Haply you think, but bootless are your thoughts,
 That this is fabulously counterfeit,
 And that we do as all tragedians do:
 To die today, for fashioning our scene,
 The death of Ajax, or some Roman peer,
 And in a minute starting up again,
 Revive to please to-morrow's audiences.
 No, princes; know I am Hieronimo,
 The hopeless father of a hapless son,
 Whose tongue is tuned to tell his latest tale... (IV.iv.73-85)

⁶³² T. McAlindon, on the other hand, reads Hieronimo's masque as the perfect expression of order (*English Renaissance Tragedy* (Vancouver, 1986), 74).

The opposition that Hieronimo sets up between ‘counterfeit’ tragedy and the real events which he has just staged (and now gives occasion to his speech) is very near to one made by Quintilian when distinguishing between acting and oratory:

I have often seen actors, both in tragedy and comedy, leave the theatre still drowned in tears after concluding the performance of some moving role. But if the mere delivery of words written by another has the power to set our souls on fire with fictitious emotions, what will the orator do whose duty it is to picture to himself the facts and who has it in his power to feel the same emotion as his client whose interests are at stake?⁶³³

Similarly, Thomas Wright stated that ‘in the substance of external action for most part orators and stage-players agree; and only they differ in this, that these act feignedly, those really... wherefore these are accounted ridiculous, those esteemed prudent’.⁶³⁴ Thus, by making the tragedy of *Soliman and Perseda* ‘real’, Hieronimo has in effect turned his drama into oratory, though, by presenting this reversal within a play, Kyd may be drawing attention to the lack of distinction between acting ‘really’ and ‘feignedly’. This, after all, appears to be the case in Shakespeare’s *Hamlet*:

Hamlet: Is it not monstrous that this player here,
 But in a fiction, in a dream of passion,
 Could force his soul so to his whole conceit
 ...And all for nothing.
 For Hecuba!
 What’s Hecuba to him, or he to Hecuba,
 That he should weep for her? What would he do
 Had he the motive and the cue for passion
 That I have?⁶³⁵

By distinguishing Hamlet’s passion from that of the players’ ‘fiction’, of course, Shakespeare’s ploy sets up the player-Hamlet’s passion as real.

If Kyd’s ‘counterfeit’ speech shares in Shakespeare’s strategy, then it is the inseparability of acting ‘feignedly’ and ‘really’ that is being dramatised. Throughout *Soliman and Perseda* emotions are presented to the King’s audience as distinct from their linguistic element, as I have discussed above, a point emphasized in the play when the supposedly ‘fictitious’ deaths ‘written by another’ and given to Lorenzo, Bel-Imperia, and Balthazar are ‘really’ enacted. Delivery, in this sense, is both figuratively and literally made dramatic. Hieronimo’s presentation of his dead son further intimates the concerns of delivery:

I see your looks urge instance of these words;

⁶³³ Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria*, 6.2.35.

⁶³⁴ Wright, *Passions of the Mind*, 215-6.

⁶³⁵ Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, II.ii.552-4, 558-63.

Behold the reason urging me to this:
Shows his dead son
 See here my show, look on this spectacle.
 Here lay my hope, and here my hope hath end;
 Here lay my heart, and here my heart was slain;
 Here lay my treasure, here my treasure lost;
 Here lay my bliss, and here my bliss bereft;
 But hope, heart, treasure, joy, and bliss,
 All fled, failed, died, yea, all decayed with this.
 From forth these wounds came breath that gave me life;
 They murdered me that made these fatal marks. (IV.iv.87-97)

These lines recall Quintilian's story of 'little Quintilian',⁶³⁶ the means with which it is told, as well as his subsequent advice concerning stirring the emotions. In this final scene, Horatio's body becomes to Hieronimo's speech not merely inspiration, but also the literal manifestation of *enargeia*, *prosopopoeia*, and the forensic orator's 'client'. With respect to *enargeia*, as Quintilian maintains, the way to persuasion lies in vividly describing the events in such a way that an audience may seem to be looking at the same picture that the orator has in his mind; in this case, Horatio's body not only urges Hieronimo's speech, it is made vividly present before the King. The deictic language ('see', 'here', 'look on this') employed by Hieronimo accentuates the vivid presence of Horatio and his function in terms of a rhetor's *enargeia*. Like Orpheus, Hieronimo has brought his beloved back from the underworld (at least this is what he would have the King believe⁶³⁷) only to grieve at the death that attends this retrieval—for both, a high degree of eloquence is achieved at the expense of a terrible loss.

Furthermore, as Quintilian has advised for the orator, Hieronimo has made it his 'duty...to picture to himself the facts...to feel the same emotion as his client whose interests are at stake'. The emotions shared by Hieronimo and Horatio here are presumably those that spur one to vengeance, and clearly Hieronimo has used a literal *enargeia* in picturing 'to himself the fact' of Horatio's body in order to stir his emotions. Stirring grief as well as a desire for justice is the aim of Book 6 of the *Institutio Oratoria*, and if Quintilian is a mine for the dramatic representation of

⁶³⁶ The nature of this discussion admits some mention of Ben Jonson's epitaph, 'On my First Son', which was composed after the death of his son Benjamin. Jonson calls his son 'my best piece of poetry', which resonates with my discussion, below, of the father-son paradigm of inspiration and imitation. The death of Shakespeare's son, Hamnet (d. 1596), may also have inspired the playwright in subsequent portrayals of grief.

⁶³⁷ See III.xii.72-3.

persuasion in Kyd's play, then it is easy to imagine Kyd drawing from the following description of courtroom spectacles mingled amongst the Roman's advice on delivery and emotion:

Actions as well as words may be employed to move the court to tears. Hence the custom of bringing accused persons into court wearing squalid and unkempt attire, and of introducing their children and parents, and it is with this in view that we see blood-stained swords, fragments of bone taken from the wound, and garments spotted with blood, displayed by the accusers, wounds stripped of their dressings, and scourged bodies bared to view. The impression produced by such exhibitions is generally enormous, since they seem to bring the spectators face to face with the cruel facts.⁶³⁸

Hieronimo produces both a body and a 'bloody handkercher...dipped / Within the river of his bleeding wounds' (IV.iv.122-4).

I have moved, then, from the conditions necessary to stir the emotions of the orator, to those necessary to stir the judge. Yet of course the two are inextricably linked. *Enargeia* is achieved when the orator is able to stir the emotions relevant to a scene and imbue his words accordingly; if his delivery is good, then not only will the scene pass from his eyes to that of his auditors, but its attendant emotions will be able to work their force. Kyd makes this process dramatic first by having the lacerated body of Horatio 'bared to view', and then giving the following lines to Hieronimo:

And grieved I, think you, at this spectacle?
Speak, Portuguese, whose loss resembles mine:
If thou canst weep upon thy Balthazar,
'Tis like I wailed for my Horatio.
And you, my lord, whose reconciled son
Marched in a net, and thought himself unseen

...

How can you brook our play's catastrophe? (IV.iv.113-24)

Here the deaths of Balthazar and Lorenzo are joined with Horatio's through their shared emotional purpose. That is, in making the deaths 'real' in *Soliman and Perseda*, Hieronimo has made the source of the emotion passed to his audience 'real', and therefore, according to rhetorical theory, more powerful: it becomes, as Donawerth has phrased it, a true fiction. The grief of a dead son has now been inspired by Hieronimo's auditors, and, just as a similar inspiration affected Hieronimo, it incites them to revenge: 'Fetch forth the tortures', cries the King

⁶³⁸ Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria*, 6.1.30-1. This forensic advice was followed by Shakespeare's Antony (as noted earlier in connection with Hieronimo's 'wounds that gave me life' speech) when he brings Caesar's body with him to the pulpit, and uncovers it as a final act of persuasion (*Julius Caesar*, III.ii.195). See Hutson, *Invention of Suspicion*, ch. 3.

(IV.iv.183). As in Quintilian's proem, a dead son 'has figuratively as well as literally inspired, breathed spirit into, the father and rhetor, who in turn has offered up his pathos to inspirit...orators by engaging their imaginative sympathies with his bereavement'.⁶³⁹ These 'orators', in turn, set in motion an 'endless tragedy' when their grief and desire for vengeance, inspired by Hieronimo, inspirits Andrea and Revenge.

If such a process occurs in Hieronimo through his son, then, to use the forensic language of Quintilian, the client becomes his victim. Earlier, I discussed this reversal of roles in connection with Hieronimo and Bazulto, when the former, as Knight Marshal of Spain, asked the latter, a victim pleading his case, to solicit Proserpine for vengeance. Yet twice in *The Spanish Tragedy* this reversal is expressed in terms which find the son in an elder role. At the end of the play, for example, Hieronimo delineates Horatio as a father figure whose 'breath' it was that 'gave me life', going on to announce his own 'death' in a way that sees the father take on the characteristics of his son: 'They murdered me that made these fatal marks' (IV.iv.97). Moreover, earlier in the play, Horatio becomes Hieronimo's elder in a vision played out on Bazulto's face:

Hieronimo: Sweet boy, how art thou changed in death's black shade!
Had Proserpine no pity on thy youth,
But suffered thy fair crimson-coloured spring
With withered winter to be blasted thus?
Horatio, thou art older than thy father;
Ah ruthless fate, that favour thus transforms!
(III.xiii.145-51)

Bazulto, or Senex (the name given to his dialogue), has been argued to exist from his first appearance 'as a text to be read by Hieronimo'.⁶⁴⁰ Certainly, as I have discussed above, Senex is known first through his silent gestures, which express a grief that Hieronimo immediately reads and responds to. Yet, as Senex's arrival occurs shortly after Hieronimo's '*Vindicta mihi!*' speech, his figuration as a text becomes more nuanced. Hieronimo enters the scene holding a book, but his first utterance, '*Vindicta mihi!*' (III. xiii. 1), which is most probably read out of the text, has tended to puzzle scholars; is the reference to Romans 21. 19 ('Vengeance is mine') or Seneca's

⁶³⁹ Roach, *Player's Passion*, 25.

⁶⁴⁰ Hartley, 'Social Consciousness', 9.

Octavia (l. 849: ‘*vindicta debetur mihi?*’, or ‘Is this the vengeance due to me?’)⁶⁴¹ As the remaining tags quoted in the speech are Senecan,⁶⁴² it seems more likely that the book is a volume of Seneca’s works rather than the Bible,⁶⁴³ and Daalder has found further reason to assume this to be the case, arguing persuasively that both the text he holds, and the text he reads shortly after his speech, is Seneca:

There is wit in the thought that he is ‘Senex’—an old man as well as Seneca—particularly because the Senex figure is itself one which we know from Seneca’s plays... What Kyd appears to be doing is to introduce us to Seneca’s thinking throughout the play...⁶⁴⁴

Considering Daalder’s analysis, Hieronimo’s vision of an aged Horatio would seem to produce two effects: firstly, the family order becomes inverted, with Horatio the ‘elder’ to a father who has now become as a son,⁶⁴⁵ and secondly, that this inversion occurs on the face of a Seneca figure is, I would suggest, indicative of the kind of inspiration afforded not only to Hieronimo, but also to Kyd’s play, since Seneca is at this instant both father and son—the elder face of one’s offspring. That is, Seneca the Younger blends with Seneca the Elder to produce a single Elder face, from which the younger Hieronimo takes inspiration. To modify Daalder, then, ‘Senex’ is an old man because he is Seneca.

Hieronimo is Horatio’s rhetorical son in the same sense that Quintilian has become inspirited by his son in order to restore eloquence to its former state (it is the

⁶⁴¹ See Boas, *Works of Thomas Kyd*; Scott McMillin believes that the words derive from the Biblical source, but that the book itself is a volume of Seneca (‘The Book of Seneca in *The Spanish Tragedy*’, *SEL* 14 (1974), 202.

⁶⁴² ‘*Per scelus semper tutum est sceleribus iter*’ (III. xiii. 6) is from *Agememnon* (l. 115); ‘*Fata si miseros juvant, habes salutem*’ (12-3) is from *Troades* (ll. 510-12); and ‘*Remedia malorum iners est*’ (35) is from *Oedipus* (l. 515); see Daalder, ‘The Role of “Senex”’, 253.

⁶⁴³ Alternatively, James Siemon suggests that, rather than privileging one or the other, Kyd reveals the ‘two [St Paul and Seneca] at war with each other’ (‘Sporting Kyd’, 559).

⁶⁴⁴ Daalder, ‘The Role of “Senex”’, 251.

⁶⁴⁵ Hieronimo’s association with Seneca the Younger may be intimated in the scene’s first speech, where lines of the Younger’s plays are interspersed amongst Hieronimo’s vows to avenge his son’s death; it is such Senecan verse which leads Hieronimo to conclude, ‘I will revenge his death!’ (III.xiii.20). And it is the face of an Elder which provides Hieronimo’s inspiration (the sadness of the Elder’s face, for example, or even the appearance of an Elder son on Senex’s face) for the transfer of emotion discussed above. Thus, for example, the alteration from Hieronimo’s resolution to ‘bear a face of gravity’ (56) is made possible because the grief of Senex has ‘persuaded’ Hieronimo to feel the same emotion.

son's death, after all, that provides the inspiration needed to redress the decline in eloquence and begin work anew). Yet, if the relationship between Senex and Hieronimo may be read as an analogue for that between Seneca and Kyd, then in an additional reading, the representation of both Elder and Younger on the face of a single old Senex positions Kyd as a son who inherits two traditions; as the Elder orator breathed through the Younger dramatist, so a combination of the two will breathe through Kyd. Here we can see how the relationship between Bazulto-Horatio and Kyd also points toward the habits of Renaissance imitation, where literary efforts are neither wholly original nor wholly plagiarized. The father-son paradigm in relation to imitation was, after all, first articulated by Seneca the Younger in his *Epistulae Morales*:

This is what our mind should do: it should hide away all the materials by which it has been aided, and bring to light only what it has made of them. Even if there shall appear in you a likeness to him who, by reason of your admiration, has left a deep impress upon you, I would have you resemble him as a child resembles his father, and not as a picture resembles its original; for a picture is a lifeless thing.⁶⁴⁶

This same trajectory is implied when Horatio occupies both paternal and filial figurations of inspiration in the Senex scene, and it is given literal treatment in the penultimate scene when the bodies of children are both the inspiration and outcome of Hieronimo's final speech. Hieronimo has, in the end, brought his son before his auditors and judges by allowing himself to become his son: 'They murdered me that made these fatal marks' (IV.iv.97). Similarly, Kyd has fathered a son through imitation. Thus, in the blending of the Elder and Younger on the face of Senex, I believe that *The Spanish Tragedy* represents the digestive transformation that has occurred in the emulation of its model. As George W. Pigman says of such transformative metaphors of imitation, the 'resemblance of father to son represent[s] successful transformations of a model...to produce something with its own identity'.⁶⁴⁷ Hence, two possible readings unfold: Senex's face can be seen to digest Kyd and Seneca, young and old, to produce 'its own identity'; or Hieronimo can be read as Kyd, who stares at and takes inspiration from a digestive transformation of

⁶⁴⁶ Seneca, *Epistles*, trans. Richard M. Gummere (London, 2001), 84.8. Both Seneca and Hieronimo commit suicide with a knife (see Tacitus, *Annals*, 15.63).

⁶⁴⁷ Pigman, 'Versions of Imitation', 3-4, 6.

Younger and Elder, offering *The Spanish Tragedy* as the birth of Elder, Younger, and Youngest.⁶⁴⁸

3. *Rhetoric and Paternity*

The delineation of inspiration in terms of paternity could also represent the kind of declamatory training received by Kyd. When Quintilian imagines his inheritance passing from his son to the young orators under his care, he sets himself up as a rhetorical *paterfamilias* for future generations; this move is made more forceful by the nature of his subject matter, which involves transmitting the source of his inspiration to other orators—the successful conveyance of this emotion implies that Quintilian has formed the spirits of his readers into his own image (the image of his suffering in this case). The relationship between students and teachers is, moreover, proffered as ‘spiritually’ familial:

I say that [students] should love their teachers no less than their very studies, and that they should believe them to be the sires not so much of their bodies but of their minds. This filial reverence (*pietas*) will contribute greatly to their enthusiasm: for they accordingly will gladly listen, and believe what is said, and truly long to be similar [to their teachers]...⁶⁴⁹

In *Positions*, this same notion appears in chapter 3 when Mulcaster discusses the best time for a child to pass from his parents’ care to that of the master’s, and in chapter 37 when he discusses the duty of children to the master; in his recommendations for physical exercise, the master takes an even more direct parental role: ‘A stronge witte, in as stronge a bodie, is worthy the wishing of the parentes to bring forth, of the teacher to bring up’.⁶⁵⁰ The teaching of delivery especially seems to require a disavowal of biological parentage in favour of an adoptive educative one, ‘bycause the yeares that be or at the least ought to be employed that way be fittest, both for the fashioning of the body, and for framing of the minde’.⁶⁵¹ A paternal inheritance is also evoked with an educational purpose when, in his dedication to Elizabeth,

⁶⁴⁸ Both Kyd and Hieronimo are, after all, dramatists, and, if one accepts the suggestion made below that Horatio can be read as ‘*oratio*’, or speech, then both playwrights take inspiration from oratory in the face of Senex/Seneca. Nevertheless, if Kyd, like Erasmus, failed to distinguish between the Elder and Younger Seneca, the first reading is more likely.

⁶⁴⁹ This is Gunderson’s translation of Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria*, 2.9.1-2 (*Declamation, Paternity*, 63, n. 12).

⁶⁵⁰ Mulcaster, *Positions*, 33.

⁶⁵¹ *Ibid.* 223.

Mulcaster asks the Queen to continue the work her father started: ‘That noble Prince Henry the eight, your Maiesties most renowned father vouchesafed to bring all Grammers into one fourme, the multitude therof being of some impediment to schoole learning in his happie time’.⁶⁵² Other instances of a father-son relationship in *Positions* occur when Mulcaster reverses the pattern of parenthood to describe the use of written authority to serve a poor argument—‘when the most erronious opinions be fathered upon the most honest writers’⁶⁵³—or in order to speak of influence in general: ‘Plato fathering the speach upon Socrates sayeth so himself’.⁶⁵⁴

Quintilian is not the only rhetorician to consider the instruction of oratory in terms suggestive of paternal lineage, nor is the *Institutio Oratoria* his only treatise to do so. Roman declamatory exercises, which were used in the Renaissance grammar school, often asked students to consider the relationship of fathers and sons. The following *controversiae* (cases put forward for debate between two parties, with the master adjudicating), for example, occur in Quintilian’s *Declamationes Minores*; they are both associated with forensic rhetoric:

Whoso beats his father, let him lose his hands. A man was beaten <by> one whom he had found exposed and adopted in place of a son. As a father, he cut off his hands. Recognized, the other calls in his natural father and claims eye-for-eye.

...

Whoso beats his father, let his hands be cut off... A man took up an exposed child, raised him as his son. Beaten by him, as his father he cut off his hands. The young man was recognized. He calls in his natural father and claims eye-for-eye from the foster father.⁶⁵⁵

In both these cases, students are asked to negotiate the legitimacy of parental claims to their children, particularly in an educative sense. The second case, in fact, uses the verb ‘*educatore*’ (‘raised’), which can mean ‘fostering’ in the general sense, but, in the context of a rhetorical treatise, more than likely concerns education. This, at any rate, is the etymology favoured by Gunderson, who finds in the second example ‘an aggressive rallying around the flag of the *educator* performed by an author who is himself instructing other young men...the educator educates by way of it; but so too

⁶⁵² Ibid. 5. On the classical notion of grammarian as father, see Robert A. Kaster, *Guardians of Language: The Grammarian and Society in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley, 1988), 68.

⁶⁵³ Ibid. 24.

⁶⁵⁴ Ibid. 243.

⁶⁵⁵ Quintilian, *Lesser Declamations*, trans. D. R. Shackleton Bailey (Cambridge, Mass., 2006), 358.1, 372.1.

does he offer it to the students as something that they themselves might wish to take on and adopt'.⁶⁵⁶ The speech offered on the side of the foster-father for the second example seems to confirm Gunderson's conclusion: 'The young man, gentlemen, the worst of criminals, ungrateful because thanks to me he received the daylight and a father both, is a parricide twice over, once in my house, again in the Forum'.⁶⁵⁷ As Gunderson notes of this speech: 'One can draw parallels to the Master himself. He takes up and fosters young speakers. He tells them right from wrong, and they are to accept his authority as being valid'.⁶⁵⁸ No doubt, then, Mulcaster would also have argued on the side of the foster-father in Quintilian's case, though based on slightly different principles:

This negligence of the parentes for not doing that, which in power they might, and in duetie they ought, gives contempt in the children some colour of justice, to make their requitall with dishonour in their age, were it not that the Christian religion doth forbid revenge: which in presidentes of prophanisme we finde allowed, where both curtesie to such parentes, as failed in education of their neglected children is countercharged by law...⁶⁵⁹

It may be that this passage has moved the discussion some way from *The Spanish Tragedy*—for of course there is no tale of a son revenging his upbringing—but in *Positions*, as in Quintilian's *Declamationes*, it is clear that paternity and rhetorical instruction become functionally indistinguishable. I would suggest that a play concerned to a great extent with a father's grief for a lost son (and the duties of this father), and with delivery as a force that impels dramatic action as well as language, will draw upon this same nexus of paternity and rhetorical inspiration.

If paternity functions this way in *The Spanish Tragedy* we might consider Lorenzo's lack of belief in the inspirational effects of rhetorical delivery as in some way connected to Castile's death at the end of the play. Castile's murder in the context of the play's events seems largely excessive, though of course Hieronimo might be acting out of a sense of the father's culpability in the actions of his son—that is, Hieronimo makes the son enact a revenge on the father, which, as Mulcaster reminds us, 'in presidentes of prophanisme we finde allowed'. This is not in itself a rhetorical act, though it occurs within a scene in which various components specific to rhetorical delivery are made dramatic, such as the transmission of an emotion ('whose

⁶⁵⁶ Gunderson, *Declamation, Paternity*, 63, 66.

⁶⁵⁷ Quintilian, *Lesser Declamations*, 372.1.

⁶⁵⁸ Gunderson, *Declamation, Paternity*, 65.

⁶⁵⁹ Mulcaster, *Positions*, 35.

loss resembles mine') through *enargeia* ('See here my show'). Hieronimo, evidently, has a suit against a father (Castile) in the capacity of a son ('breath that gave me life'), not unlike that of the first of Quintilian's declamatory exercises quoted above. In both cases, there is a mutilation made ('They murdered me that made these fatal marks') and one sought in recompense.

If Kyd's penultimate scene dramatises at one level the emotional affect and conveyance associated with rhetorical delivery, then the playwright may arguably be providing an analogue for the transfer of *pronuntiatio et actio* as the special reserve of oratory to its eventual place on the stage. What if, in other words, we read Horatio as 'oratio'? His mutilated corpse lies on the stage, but nonetheless inspires the father not only to stage a play, but also to end speech in favour of a gesture that mingles both speech and action, all of which inspires an 'endless tragedy'. That this allegory, if true, is revealed in the relationship of a father and son suggests parallels with Quintilian's *Declamationes*, as well as with Seneca the Elder's *Controversiae*, both of which provide exercises that ask students to consider paternity in terms of mutilation. Here are two examples from Seneca:

A tyrant summoned a father and his two sons up into his palace. He ordered the youths to beat his father. One of them hurled himself down to his death. The other beat his father. Subsequently he is accepted as the tyrant's friend. He kills the tyrant and receives the attendant reward. Someone sues to have his hands cut off. His father defends him.

...

A hero [the father] lost his hands in war. He caught an adulterer with his wife, the mother of his son. He commanded the son to kill. The son didn't do it. The adulterer fled. The man disowns his son.⁶⁶⁰

Of these and similar passages in classical declamatory treatises, Gunderson concludes in his analysis that 'the question of the rhetoric of mutilation is one and the same as the fear that rhetoric has been mutilated'.⁶⁶¹ This reading is supported by the loss of hands that attends all of the aforementioned examples of paternal or filial mutilation;

⁶⁶⁰ Seneca the Elder, *Declamations*, trans. Michael Winterbottom (London, 1974), 9.4, 1.4.pr. Of the seventy-four questions posed in Seneca's work, over half given over to paternal and filial considerations; in addition, each of the ten prefaces are addressed to Seneca's three sons.

⁶⁶¹ Gunderson, *Declamation, Paternity*, 60. In Shakespeare's case, Hutson proposes that 'anxiety over the proof of paternity' is 'part of an attempt to contain the speculative licence that accompanies an evidential dramaturgy, a dramaturgy of probable inference' (*Invention of Suspicion*, 294).

and without hands, as Titus Andronicus would put it, we ‘cannot passionate our tenfold grief’.⁶⁶²

Recalling also that, in *Institutio Oratoria* 6, a dead son follows a project (not extant) on the decay of eloquence just as he precedes a project on finding this eloquence through *prosopopoeia*, *enargeia*, and the expression of emotions, I would suggest that Horatio represents just such a transitional figure, in whose mutilation and death can be traced the function and influence of *pronuntiatio et actio* on the Renaissance stage (a staging that is, as I argue above, figured in the blend of Elder-Younger (oratory-drama) on the face of Senex). Hieronimo’s oratory affects nobody in *The Spanish Tragedy* until it is combined with drama, the inspiration for which is brought before the audience as a mutilated body. If *The Spanish Tragedy* is Senecan in this sense (combining both the Elder and Younger), then declamation itself carries influence with respect to both form and content; a case stands to be argued on both sides of the question, but the content of the question will have bearing on the kind of negotiation offered, as Gunderson has noted with regard to the father who educated his son (rather than the father who simply adopted a son). A summary of the nature of such exercises offers interesting parallels with Kyd’s designs:

... declamations appeal to the standards of the community, but so also do they engage questions whose resolution in the psyche cannot be the matter of a simple reparation made by way of the law. A vote in favor of the father will not be enough to conjure away these cases. For we can say with Freud that it is the very law itself that renders the subject ambivalent. Declamation thus allows for the rhetorical staging of inner impulses and emotions that have been turned into evil deeds. And one now appeals to the law in order to annul these psychic entities that have become the realities of declamatory fiction even as the ultimate repression of their forbidden content requires a perverse moment of prior return. And this content can return all over against the next time one chooses to plead this case.⁶⁶³

Hieronimo’s case, in other words, will play out in an ‘endless tragedy’, one that continually outlines the ‘impulses and emotions’ that both demand and resist the ‘simple reparation made by way of the law’. In this manner, *The Spanish Tragedy*

⁶⁶² Shakespeare, *Titus Andronicus*, III.ii.5-6. Lavinia’s loss of hands inspires a desire in Titus to ‘chop off my hands too’ (III.i.72, 80). Furthermore, the ransom demanded by the Emperor for Titus’ sons is a hand, which the father provides to no avail; Titus, like Hieronimo, is moved to mutilation by the mutilation of a son. Emrys Jones provides a link between this mutilation and Seneca’s *Troades*, but this discussion might also add to Shakespeare’s influences the *Controversiae* of Seneca the Elder (see *The Origins of Shakespeare* (Oxford, 1977), 107).

⁶⁶³ Ibid. 79.

makes declamation not merely a supplementary rhetorical skill put in the mouths of individual characters (as Hattaway claims), and not simply a pattern for dramatic action (Altman), but also a resource for exploring its craft within a form that must necessarily alter it.

4. *Between the Voice and the Pen*

Recent scholarship has described the ways in which acting styles changed over the course of the English Renaissance. Very generally, from the time Mulcaster first began to produce plays at Merchant Taylors' Hall, to the early seventeenth century, acting resembled less and less the 'declamatory arts of rhetoric', specifically with respect to 'pronunciation and gesture'.⁶⁶⁴ Academic acting became associated in the seventeenth century not necessarily with exaggerated action (which was in fact usually associated with common players in the prior century), but rather with a finicky association between words and the gestures appropriate to their sense. "Life-like" rather than "lively" acting gave rise to a new conception of the moral purpose of acting, best illustrated by Hamlet's advice to the players'.⁶⁶⁵ While it was not my ostensible purpose to engage in this chapter with Elizabethan acting theory, I maintain that, in terms of the capacity of rhetorical delivery to register and convey emotions, *The Spanish Tragedy* stands between the academic drama of, perhaps, Hieronimo's *Soliman and Perseda*, and that of *Hamlet*.⁶⁶⁶ Neil Rhodes suggests that, as *Hamlet* 'rejects the world of speech, performance, and the media as unstable and inauthentic, the play...seems to search for a new authenticity in the concepts of a unified inner self and a stable, written text'.⁶⁶⁷ My analysis of *The Spanish Tragedy*, however, positions the play between a belief (mythical though it may be) in the world of speech, and *Hamlet*'s rejection of it—or, to put it another way, Kyd's play occupies the same nexus of speech and writing as that of Mulcaster's *Elementarie*, offering a dead

⁶⁶⁴ Gurr, *Playgoing in Shakespeare's London*, 96.

⁶⁶⁵ Donawerth, 'Shakespeare and Acting Theory', 169.

⁶⁶⁶ Lorna Hutson suggests that Kyd was 'ambitious to do something new: he married the visual, emblematic theatre of the Queen's Men with a newly intricate dramaturgy of suspicion and probable conjecture, a dramaturgy of the mistakable sign rather than unmistakable sign' (*Invention of Suspicion*, 278; see Scott McMillin and Sally-Beth Maclean, *The Queen's Men and their Plays* (Cambridge, 1998), 127).

⁶⁶⁷ Rhodes, *Shakespeare and the Origins*, 44.

corpse that nonetheless breathes life, a body that, like Horatio, is not yet enshrined or buried (and which remains un-enshrined even after the play's end).⁶⁶⁸ Unlike in *Hamlet*, the search for a unified, written self or text in *The Spanish Tragedy* is interrupted by the knife that mends the instrument to record it, leaving an 'endless tragedy' to explore authenticity in performance rather than in writing, which, for Hieronimo, offers nothing but suspicion (as his distrust of Bel-Imperia's letter shows, as well as the oral destruction of the citizens' papers). As these issues are made dramatic in a story of a son whose murder inspires a father's grief and revenge, we are encouraged to situate *The Spanish Tragedy* amongst a declamatory tradition in which mutilated or dead sons provide inspiration for speech (as a question posed, or as grief made manifest) while simultaneously providing a register for the state of eloquence. In this tradition, paternity transfers its status to the educator when he trains 'sons' to take his place as a rhetorical *paterfamilias*, an inheritance made possible in the *Institutio Oratoria* because of the death of a son, and implied throughout Mulcaster's *Positions*. Thus, a discussion of rhetorical delivery in *The Spanish Tragedy* offers two related interpretive functions: it situates the play at the nexus of speech and writing (and the subjectivity implied in such a transition⁶⁶⁹), and it also—drawing on Seneca's *Epistulae Morales*—divulges a position on the nature of imitation. Kyd's revenge will make him both a son and a father, a palimpsest that maps a son's image onto a Senecan face even as this 'perverse moment of prior return' inspires new questions and new formulations.

⁶⁶⁸ Robert Weimann argues that 'both writing and playing in the Elizabethan theatre' are 'different modes of cultural production' yet 'marked by intense mutual engagements, by both disparity and concurrence. Through their interplay, live agents on stage inflect and mediate a textually inscribed semantics of representation...My suggestion is that Elizabethan performance practice cannot be subsumed under any one purpose of playing; it must be viewed as plural, as serving a number of diverse functions, as—far from being unified or unifying—a contested field in which early modern literary meanings can be constructed but also interpreted' (*Author's Pen and Actor's Voice*, 8)

⁶⁶⁹ See Catherine Belsey, *The Subject of Tragedy: Identity and Difference in Renaissance Drama* (London, 1985), 78.

Conclusion

I began this project with a discussion of Mulcaster's reforms as laid out in the *Elementarie* and *Positions*. Rather than treating these two works as distinct in purpose, I showed how they share a preoccupation with the voice and gestures of rhetorical delivery, and from this connection I derived a politics of pedagogy that may be seen to govern Mulcaster's classroom methods. Just as writing becomes in the *Elementarie* inseparable from the sounding body of the *Positions*, so too, I argued, were children not merely fixed signs to be read, but also liquid bodies capable of being refined by and for sound. My argument rested on James Fredal's assumption that delivery was primarily concerned with the development of non-linguistic skills, for which Mulcaster's programme of athletics in *Positions* appears to have been designed.

That delivery should be so prominent in Mulcaster's works may simply reflect an educational system that was intensely oral and aural both in instruction and evaluation. Nevertheless, because no other contemporary pedagogical treatises permeate the concerns of delivery to the degree of Mulcaster's, I argue that this schoolmaster held the instruction of *pronuntiatio et actio* in especially high regard. From the statutes of various Elizabethan grammar schools, it seems probable that Merchant Taylors' was, like St. Paul's, committed to the daily, even hourly oral performance of lessons, as well as the occasional dramatic performance. In Mulcaster's case, evidence from revels accounts and company records indicate that this master's advocacy of drama was more vigorous than most. Outside of court performances, even, Mulcaster seems to have been intent on getting his students on

the stage, with performances at Merchant Taylors' Hall for a paying public beginning as early as 1561.

Mulcaster used drama to train the audacity necessary for rhetorical delivery, and thus he adhered to the classical assumption that delivery may be learned through acting. Indeed, despite claims to the contrary by Thomas Wright, actors and orators were indistinguishable with respect to their mutual interest in stirring the emotions. In both cases, visions were placed before the imagination in order to move the passions towards a desired emotion, which was subsequently given the appropriate voice and gesture required to convey this same emotion to the imagination of an audience. To use drama in this way is to make no separation between performance and learning, a relationship that bears affinities with Mulcaster's attitudes regarding athletics and rhetoric.

The connection between performance and learning was brought to bear on Spenser's *The Faerie Queene*, Book II. Specifically, I revealed how Spenser's delineation of Guyon as a wrestler interacted with classical associations made between this sport and oratory. Because of this link, I was able to read Guyon's supposed intemperance in light of its performance by a wrestler, an interpretation which legitimises the knight's actions through the context of passionate oratory. Furthermore, by revealing this same connection between athletics and rhetoric in Mulcaster's *Positions*, I suggested that wrestling should be viewed in Spenser's poem as a metaphor for the body to body transmission of delivery, a transmission the poet would have experienced at Merchant Taylors'.

Drawing together the description of gestures in chapter 2 with the rhetorical theories of inspiration outlined in chapter 1, my discussion of Andrewes focused on the similarities between the strategies of the academic stage and those of preaching. Contrary to the contemplative and rather staid portrayal of Andrewes' oratorical style offered by modern criticism, I concluded that Andrewes' preaching was theatrical in its use of *enargeia*, which included impersonations and descriptions that would have used the appropriate modulations of voice and gesture to convey their respective emotions. This assumption is based on Andrewes' doctrine of the Holy Spirit, which outlines a pneumatic mode of inspiration very near to the rhetorician's. Rather than eschewing human artifice in this regard, Andrewes seems to suggest that self-stirring is required in order to be inspired, and, indeed, it appears that he read his Biblical orators in this way as well.

The concept of gesture is a prominent feature of each chapter, in part because, as Kevin Dunn has suggested, it ‘stands at the juncture between language and image’, which may account for a strand of influence stemming from Mulcaster’s orthography. But if gestures are properly non-linguistic forms, then whatever their metaphorical usage with respect to language and image, they offer yet another way to imagine the students’ imitation of their master. Such issues of imitation and gesture were discussed in chapter 4, where Kyd’s *The Spanish Tragedy* was treated in relation to the concept of the *paterfamilias* in classical rhetoric. Erik Gunderson’s work on paternity and declamation is here employed to show how Kyd uses his narrative of a father’s grief for a dead son to explore the limits and possibilities of rhetorical delivery on the stage. I offered Kyd’s tragedy as a transitional play, one that stands between the academic stage and, for example, *Hamlet*—thus, between a belief in the world of speech and Hamlet’s rejection of it. The middle ground occupied by the play is emphasised throughout its narrative by the persistent crossover of inspiration that occurs between father and son, Elder and Younger.

Although Spenser, Andrewes, and Kyd each treated the concerns of delivery in distinct ways, it is implied throughout my project that this aspect of rhetoric was inculcated through a common source in Richard Mulcaster. As a result, I have posited certain elements in the works of Mulcaster’s former pupils that reflect extensive rhetorical training through drama, and by a master committed to the idea of joining intellectual development with a rigorous physical education. Hence, each chapter has in some way explored the physicality of poetry, sermons, and drama, especially as it pertains to the body’s role in stirring the emotions, as well as expressing them through fitting voice, countenance, and, primarily, gesture. In the textual presentation of these features of *pronuntiatio et actio*—features which so often tend to become the subject of their narratives—I suggest that Spenser, Andrewes, and Kyd recalled the sights and sounds of Merchant Taylors’ School.

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