# “MAKE SEVERAL KINGDOMS OF THIS MONARCHY”: PLACE AND IDENTITY IN EARLY MODERN DRAMA

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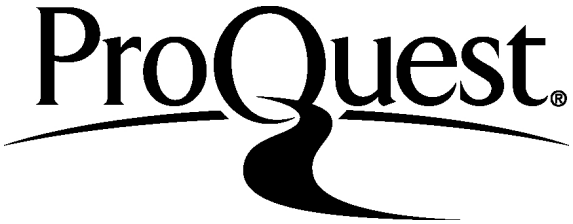

ABSTRACT

In the phenomenological theory of space and place, best articulated by Yi-Fu Tuan, Edward Casey, J.E. Malpas, and Michel de Certeau, an individual's experiences inscribe a space (or an undifferentiated area) and make it a place; that place and those experiences contribute to an individual's identity. In applying this theory to early modern English drama, I contend that we can better understand how Elizabethan and Jacobean playwrights responded to the displacement of the English population, as many provincial English moved to London and acquired new physical and social places. Elizabethan playwrights Thomas Kyd and Christopher Marlowe suggest physical place is essential to a character's identity. For later playwrights like William Shakespeare and Ben Jonson, however, physical place is significant but not as central. Instead, as phenomenological theorists posit, place and experiences both contribute to identity.

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# CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION: SPACE, PLACE, AND IDENTITY

In Kenneth Branagh's 1995 film *A Midwinter's Tale*, a down-on-his-luck actor decides to stage a production of *Hamlet* in a local cathedral at Christmastime. His ostentatious production designer, Fadge, uses the cathedral's vaulted ceilings and long hallways in her design, finally revealing her vision to the company: "You see, we must make the design all about space. People in space. Things in space. Women in space. Men in space." One of the perplexed actors responds, "So we'll sort of be space men?" Fadge pauses before responding, "In a sense."

In a sense, we are all "space men," "space women," or "people in space" because we cannot separate our experiences from the areas in which they occur. To be more accurate, we are actually place men, place women, and people in place. As phenomenological theorists of space and place have established, space is an undifferentiated area, and our experiences inscribe a space and make it a place.[1] In the *Oxford English Dictionary*, space "[d]enot[es] area or extension. General or unlimited extent" (II) and, more specifically, "Continuous, unbounded, or unlimited extent in every direction, without reference to any matter that may be present" (9). It is also, somewhat confusedly, defined as "An area or extent delimited or determined in some way" (11a), but the "some way" is vague and includes a sub-definition of "An empty place or part; a void; a gap" (11d). Although some definitions of space suggest specific boundaries, most are undefined or infinite. The first definition of place, in contrast, is geographical and concrete, "A

[1] In the scientific understanding, space is as an infinite plane, an idea originating from Euclid's geometrical concepts and supported by late seventeenth century scientists like Isaac Newton.

(public or residential) square" (I). The next definitions expand to additional physical manifestations of place and an individual's effect on space: "Senses related to space or location" (II), including "Room, available space. Also: a space that can be occupied" (3a) and "The amount or quantity of space actually occupied by a person or thing; the position of a body in space, or in relation to other bodies; situation, location" (5a). Place is space that a person occupies and, most importantly, experiences. Everything we do is grounded and experienced in a specific place; no human experience on earth occurs in a vacuum.

Theater is a place that "plays" (in all senses of the word) with place. Itself a place where people go to escape, to be entertained, to be enlightened, theater creates place onstage. As Lloyd Edward Kermode eloquently puts it, "If place is protean . . ., its meaning and significance molded and remade by use, then theater is the quintessence of place" (5). For the early modern English audience, place is created via language; given limited scenery onstage, characters (and the actors who portray them) must create place.[2] In *Twelfth Night*, the shipwrecked Viola asks, "What country, friends, is this?" The response, "This is Illyria, lady," creates Illyria for the audience; suddenly the stage (itself a place since the actors' experience make it one) becomes Illyria (1.2.1-2).[3] As they experience more of Illyria, the characters create even more specific places, including the inn where Sebastian lodges or the house where Olivia lives.

On the early modern stage, place is not limited to physical locations like a house or a city. Place also means social status or rank. According to the OED, the definition of place as social status dates from the 1380s: "Position or standing in an order of estimation or merit; *spec.* a

[2] Tiffany Stern, *Making Shakespeare: From Stage to Page* and Alan C. Dessen, *Elizabethan Stage Conventions* provide helpful background on scenery in the early modern theater. Both note how certain props could also be used to establish the setting of a scene (nightgowns, beds, torches, etc.). Stern likewise suggests that other symbols were used to establish setting, including the colors of the furnishings/costumes and the music. I cannot know for sure what props were used to establish a place (I am limited to what remains on the page), but their work provides helpful context for understanding early modern theater practices.

[3] Unless otherwise noted, quotations from Shakespeare come from *The Riverside Shakespeare,* 2nd ed., eds. G. Blakemore Evans and J.J.M. Tobin.

person's social rank or status; the duty or rights appropriate to a social rank. Formerly also: high rank or position (*obs.*)" (15a). A contemporary definition of place situates oneself in a physical place to signify social status: "A position or station occupied by custom, entitlement, or right; an allotted position; a space or position allocated to or reserved for a person; *spec.* a space at the dining table" (13a). The idea of *knowing* one's place, in terms of social status, did not appear until approximately 1500: "*to know* (also *keep*) *one's place*: to behave in a manner appropriate to one's situation, social status, etc." (15b). After citing one example from 1500 (and that a translation from a French work), the OED cites an example from *Twelfth Night*.[4] Olivia's servant Malvolio fantasizes about what will happen if he becomes his mistress' husband and elevates his social status. He muses on how he will look down upon his new relations like Sir Toby Belch: "I know my *place*, as I would they should do theirs" (2.5.53-54, emphasis added).[5] Before the sentence cited in the OED, Malvolio visualizes physical places that reflect his status, "sitting in my state" and "having come from a day-bed, where I have left Olivia sleeping" (2.5.45, 48-49). These physical places are where he would concretize his social status as master of the house and where that social status is concretized for the audience. Clothes may make the (wo)man, but physical place helps a person know his or her social place and helps define a person's status in society.[6]

[4] The first definition comes from the translation of A. Chartier's *Traité de l'Esperance*, "She as an officere of a Prynce of ordinaunce…kepte hir place [Fr. *garda son ranc*] and toke vpon hir withowt envy or pryde the office for to speke."

[5] The irony, of course, is that Malvolio does not actually know his place; he should not presume to be master of the house.

[6] The relationship between clothes and social status is outside the realm of this study, but the theater also complicated the ways people could know their places. As Jean Howard notes in "The Stage": "Suddenly, some people could dress, eat, and live in a manner not entirely consonant with traditional expectations regarding their 'place' in society. Moreover, imposters or 'counterfeits' could usurp—by the questionable acquisition of finery—the rightful places of their betters" (13). See also Randall Nakayama's "'I Know She is a Courtesan by Her Attire': Clothing and Identity in *The Jew of Malta*."

Why would "knowing one's place," or being aware of one's status in relation to others', appear first during the early modern period? And, if the concept of knowing one's place emerged during this period, why would it still be essential to define that status in terms of physical places? Although Malvolio speaks of physical places, another brief example from the theater may better demonstrate how social status can rely on physical place and how characters "know" (or, in most cases, do not know) their social and physical place. Christopher Marlowe's Edward II is a character who famously does not know his place (either his social status as king or the physical place of England). Edward's favoring of Gaveston, a gentleman but of lower social status than Edward's courtiers, physically and socially displaces the court. Spurred by his attraction, Edward offers England to his noblemen in exchange for a small corner with Gaveston:

> If this content you not,
> Make several kingdoms of this monarchy,
> And share it equally amongst you all,
> So I may have some nook or corner left
> To frolic with my dearest Gaveston. (4.69-73)[7]

England, however, is necessary to his identity as king; as Shakespeare later demonstrates in *King Lear,* a king cannot maintain his social status without possessing the physical country. Edward cannot, as he proposes here, give the kingdom to his courtiers since their subsequent elevated social status would disrupt the court's hierarchy. Despite the danger to his social status, Edward demonstrates a willingness to do just that, sitting Gaveston in the place of honor next to his throne: "What, are you moved that Gaveston sits here? / It is our pleasure; we will have it so" (4.8-9). In the same scene, Mortimer Jr. upbraids Gaveston for speaking of what a king should hypothetically do: "Thou villain, wherefore talks thou of a king, / That hardly art a gentleman by birth?" (4.28-29). Edward responds that social status is irrelevant to him: "Were he a peasant,

[7] Quotations from *Edward II* come from the New Mermaids 2nd edition, edited by Martin Wiggins and Robert Lindsey (New York: WW Norton, 1997). This edition of *Edward II* is organized into scenes instead of acts and scenes, an organizational schema that reflects the largely episodic nature of the play.

being my minion, / I'll make the proudest of you stoop to him" (4.30-31). The courtiers object more to Gaveston's low social status as Edward's "*base* minion" than they object to Edward's sexuality (1.132, emphasis added).

As someone "base" (even if a gentleman), Gaveston's presence mortifies the courtiers because their own places in Edward's court depend on the physical places that define their social statuses. Many noble characters in *Edward II* are named by derivatives of their landholdings and identify themselves with specific plots of land: Warwick, Kent, and so on. For instance, Lancaster offers up his earldoms, earldoms that constitute his social status—and more generally—his identity, to prevent Gaveston from remaining in England:

> Four earldoms have I besides Lancaster:
> Derby, Salisbury, Lincoln, Leicester.
> These will I sell to give my soldiers pay,
> Ere Gaveston shall stay within the realm. (1.101-104)

He does not offer the earldom of Lancaster since it gives him his position and social status—and, within the world of the play, defines him as a character. Although the courtiers still believe that their lands should define their statuses, Gaveston scorns the courtiers' social and physical places:

> Base leaden earls that glory in your birth,
> Go sit at home and eat your tenants' beef,
> And come not here to scoff at Gaveston,
> Whose mounting thoughts did never creep so low
> As to bestow a look on such as you. (6.74-78)

Gaveston uses the same word "base" that the courtiers used against him; although his social status should be lower than theirs, Edward has chosen to elevate him and inspire his "mounting thoughts."

Gaveston's presence displaces the court; the courtiers are no longer confident in the social statuses that are grounded in their physical places, and Edward is no longer secure in his position as king. When the nobles rebel against Edward, that social displacement evolves into

physical displacement. After Edward escapes to Tynemouth and later a monastery, no one knows exactly where the court is. Mortimer Junior, who leads the rebellion, believes that the court depends on the nobles within it. He says to Edward, "Thy court is naked, being bereft of those / That make a king seem glorious to the world" (6.168-169). Edward's brother Kent, however, believes that the court should be wherever the king is, "Where is the court but here? Here is the King" (22.59). The courtiers leave the court's location unresolved. The king does not know his place, and the location of the court remains uncertain.[8]

After the nobles capture Edward, they move him throughout the realm: "Remove him still from place to place by night, / And at the last he come to Kenilworth, / And then from thence to Berkeley back again" (21.58-60). Edward is forced to move, forced to travel:

> LEICESTER. Your majesty must go to Kenilworth.
> EDWARD. "Must!" 'Tis somewhat hard when kings must go. (19.81-82)

When a king must go, all places become the same, even if other characters differentiate them for the audience:

> BERKELEY. Your grace must hence with me to Berkeley tonight.
> EDWARD. Whither you will; all places are alike
> And every earth is fit for burial. (20.144-146)

Edward, who earlier did not understand the significance of his physical country to his identity, still does not know his own country. To him, "all places are alike." In his physical and social displacement, he differentiates nothing. Although he uses the term "place," "space" more accurately reflects what he conveys. He also no longer understands his social rank; he earlier expressed regret at being told where to go, but now he acquiesces to his nobles: "Whither you

[8] The different physical locations of the play, and how they reflect ideas of court and kingship, have been analyzed by Peter Sillitoe (where the court is located), Susan McCloskey ("worlds"), David Bevington and James Shapiro (ceremony), and Emma Katherine Atwood ("spatial imagination"). None of these critics considers the play in terms of migration.

will." Eventually, Edward II is killed by his courtiers, remaining to the end unaware of social and physical places, and physically and socially displaced.

For Edward, why would the loss of physical place—not only his rejection of England but also prominent places at court—have such a detrimental effect on his social status? Why would the subsequent social displacement of the court develop into its physical displacement? These examples and the OED definitions suggest that physical place and social status were still considered together during the early modern period, even if knowing one's social status during the period was becoming more uncertain. As this study will suggest, the migration of massive numbers of individuals from provincial England and elsewhere to London dramatically changed the way that people understood both place and identity. I argue that early modern playwrights, faced with this massive social and physical displacement, considered in their writings the extent to which one's identity depends on physical place. I contend that the anonymous author of *Arden of Faversham*, Thomas Kyd, and Christopher Marlowe suggest that physical place is an essential element of a character's identity. In these early plays, physical place is afforded such a central role in identity that an individual's experiences (that which creates place) are less significant. William Shakespeare agrees to some extent, but he also explores the possibility that physical place, while significant, may be no more essential to one's identity than one's experiences. His plays anticipate the work of Ben Jonson who demonstrates the significance of physical place but who emphasizes even more than Shakespeare that an individual's experiences contribute to identity. As London's population grew and more people left provincial England, physical place became less central to identity.

Like the characters in *Edward II*, the early modern London audience—of whatever social status—would have been familiar with social and physical displacement. John Twyning observes

that many who migrated during the early modern period were "ordinary workers turfed off the land by Acts of Enclosure and unscrupulous landlords" (1). Twyning continues, "the vast majority of those who made London [London's population] were in some way dispossessed from their livelihood and/or their family, but always from the society and culture which had provided them with their identity" (1-2). In other words, the massive migration to London was forcing individuals to re-contextualize and redefine their identities; physically displaced from their homes, these individuals had to negotiate the further blow of social displacement: "Forced migration from country to city, where the complexion of identity is much different, was a trauma for each and every person, as well as for the culture as a whole" (Twyning 6).

Although not necessarily forced to move to London as many "ordinary workers" were, higher status individuals also gravitated there. In a 1579 pamphlet published as *Cyuile and Uncyuile Life* (and republished in 1586 as *The English Courtier, and the Cutrey-Gentleman*), gentlemen Vincent and Valentine debate whether "it were better for the Gentlemen of Englande to make moft abode in their Countrey houfes (as our Engliſh manner is,) or els ordinaryly to inhabite the Citties and cheefe Townes, as in fome foraine Nations is the cuftome." Suggesting that the move to London was a new phenomenon for those of higher ranks (and formerly contrary to their "Engliſh manner"), the pamphlet purports not to choose one option over the other. Nevertheless, the city-minded Valentine consistently refutes all the points of the country-minded Vincent. Vincent concludes:

> you haue perfwaded that in Court or Towne, the life of a Gentleman may bee no leffe godly and charitable, then in the Countrey . . . that for heath and holefome habitation the Citties, and come cheefe townes in England, are either better or not inferior . . . and therefore confent that a Gentleman of brought up, is more civil then any Country man can bee: Likewise meeteft for gouerment, and for his priuate vertue mofte to bee regarded.

Gentlemen did not necessarily need to move to the city, but this pamphlet suggests that the move would be beneficial—and that many had already moved to the city during the early modern period and enjoyed those benefits.

As Twyning and this anonymous pamphlet intimate, London was a city of migrants of various social statuses.[9] The extent of migration to London, and the subsequent population growth, was unparalleled: "Mid-Tudor London and its suburbs contained from 80,000 to 90,000 people. In 1605 they may have held a quarter of a million, in 1625 perhaps 320,000, and in 1650, 400,000" (Beier 205). Bruce Boehrer articulates the population growth during Ben Jonson's life, "Between the poet's birth in 1573 and his death in 1637, the population of London roughly doubled, from about 150,000 to about 300,000. In 1610—the year of *The Alchemist's* first performance, and also the year in which the play's action is set—the number of the city's inhabitants hovered around a quarter of a million" (161). These numbers are even more astounding when one considers the fact that in 1500, "London was home to only some 50,000 people" (Boehrer 161). It is helpful to further consider, as A.L. Beier does, these numbers in terms of migrants, "London's growth between those dates required an influx of 367,280 people, or about 5,600 each year" (205). Studying London vagrants, Beier gives us a better idea of the origins of these individuals: "The majority of London vagrants in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries were from outside the London area (defined as London and its suburbs, Southwark, and Middlesex). Places sending large contingents who ended up as vagrants in London were East Anglia, Yorkshire, the counties between London and Bristol, and from 1600,

[9] Twyning discusses London and literature in relation to migration, focusing on specific places in the city and literature but also on areas of London like the suburbs (not unlike the other critics I consider below, including Mullaney, Dillon, Howard, and Sanders). He is particularly interested in the prostitute's place in this newly emergent London, "In short, and often in literature, prostitution appeared as a synecdoche for the strains of sub/urban development. A key factor in the 'making of the metropolis' was the enormous growth of unofficial and unregulated modes of production which operated in and about the 'Liberties' of London" (12).

Ireland" (206). With the exception of Ireland, most migrants (or at least those arrested for vagrancy) came from provincial England. In my discussion, I will refer to migrants as people originating from provincial England, even though I acknowledge that not all migrants were English by birth. A study of immigrants, or people who come to London from outside of England, is another topic entirely.[10]

As massive migration altered London's population during the early modern period, an increasing number of theaters in London were also changing concepts of place. In *Locating Privacy in Tudor London*, Lena Cowen Orlin notes that this period in London was defined by massive building projects to cope with the population growth: "W.G. Hoskins, remarking on an early modern revolution in domestic architecture, termed the period between 1570 and 1640 the 'Great Rebuilding' of England" (4). Houses, taverns, marketplaces, and of course playhouses multiplied during this time: "Between 1567 and 1642 when the civil war led to their temporary closure, 23 playhouses had been created in London" (Keenan 94). Orlin addresses very well the Great Rebuilding's effect on privacy, but hers and similar studies of the early modern theater in London do not consider how permanent buildings for the theater (appearing first in 1567 with the Red Lion) would have affected the way that audiences conceptualized the relationship between physical place and identity.[11] Discussions of *theatrum mundi* describe how theaters like the Globe reflect life (with heaven, earth, and hell built into its architecture), but we seldom consider the fact that the Globe (or any London playhouse) is a physical building, a place, and its

[10] See, for instance, Lloyd Edward Kermode's *Aliens and Englishness in Elizabethan Drama* or the recent volume *Shakespeare and Immigration* (eds. Rubin Espinosa and David Ruiter).

[11] Among the works for discussing theaters in London include Tiffany Stern and Simon Palfrey's *Shakespeare in Parts*; the works of Stern *solos*; and the extensive work of Andrew Gurr, including *Playgoing in Shakespeare's London*, *Shakespeare's Opposites: The Admiral's Company 1594-1625*, and *The Shakespearean Stage 1574-1642*. Although not specific to early modern England, David Wiles, *A Short History of Western Performance Space* provides useful context for how the amphitheater in early modern London owes much to earlier types of theater buildings. Although outside of the realm of this study, Evelyn Tribble and Bruce R. Smith have done fascinating work on playhouses in terms of cognition and hearing, respectively.

appearance is a new phenomenon in early modern London.[12] Given its solid foundation in place (both literally and figuratively), early modern theater may have helped displaced populations better understand how physical place defines identity. Critics like Jean Howard have discussed how theater allows audiences to think about the social changes happening in the city, but I suggest we also consider the way that the theater allows audiences to think about their individual identities.

I pause here to note that when I speak of "identity," I mean that identity is variously constituted and may have subjective as well as objective components, both on-stage and off. As Katherine Eisaman Maus' work on inwardness has suggested (see below), inwardness is not necessarily knowable to other characters when the outward show is dissembled, but the audience is privileged to hear characters express feelings of or understandings of self in soliloquies and dialogues. These moments can reveal characters' senses of themselves as fathers, sons, husbands, mothers, daughters, or wives. As we saw in the example from *Edward II*, we can learn what sovereigns believe about themselves as rulers. Like the courtiers in the same play, characters can conceptualize themselves in terms of social statuses. Family roles, social roles, and social status are all elements of identity on the early modern stage. Physical place concretizes social status (or *social place*), as the OED definitions suggest, but physical place also helps audiences understand other aspects of character identity besides social status.

**Space and Place Theory**

[12] Stephen Greenblatt explores *theatrum mundi* (the relationship between theater and real life) in much of *Renaissance Self-Fashioning*, particularly in his study of Sir Thomas More. Other critics who explore *theatrum mundi* extensively include Kent T. van den Berg, Lynda Gregorian Christian, Louis Montrose, and Anne Barton in *Shakespeare and the Idea of the Play*.

I turn my attention here to the theoretical basis of this project, the phenomenological theory of place. Although I will provide more detail in the following overview, the key to understanding the difference between space and place is the individual. Space is an undifferentiated area; an individual's experiences inscribe space and make it a place. That place and those experiences contribute to the individual's subjectivity.

**Henri Lefebvre's Influence**

I attempt here to provide a more wide-ranging consideration of space and place theory than is common to English criticism. Prominent scholars like Janette Dillon, Jean Howard, and Julie Sanders have used Henri Lefebvre's *The Production of Space* as a framework for their discussion of specific places within drama that correspond to locations in London.[13] Lefebvre, however, has less influence on theorists of space and place who study human geography, the field that studies how humans affect geography; he does not appear in the geography reference book, *Key Thinkers on Space and Place* (eds. Phil Hubbard and Rob Kitchin).[14] That Lefebvre is missing from this major work may suggest the selective nature of literary criticism on space and place. But, to Lefebvre: first published in 1974, *Production of Space* was one of the earliest philosophical works to emphasize the importance of *where* things occur.[15] Lefebvre posits that philosophers have failed to consider how to get from mental space to social space. Many philosophers, particularly Karl Marx, have simply assumed the existence of space as an empty

[13] In *Theatre, Court, and City, 1595-1610: Drama and Social Space in London*, *Theater of a City: The Places of London Comedy, 1593-1642*, and *The Cultural Geography of Early Modern Drama, 1620-1650*, respectively.

[14] For this project, Hubbard and Kitchin's definition of "humanistic geography" is most useful: "An approach to understanding human geography that focuses on the creativity of human beings to shape their world and create meaningful places" (494). Human geography is opposed to a study of geography that is more topographically based.

[15] Gaston Bachelard's *Poetics of Space,* published in 1958, is another of the early works (discussed below). I begin with Lefebvre's work since it has been one of the most influential on English criticism.

vessel, but have not considered how to get from their abstract "mental space" to the actual social space that human beings produce. Ideologies, Lefebvre argues, "do not produce space; rather, they are in space, and of it" (210). Marx understands labor production exists *in* space, but he does not consider how individuals and their labor result in the production *of* space. That space produced, however, is not a "simple object" (Lefebvre 73). As Lefebvre elaborates, space has multiple levels that "interpenetrate and/or superimpose themselves upon one another" (86). Space is contradictory. Since space is "neither subject nor object" (92), Lefebvre also proposes that we should look first to the body as subject, or as the experiencing agent, to understand space: "For it is by means of the body that space is perceived, lived—and produced" (162). This focus on the body is particularly significant to my own work: the individual is necessary to create space or, as I term it, following the leads of several theorists, *place*.

As J.E. Malpas laments in *Place and Experience: A Philosophical Topography*, English philosophers (and many literary critics) often use the terms *space* and *place* interchangeably. Part of the reason may have to do with translating from French to English. Although Lefebvre speaks of the production of space, his understanding of space fits most closely with the phenomenological understanding of place articulated by Yi-Fu Tuan, Edward Casey, and J.E. Malpas, as I discuss below. The original title of Henri Lefebvre's work was *La Production de l'Espace*. *Espace* translates in English to space. According to *Le Petit Robert*, the definition of *espace* includes the concrete, "lieu, plus ou moins bien délimité où peut se situer qqch [quelque chose]" (I) and the abstract, "milieu abstrait" (II). *Lieu*, as used in the first definition of *espace*, is the closest French word to the English *place*. However, *lieu*'s definition from *Le Petit Robert*, "portion d'espace" (I), suggests a level of specificity to place that English lacks; *espace* is already "délimité" and "situé" as opposed to "undifferentiated." For the abstract definition of

*espace*, *Le Petit Robert* quotes philosopher André Lalande's articulation of Descartes' understanding of *espace* (1647)*:* "Milieu idéal, caractérisé par l'extériorité de ses parties, dans lequel sont localisées nos perceptions, et qui contient par conséquent toutes les étendues finies" (II.1). These definitions suggest that the French term *espace* is more specific than the English *space*; words like "localisées," and "finies," not to mention the earlier "délimité" and "situé," suggest a level of specificity missing from the English understanding of *space* and more common to the English understanding of *place* as defined above.[16] For both place and space, a number of French terms exist in contrast to the fewer English terms.[17]

**Gaston Bachelard**

The same problems in translation apply to Gaston Bachelard, whose *La Poétique de l'Espace* predates Lefebvre's work and was published in 1958 (and first translated into English as *The Poetics of Space* in 1964). Maria Jolas' English translation of *La Poétique de l'Espace* uses the terms space and place interchangeably. Despite this confusion of terms in the English translation, Bachelard significantly focuses on an individual's experiences in producing "space." He attempts in his work to show how we experience "intimate places," particularly the house: "The house acquires the physical and moral energy of a human body" (46). He connects the house, specific places in it (dressers, corners), and specific places in nature (nests, shells) with the experience of the daydreamer (or the poet), arguing that these places can reflect intimate elements of our being. He believes that the home embodies a refuge and protection to the individual: "Life begins well, it begins enclosed, protected, all warm in the bosom of the house" (7). To Bachelard, home is the paragon of place.

[16] The French term *place*, meanwhile, means a public square (such as the Place de la Concorde in Paris).

[17] Many thanks to Jennifer Drouin for pointing out the issues of translation from French to English and directing me to *Le Petit Robert*.

**Michel de Certeau**

In his translation of Michel de Certeau's 1984 work *Arts de faire*, published as *The Practice of Everyday Life,* Stephen F. Rendall tries to tackle the issue of translation by using the French terms *lieu* and *place* to specify what English-speakers would exclusively designate as *place*: "A place (*lieu*) is the order (of whatever kind) in accord with which elements are distributed in relationships of coexistence. It thus excludes the possibility of two things being in the same location (*place*)" (117). de Certeau, however, still seems to label place as what the theorists discussed below will term space since, for him, place is more static than space. He argues, "*space is a practiced place*" (117). In understanding space as "practiced place," de Certeau focuses on the significance of walking as a form of experience. For de Certeau, walking is like speaking; moving within a space (or practiced place) is like enunciating (98). This "rhetoric of walking" (99) creates "space," inscribing upon place multiple possibilities and rendering a space a palimpsest (109).[18] The idea of place (as I term it) as a palimpsest is similar to Lefebvre's "contradictory space;" a palimpsest, in its multiple simultaneous layers, may contain contradictions. Central to this palimpsest is the idea that multiple individuals and experiences make place, an idea that Edward Casey and J.E. Malpas will also explore.

**Yi-Fu Tuan**

Moving from these French theorists, I turn to Yi-Fu Tuan and his 1977 work, *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience*. As is evident from his title, Tuan focuses on the centrality of experience in terms of establishing *place*. Tuan establishes that familiarity—experience—is

[18] Edward Soja's *Postmodern Geographies: The Reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory* also advocates the palimpsest approach to space.

essential to the creation of place: "When space feels thoroughly familiar to us, it has become place" (73). Place, which varies from person to person based on individual experience, "define[s] space" (17). In other words, without a person's experience, space remains undefined. Possibly because of his field, geography, Tuan prioritizes space over place; space is boundless, whereas place seems like an object (12).

Tuan emphasizes the individual's centrality in his understanding of both space and place, particularly in mythic understandings of space: the human, a microcosm of the universe, locates his or herself at the center of the universe (96). To support his theory, Tuan discusses how the infant gradually understands the difference between himself and his surroundings: "The infant has no world. He cannot distinguish between self and an external environment. He feels, but his sensations are not localized in space. The pain is simply there, and he responds to it with crying; he does not seem to locate it in some specific part of his body" (20). Once infants understand that a world exists outside of themselves, they can traverse and experience that world: "A crawling baby can explore space" (23). Through experience, the infant and child understand the distinction between self and environment. As people mature, they, too, use senses and movement to help understand and inscribe space. Traversing a space develops a person's familiarity with a space and changes it from a space to a place.[19] In all instances, place is "anthropocentric" (45); the individual remains at the center of an understanding of place.

**Edward Casey**

[19] The notion of movement and place is in not only de Certeau's work (as quoted above) but also Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari's *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*. While Deleuze and Guattari focus on the fluidity of space, not place, they do focus on the body—just not on the necessity of human experience to define a place.

Tuan prioritizes space, but philosopher Edward Casey refutes the idea that place is secondary to space (and time). Instead, he argues that place is primary. In *The Fate of Place: A Philosophical History,* Casey explores the philosophical history of space and place, proposing that philosophical history does not support the primacy of space that Tuan advocates. He traces how philosophy first prioritized place (epitomized in Aristotle's *Physics*) and then moved to privileging space (by the end of the seventeenth century). Casey argues that space started to receive attention in the Middle Ages as questions of God's power became paramount: "Theologically considered (and everything in the Middle Ages was eventually, if not always immediately, so considered), this issue amounts to whether God has the power to create and occupy space sufficient to surpass the place of the cosmos—in short, space unbounded by any particular cosmic constraints and thus ultimately infinite in extent" (104). Casey argues that the Catholic Church's list of Condemnations in 1277 "g[a]ve virtual carte blanche to explorations of spatial infinity—so long as this infinity remain[ed] linked to God's omnipotence" (107). By condemning any heresy that tried to limit God's power, the Condemnations made limitless space a real possibility. Since God was essential to contemporary philosophical thought, limitless space would eventually supplant place in importance.

For most of the early modern period (until the end of the seventeenth century), however, place remained a central concept. Giordano Bruno's heretical argument for infinite space, for instance, yielded new understandings of place.[20] Bruno, in arguing for space's infiniteness, considers the possibility of multiple, infinite worlds (120). As Casey notes, this idea of infinite worlds enables the creation of place: "From Bruno, therefore, we learn that *space makes room for place*" (124, emphasis in original); place emerges from space. (Critics have well established that Bruno's teachings influenced Christopher Marlowe, with Bruno even appearing in the B-text

[20] Bruno's heresy was to call space infinite "without identifying this infinity with God" (Casey 121).

of *Doctor Faustus*.[21]) Casey further suggests that space did not truly gain primacy until after the plays under consideration were written, when late seventeenth century physicists (including Isaac Newton) claimed that "space is empty not only of things *but of place itself*" (139, emphasis in original). Consequently, it was not until the end of the seventeenth century that place truly became subordinate to space (182). This philosophical work is certainly in keeping with the conclusion of my work, as place eventually becomes only one element of an individual's identity.

After establishing how space gained primacy by the end of the seventeenth century, Casey explains how philosophical thinking has recently—and in his and my view, correctly—reprioritized place over space. As evidence for the theoretical resurgence of place, Casey cites Heidegger's later writings and the works of Bachelard, Michel Foucault, Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari, Jacques Derrida, and Luce Irigaray. I say "correctly" because space, the "undiscovered country," does not illuminate a person's identity. It exists independently from a person. Place, however, reveals more than space about an individual since place *depends* on an individual for its existence.

Confident in the primacy of place, Casey, like Lefebvre and Tuan, relies on the body's experiences to define place, and he does not limit those experiences to the mere physical: "it can be psychical as well as physical, and doubtless also cultural and historical and social" ("How" 31). Casey argues that the individual is at the center of this understanding of place. He speaks of a *there* in relation to the *here*, grounded in a person's body: "Standing in this place thanks to the absolute here of my body, I understand what is true of other places over *there* precisely because of what I comprehend to be the case for this place under and around me. This does not mean that I understand what is true of *all* places, but my grasp of one place does allow me to grasp what

[21] See, for example, Catherine Minshull, "The Dissident Subtext of Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus*."

holds, for the most part, in other places of the same region" ("How" 45). The body and its experiences may limit a place's boundaries, but also help a person understand a nearby "there" as a place. Casey goes so far as to call humans "placelings": "our very perceptual apparatus, our sensing body, reflects the kind of places we inhabit" ("How" 19). In his understanding of "there" and "here" Casey defines a *region* as a number of common places together ("How" 40-42). The fluidity and depth of places (the fact that a space yields multiple places simultaneously and that a place can be comprised of multiple places) demonstrates a place's depth. Place is not, as Tuan argues, a one-dimensional or static concept (179). That early modern drama was itself performed in a place (Globe, Rose, Blackfriars, or any number of theaters in London) fits with this regional concept of place.

**J.E. Malpas**

J.E. Malpas also dismisses the idea that place is secondary to space. But, as he notes, place cannot be separated from space since "place is inextricably bound up with notions of both dimensionality or extension and of locale or environing situation" (25). Dismissing the idea that place is purely subjective or psychological, he advocates against place as an extension of the mind (31-32). He contends that a place also inscribes itself on an individual's subjectivity: "Place is instead that within and with respect to which subjectivity is itself established—place is not founded *on* subjectivity, but is rather that *on which* subjectivity is founded" (35). Malpas argues for a more consubstantial understanding of the individual's experience and place: "place *is integral to the very structure and possibility of experience"* (32). For Malpas, place is not wholly dependent on experience; it is part of experience. In Malpas' words, "understanding the structure and possibility of experience . . . is inseparable from an understanding and appreciation

of the concept of place" (33). In other words, according to Malpas, place cannot be understood without experience, and experience cannot be understood without place. Because of the centrality of place, Malpas—like Casey—argues for a multiplicity of places; he uses the term "nested" places: "places are juxtaposed and intersect with one another; places also contain places so that one can move inwards to find other places nested within a place as well as move outwards to a more encompassing locale" (34). This nesting of places likewise applies to early modern English drama and the nesting of places within those plays. Although Malpas argues that place and experience cannot be separated, early modern dramatists seem to be working through whether place or experience is more significant to identity.

**The Phenomenological Concept of Place in Practice**

For clarity's sake, let me provide some specific examples to explain how experience creates place from space. A random house that I pass for the first time is a space because it is unfamiliar to me. If I drive by the house on a trip to the store, or during a road trip, or while searching for another home in the neighborhood—during any number of journeys where the house does not represent a destination for me—then I would more than likely be unable to recall its appearance. No experience has created this undifferentiated space into a place, so it remains a space. I must have some kind of experience in (or around) the house for it to become a place or, if I do not have direct experience with the house, someone must describe the house to me (see below). Perhaps I visit a friend in that house (or know someone else who lives in that house), or my car unluckily breaks down in front of the house. These specific experiences tie the house to me and make it a place for me instead of a space. If, several days later, I think about the house,

then those thoughts would be tied to specific experiences related to the house.[22] I can recall experiences with the backyard, the living room, the refrigerator in the kitchen, and the television in the living room and, moreover, recall the house itself (inside and/or out).

I have used a house as an example of place, but places do not have a set size. Specific rooms can also be places, which means that spaces might exist *within* this example place since I may have only been in the living room or the kitchen and may not have visited the owner's bedroom. The living room and the kitchen become places, but the master bedroom remains a space. I am fully aware that the master bedroom exists as a place because I have visited other houses with master bedrooms; I may not be able to visualize this particular master bedroom, yet I am aware that it exists as a place. If the owners of the house describe the master bedroom to me in detail, then it would exist as a place. It must be noted that if the owners describe the place to me, then I still have my own understanding of the bedroom as place. Experiencing the place in my head does not mean that my version of the place looks exactly as it does in reality. Individuals make the place, and places can vary among individuals. If I have no specific ties to it (either through my own experiences or through experiencing someone else's description), the master bedroom is not a place to me.

Similarly, a city or a country can also be a place to me, even though spaces exist within the city or country (or larger regions) of which I am unfamiliar. If I visit London, for instance, it becomes a place to me because I can recall my experiences there. The Tower of London and Big Ben, furthermore, are places for me since I visited them. I know that the Churchill War Rooms at London's Imperial War Museum exists as a place, but I did not visit it, so I have a spatial

[22] The connection between memory and place, particularly in relation to medieval literature, is well established by Frances Yates in *The Art of Memory* and Mary Carruthers in *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture*. Edmund Spenser exploits the concept with the House of Alma in Book Two of *The Faerie Queene*.

understanding of it. If a friend describes the Churchill War Rooms to me, I can tie experiences to it, and it becomes a place. Because of these specific experiences with London, I can also consider England a place; I visualize specific experiences "in my mind's eye" when I think of England (even if I am only thinking in terms of London). As Tuan notes, my experiences are not limited to sight. Sounds, smells, tastes, and touch are all ways to experience a place, from the car horns honking around the Houses of Parliament, the smell (and taste) of fish and chips, or the feel of the walls in Westminster Abbey (11).

Furthermore, my visit to London and others to Rome and Paris have given me specific experiences with Europe as a place (even if it is larger than the individual places I have visited and contains spaces I have not visited). My idea of Europe, moreover, may differ from my friend's who lived in Rome, but we both consider Europe a place, instead of a space, as a result of our experiences there. Africa, meanwhile, exists as a place, not because I have visited it but because I have read about it or heard about it from someone who has visited it. What I have read about it or what another person has said about it creates a place for me. In all of these examples, from the places within the house, to the house itself, to London, to England, to Europe, and to Africa, the onus of place falls to the individual, whether (in most of the examples) me or someone who has created the place for me.

As Malpas notes, since places exist prior to becoming places *to me*, they independently contain elements that affect a person. Returning to the example of the house, I may covet the stainless steel refrigerator in the kitchen, or the paint on the living room walls may catch my eye. This place has, on a basic level, affected my subjectivity, and I may decide to buy a similar stainless steel refrigerator or vow never to paint my walls bright pink. Traveling to London, meanwhile, has expanded my own understanding of different ways of living. In both examples,

these places existed before they became places to me. This understanding of place emphasizes the fact that nothing in human life ever happens in a vacuum; these places provide context for our actions and understanding. Similarly, the characters in early modern drama do not—despite the limited onstage scenery—exist in a vacuum.

**Space, Place, and Identity in Early Modern English Criticism**

To contextualize my work on place and identity, I provide here a brief overview of the current critical landscape regarding space and place, early modern theater, and identity. Beginning with the works of Steven Mullaney, Janette Dillon, Jean Howard, and Julie Sanders (and how these studies often use Lefebvre's work), I consider studies that use areas of London to understand how audiences would interpret plays (particularly city comedies). These studies often conclude that plays help the audience better understand social and economic changes in London. Next, I consider studies that look outside London, including the work of Garrett A. Sullivan, Jr., Russell West, Linda Woodbridge, and Patricia Fumerton. Many of these critics have considered the effect of migration, but have mostly done so in terms of vagrancy. From there, I look at more general studies of place onstage, or studies that do not focus on individuals in terms of London or England, including the work of Heather Dubrow on the home and Andrew Hiscock on the appropriation of spaces. I conclude with a brief discussion of criticism that discusses identity in the early modern period, including New Historicism (and the way that Stephen Greenblatt and Katherine Eisaman Maus disregard place) and studies of the audience's identity (by Andrew Gurr, Ann Jennalie Cook, Alan Dessen, Erika T. Lin, and Jeremy Lopez).

I note my individual debts in each section, but I should note that none of these works considers the extent to which physical place defines identity. Although some have considered

social and physical place in Shakespeare's plays, they have largely missed the way in which the significance of physical place to identity changes over time. Other critics (like Woodbridge, West, and Fumerton) consider displacement but do not then consider how multiple playwrights have dealt with the effect of this displacement on a person's identity. In focusing on one playwright or one place (the home), these critics miss not only a much larger trend in early modern drama but also a developing understanding of place and identity during the period. Furthermore, using the phenomenological theory of place (instead of just Lefebvre or just de Certeau) better illuminates the effect of place on *individual* identity—a connection that is lost by focusing on the social creation of place (treating a palimpsest as a unit instead of considering individual layers) or on the audience as a collective unit.

**London as a Place**

Steven Mullaney's work *The Place of the Stage: License, Play, and Power in Renaissance England* has significantly influenced how critics view the effect of London's geography on drama. Mullaney considers how the theaters' location in the liberties (outside of the city's jurisdiction) affected the plays: "Effectively banished from the city by increasingly strict regulations, popular drama translated the terms of its exile to its advantage" (23). He argues that the liberties' location gave playwrights the ability to observe and comment on what was happening in contemporary London: "its displacement provided it with something approaching an exterior vantage point upon the culture it was both a part of, yet set apart from—a vantage point from which it could occasionally glimpse the fragile conditions of its own possibility" (54). Although Mary Bly has questioned Mullaney's approach to the liberties as a collective unit

(see chapter five), his argument that London's geography influenced the themes of early modern drama continues to resonate.[23]

Using Lefebvre, Janette Dillon argues in *Theatre, Court and City, 1595-1610: Drama and Social Space in London* that the location of the theaters in the liberties links them to the court (which, like the liberties, was also outside of the city of London's jurisdiction). She considers how the theater is similar to the court and its conventions. She also contends that since the theaters were places of business, they were closely related to the mercantile exchanges in London, like the Royal Exchange and the New Exchange. Like Mullaney, she suggests that the theater comments on contemporary London and its society but does not consider what that means for individual identity. Instead, she argues that the theater points out and participates in some of the city's vices, particularly economic vices.[24]

Jean Howard and Julie Sanders expand this approach to the liberties to additional regions within and around London. In *Theater of a City: The Places of London Comedy, 1593-1642,* Howard proposes that the theater serves as a place where Londoners can confront and better understand the social changes occurring in their rapidly growing city. The theater, a place itself, engages with prominent places in London like Dillon's marketplaces (the Royal Exchange and the New Exchange), but also with prisons, whorehouses, and ballrooms to respond to social changes in London. Using the Royal Exchange and its manifestations in dramas, Howard considers how Londoners tried to understand the international market economy and their place

[23] Other examples include Susan Wells, "Jacobean City Comedy and the Ideology of the City," in which she discusses city comedies in particular in terms of the liberties. Twyning discusses the liberties in terms of prostitution.

[24] For instance, Dillon looks at *Edward IV* and the way in which it uses specific locations in London to celebrate the city, often at the expense of the unhelpful king (44). She notes that this idea of using specific London locations becomes (in later plays like *Epicene)* a way to question what London has become in its pursuit of commercial success. *The Knight of the Burning Pestle,* performed at Blackfriars, uses boundaries in the play to exploit its location within the liberties. It has three different plays within one and manipulates the space of the playhouse by having "spectators" violate the realm of the actors.

within that economy. The Royal Exchange also helped audiences consider the changing role of women in the marketplace; women are often portrayed as commodities in the new economy. Julie Sanders (whose study exclusively covers Caroline drama) similarly engages with the location of the theaters in London in *The Cultural Geography of Early Modern Drama, 1620-1650*, considering the effect of London's surrounding natural phenomenon (like rivers and woods), country estates, new modes of transportation, and parishes and communities. She argues, for instance, that the proximity of the Thames to the playhouses affected the audiences' experiences; she discusses how ferrymen in early modern dramas would have evoked the Thames ferrymen who were audible to the audience from within the open-air amphitheater. This river onstage would then suggest the Thames' importance to economic activity. Sanders also explores the creation of new places in London during the later part of Charles I's reign (specifically Covent Garden). As she mentions, cultural geography is a "process" (9); just as the physical geography of a city can change, so the cultural geography associated with that city can also change. For Mullaney, Dillon, Howard, and Sanders, London as a place is key to understanding the places within the dramas. The centrality of London is largely unquestioned (although Sanders does expand to surrounding areas), but I emphasize that movement to and within London as well as the permanency of theaters within London all influenced contemporary understandings of place and identity. These studies also frequently consider the relationship between the theater and other businesses in London, but my concern is what these places say about individuals, not the London economy.[25]

[25] Such an economic focus makes sense since Lefebvre closely considers Marxist theory in *The Production of Space*. Lefebvre is not alone in making the economic connection to place; in *The Country and the City*, for instance, Raymond Williams famously explores how changes in the economy differentiated specific places—the country and city—and how those changes appeared in literature (although Williams focuses on eighteenth century literature). For early modern drama, Jean-Christophe Agnew's *Worlds Apart: The Market and the Theater in Anglo-American Thought* well establishes the relationship between the theater as a moneymaking enterprise and the other businesses in London. Among other critics who consider the London economy are Thomas Cartelli (*Marlowe,*

**Place Outside London**

In considering specific locations in London and in dramas, these critics sometimes limit themselves to analyzing the city comedies. Other critics have broadly considered how contemporary advances in cartographical methods were changing ideas of land and property in England. New cartographical methods allowed sovereigns and landowners to better understand their land as property—a phenomenon that affected concepts of Englishness and nationhood (since the borders of the English nation could be defined and contained within a sheet of paper) and the power of both sovereigns and landowners (whether or not the land that one ruled or owned was small or large).[26] These new understandings of maps and land likewise coincided with new understandings of geography, as John Gillies has noted. In *Shakespeare and the Geography of Difference*, Gillies demonstrates that Shakespeare had a more complex relationship with geography than earlier critics have argued. Instead of possessing a medieval or exclusively European concept of geography, Shakespeare had an understanding of geography and the "exotic" (or "the other") in keeping with a global perspective, a perspective itself influenced by more accurate maps of the world.[27] Unsurprisingly, perhaps, given the book's

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*Shakespeare, and the Economy of Theatrical Experience*), Garrett A. Sullivan, Jr. (*The Drama of Landscape: Land, Property, and Social Relations on the Early Modern Stage*), Patricia Fumerton (*Unsettled*), Barbara Palmer ("Early Modern Mobility: Players, Payments, and Patronage"), and Russell West (*Spatial Representations and the Jacobean Stage: From Shakespeare to Webster*).

[26] For instance, Bernhard Klein argues for the use of maps as a tool to suppress the Irish, and Bruce McLeod discusses the way in which the "elite" used land to their advantage, particularly in terms of the country house and the colonies. The body of work on nationhood is immense, but Richard Helgerson's *Forms of Nationhood: The Elizabethan Writing of England* is one of the most influential, and his article "The Land Speaks: Cartography, Chorography, and Subversion in Renaissance England" provides useful background on the influence of maps on concepts of nationhood.

[27] Gillies does conclude that new (or scientific) geography in early modern England was not as advanced as some critics have suggested. Although it had a scientific element that the older medieval or classical geography lacked, the new geography was also closely aligned with the iconographic and classical traditions of the past: "the paradox of a geography conscious of its novelty, confident of its superiority to the ancient geography, energetically generating a new poetry to make sense of its radically incongruous world-image, yet still enthralled to the imagery of the past" (188).

publication date in the 1990s, Gillies emphasizes the "subversive nature" of Shakespeare's portrayal of the exotic, suggesting that while Shakespeare subscribes to certain traditional ideas about the barbarian, he undermines some of those traditional ideas in his portrayal of figures like Aaron the Moor in *Titus Andronicus*.

The maps produced during this period, moreover, contributed to the commodification of land. Garrett A. Sullivan, Jr. discusses the new understandings of landowners in *Arden of Faversham*, concluding that the play offers an example of a bad landowner in an age when land was becoming increasingly important to one's economic standing. Russell West also discusses land as an economic commodity, arguing that the acquisition of land affected the onstage portrayal of the gentry. Merchants and other professionals were able to use newly acquired wealth to acquire land (and, during James's reign, titles) and clothing associated with aristocrats. As I also argue, social displacement created crises of subjectivity in early modern English society. Reinforcing Jean-Christophe Agnew, West argues that these crises appeared in actors' multiple identities (signified with costume changes); frequently casting off a costume to create a new identity reflects the "disunity of a society in which individuals can migrate at will from their God-given places" (138).

As West's work suggests, the crux of these studies is often the *social* function of a place; these critics, like London-centric critics, often argue that plays help the audience understand new economic and social changes happening around them. That the Globe features a play with a marketplace helps audience members better understand the New Exchange; the play features characters engaging in economic deals, and the Globe itself is a marketplace. Or, watching *Arden of Faversham* helps audience members conceptualize changing ideas about land ownership. In focusing on social relations and social functions of places, however, we lose how physical places

are created by an *individual's* experiences. Many individuals experiencing one place make that place a palimpsest, and critics tend to treat this palimpsest as one unit: as one monolithic place. I argue, however, that we need to consider the way in which a place and the experiences that create place contribute to an individual's identity.

**Vagrancy and (Lack of) Place**

Linda Woodbridge and Patricia Fumerton have done groundbreaking work on vagrancy in the early modern period.[28] Linda Woodbridge's work on vagrancy and homelessness depends upon the concept that place in early modern England meant both social and physical place. She argues that the homeless are those who have experienced "the loss of *social* place" (226). In considering the homeless, she also explores the early modern fear of vagrants, people who wander without a specific place or destination in mind: "*King Lear's* doubleness of 'place'—as geographic location and social rank—again links Renaissance anxiety about vagrants, whose geographic place is fluid, with social fluidity" (227). (Her work on vagrancy anticipates Fumerton's *Unsettled*; *Unsettled* was almost complete when Woodbridge's book went to press.) Although I agree with Woodbridge's analysis that knowing one's physical place means knowing one's social rank, she limits that application to homelessness in *King Lear*, even though the concept has a much broader application. Furthermore, in focusing on vagrants, she does not focus on all individuals who migrated to London and found social *and* physical places. In discussing mobility, for instance, she notes that travel was only good when it returned to its

[28] A.L. Beier's article, "Social Problems in Elizabethan London," provides some useful statistics on the number of vagrants in the period, "The evidence of Bridewell's Court Books suggests a massive increase in London vagrancy between 1560 and 1625. There were 69 vagrants dealt with by the Court of Governors in 1560-1, 209 in 1578-9, 555 in 1600-1, and 815 in 1624-5. Thus we have an eight-fold increase by 1601 and almost a twelve-fold increase by 1625" (204). West and Dillon also consider vagabonds and, in particular, the fact that actors could be mistaken for vagabonds if they did not have royal patronage protecting them. In "Women's Networks and the Female Vagrant: A Hard Case," Jodi Mikalachki explores the difficult life of female vagrants.

origin: "Distinguishing between (as it were) deserving and undeserving mobility, Renaissance thinkers approved of controlled, organized movement, of planned forays from a center to a periphery and back again" (252). But, what about individuals who did not go back again? I acknowledge Woodbridge's significant contribution to the discussion regarding an individual's identity and place, but I would like to take her work further and explore how different authors come to terms with displacement—not just the lack of place.

In *Unsettled*, Patricia Fumerton looks at the lower class in early modern England and attributes "unsettled" or (in her word) "multividual" subjectivity to these individuals. People holding multiple jobs were considered vagrants during the period and could be arrested as vagrants even if they had a home. Her work suggests that physical place does not necessarily completely define one's identity in the early modern period, but I believe that *Arden of Faversham, The Spanish Tragedy*, and Christopher Marlowe's plays suggest otherwise. In a good portion of her book, she considers a seaman named Edward Barlow, exploring his affinity for space instead of place. I discuss this work on sailors in my discussion of *Arden of Faversham* (see Chapter 2).

**Place and the Early Modern English Theater**

Heather Dubrow has done formative work on domestic places in drama. In *Shakespeare and Domestic Loss,* she is concerned with threats from outside the home, differentiating her book from Frances Dolan's *Dangerous Familiars*: "Whereas her important book mainly emphasizes threats from within [domestic violence], I am primarily concerned with invasive outsiders" (6).[29]

[29] Dubrow's book is one of the most influential analyses of the home in drama. Besides Dolan's *Dangerous Familiars,* other works on the home include Geraldo U. De Sousa's *At Home in Shakespeare's Tragedies*. Lena Cowen Orlin has edited a useful volume of primary texts on the Elizabethan household in *Elizabethan Households: An Anthology*. Woodbridge also considers the home (or lack of home) in *Vagrancy, Homelessness, and English*

Dubrow argues that the home is a microcosm that reflects larger phenomenon: "in a period of intense nationalism, the connection of home and homeland intensified" (4-5).[30] In arguing for the connection between the individual and the home, Dubrow suggests, for instance, that Emilia, after learning of her husband Iago's treachery in *Othello*, articulates her marriage in terms of the home to which she shall never return: "Emilia redefines the loss of home in the sense of both a material edifice and a marriage to which she can retreat as a type of freedom: ''Tis proper I obey him; but not now. / Perchance, Iago, I will ne'er go home' [5.2.193-194]" (15). I agree with Dubrow's association between an individual's identity and place, and I similarly include a number of discussions related to the home (home, as Bachelard discusses, is an ideal place). But I believe that the home is only one of the many places that define identity, and there can be specific parts of the home (like Doctor Faustus' study) that define a character's identity more than the entire house.

Andrew Hiscock's *The Uses of this World: Thinking Space in Shakespeare, Marlowe, Cary, and Jonson* explores some of the same territory as my own work. Hiscock discusses how spaces (his term) are socially constructed, and how those spaces construct subjectivity (i.e., how particular geographic locations—including Denmark, Jerusalem, Malta, Egypt, Rome, Venice, and London—yield certain experiences). As he acknowledges, Hiscock follows Lefebvre's theories regarding the social construction of space. He does not define the term *space* specifically, but he does apply it to larger geographical locations, like cities, and more specific places, like counting houses and homes. The spaces in the plays under his consideration (*Hamlet,*

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*Renaissance Literature*. In *The Custom of the Castle: From Malory to Macbeth*, Charles Ross discusses the castle in literature and when a castle is a home and when it is a "source of repression."

[30] This point, of course, relates her work to that of Helgerson's and others who have written on nationhood. The relationship between the home and the state is similarly explored by Lena Cowen Orlin in "Man's House as His Castle in *Arden of Feversham* [sic]" and by Viviana Comensoli in *Household Business: Domestic Plays of Early Modern England*.

*Jew of Malta, Antony and Cleopatra, Tragedy of Mariam, Volpone,* and *The Alchemist*) are not projections of individual psychologies; instead, these spaces are socially constructed through the relationships between characters and different manifestations of power.

When Hiscock analyzes Marlowe's *Jew of Malta*, for instance, he considers how different characters (Ferneze, Calymath, and Barabas) construct Malta; all consider what Malta can produce for their own political control (in Ferneze's or Calymath's case) or economic gain (in Barabas' case). At the same time, Hiscock also considers how the society marginalizes Barabas and how Barabas responds by constructing his own individual spaces (specifically his counting house and his home). The characters appropriate spaces, according to Hiscock, but they also work within the spaces as constructed. I acknowledge the relevance of Hiscock's work to my own and agree that characters approach places in different ways (places are, after all, porous), but I am less concerned with social power and more with the construction of individual identity.[31]

**Identity in Early Modern English Drama**

Thanks to New Historicism, defining a "sense of self" or identity for early modern characters is a murky business, and place in New Historicism is even murkier. Foucauldian studies of identity, most famously Stephen Greenblatt's *Renaissance Self-Fashioning*, argue that society fashions an individual's subjectivity. Even individuals who rebel against a society (as Greenblatt argues that Marlowe's characters do) reinforce society's power. When Greenblatt considers places in Marlowe's plays (although Greenblatt vaguely uses the term "spaces" without definition), he argues that Marlowe changes scenes so rapidly to demonstrate the

[31] Hiscock's work owes much to Foucault's. Foucault discusses the appropriation of spaces in terms of power in "Of Other Spaces."

meaningless of "theatrical space" (195). I consider his argument in more detail in Chapter 3, but he contends that Marlowe shows how spaces are "curiously alike" (195). Greenblatt argues that this absence of defined space (or, in the terms of this project, defined places) demonstrates the limitations of the dramatic medium. Any study of place must acknowledge the connection between society and place (after all, places do exist as spaces before an individual encounters them), but I dismiss Greenblatt's notion that theatrical places are meaningless or all "curiously alike," given the breadth of characters' experiences within plays.[32]

Just as Greenblatt dismisses place, so the notion of place and the individual is not fully explored in another prominent study of identity in early modern drama, Katherine Eisaman Maus's brilliant *Inwardness and Theater in the English Renaissance*. For her, the theater thematically examines the difference between the inward and outward self but also puts the audience in a privileged position since the audience is often informed of a character's true motives (even when those motives are unknown to other characters). Among other topics, she explores Machiavellism (how the Machiavell's true motives are unknown to others but known to the audience) and heresy trials (and the difference between what one can be persuaded to say and what one actually thinks). The historical connections to the theater are, in some instances, somewhat tenuous (particularly the relationship between coercion in a heresy trial and the coercive language of Tamburlaine), but she does well establish the early modern concern regarding the inward thoughts of an individual and the relationship between the body and the mind. Maus contends that individuals can feign their inward feelings, but the places that they create onstage are not feigned. When a character says, "This is Illyria," it is not really Rome.

[32] In his more recent *Cultural Mobility: A Manifesto*, Greenblatt seems to dismiss the irrelevance of place, arguing, "A sense of 'at-homeness' is often claimed to be the necessary condition for a robust cultural identity" (3). But a cultural focus is still more wide-ranging than an individual focus.

**London Audiences**

I conclude by noting that my work on London's displaced population in the audience is not the same kind of work that Alan C. Dessen, Erika T. Lin, Jeremy Lopez, and others have done in considering how the audience interprets the work on stage. In his detailed study, *Elizabethan Stage Conventions and Modern Interpreters*, Dessen urges readers to consider the significance of Elizabethan theatrical conventions, as opposed to interpreting early modern English drama in terms of our modern theatrical conventions. He argues that by using our modern conventions to interpret plays (including their settings, entrances and exits, violence, stage directions) we often miss the subtleties within the dramas that contribute to their overall meaning; for instance, parallel costuming or entrances/exits can create connections between two characters not necessarily suggested by the language. Lin does something similar in *Shakespeare and the Materiality of Performance*, in which she argues that early modern audiences did not view plays in the same passive way that modern audiences view them. Instead, interpretation was required of them. The early modern theatre was not dedicated to mimesis; much of it was allegorical and representational. Jeremy Lopez likewise considers the importance of Elizabethan and Jacobean stage conventions and what effect they would have on the audience. Some of the conventions may seem outdated to a modern audience—asides, expository speeches, puns, and stage practices including disguises, incest plots, echoes, and dismembered bodies—but they would have elicited a specific response from an audience who knows these elements are conventions.[33]

I further acknowledge that these and similar works engage in a continuing debate about how the early modern London audience should be viewed—whether to see them in terms of

[33] Ruth Lunney, *Marlowe and the Popular Tradition: Innovation in the English Drama Before 1595* and Thomas Cartelli, *Marlowe, Shakespeare, and the Economy of Theatrical Experience* do similar work.

different social statuses or to see them a collective whole. In his numerous works, Andrew Gurr observes that open-air amphitheaters included a diversity of social statuses in their audiences, but indoor theaters catered only to higher status customers. In *The Privileged Playgoers of Shakespeare's London, 1576-1642*, Ann Jennalie Cook disagrees and argues that the higher status audience was the most prevalent in all playhouses, not just the private theaters.[34] In my work, I adhere most closely to Gurr's concept of the diverse audience since that audience would have been invested in knowing place—admission prices, after all, placed them in social status groupings in the outdoor and indoor theaters. I believe that considering the audience as a collective whole (as Dessen, Lopez, and Thomas Cartelli do) ignores the reality of the early modern theater and the significance of place to individuals. Furthermore, I am considering how social and physical displacement onstage speaks to the playhouse audience, but, with the exception of the lack of scenery, I am not considering specific theatrical conventions and playhouse conditions.

**Chapter Overview**

I should note that when applying this theory to my study of early modern English drama, I have several different individuals and identities to consider. First, of course, is the playwright who produces the work. In each chapter, with the exception of Chapter 2 that discusses the anonymous *Arden of Faversham*, I include a brief biographical sketch to link the playwright's individual experiences with the creation of places within his plays. Second are the actors who create the places for the audiences by speaking the words that create place; the actors "enact" the experiences that create place for the audience. These actors, of course, also have their own

[34] In "'Usually in the working Daies': Playgoing Journeymen, Apprentices, and Servants in Guild Records, 1582-92," Charles Whitney does significant statistical work to prove that journeymen, apprentices, and servants could attend the playhouses, despite their smaller pay and their work schedules.

experiences that complicate the enacting of place; they experience place in their daily lives in London or their travels in the country or to the court. Unfortunately, given the limits of our knowledge of these actors, I cannot assess the actors' experiences of place. The audience is the third group; like the actors, they experience places in their daily lives, and many had migrated to London and experienced something different from their lives in provincial England or abroad. The audience figures in this study in the way the plays help them understand place and identity. Finally, and most centrally, the characters in the plays experience and create place. The theater is palimpsest of experiences as well as places.

To trace the extent to which physical place defines identity, I consider the works of four different playwrights, Thomas Kyd, Christopher Marlowe, William Shakespeare, and Ben Jonson, as well as the anonymously written *Arden of Faversham*. In "'This place was made for pleasure not for death': *Arden of Faversham* and *The Spanish Tragedy*" (Chapter 2), I consider two contemporaneous plays that suggest the essential role of physical place in forming one's identity. Arden does not know his lands and make them places, even though they should define his identity as a landowner. Physically displaced from his lands, he is socially displaced. Other critics (like Garrett A. Sullivan, Jr.) have discussed his relationship with his lands in terms of the enclosure movement, but I argue that considering him in terms of phenomenological theory explains how his failed marriage causes him to neglect his identity as a landowner. In *The Spanish Tragedy*, Hieronimo's social status as knight marshal does not depend on his home in the same way that Arden's social status should depend on his lands. When his home is violated, however, the violation has a detrimental effect on his status within the court. To enact his revenge for the death of his son, Hieronimo targets the physical place of the court.

I turn next to the works of Christopher Marlowe in "'Infinite riches in a little room': Christopher Marlowe and Places Large and Small" (Chapter 3) and consider four plays that demonstrate the central role of physical place to an individual's identity. Taking my title from *The Jew of Malta*, I begin with a discussion of little rooms—first, Faustus' study and second, Barabas' "little room" in his house—to demonstrate the importance of homes to these two characters. Faustus uses his home to define himself as a scholar, and Barabas uses his home to define himself as a father. Whey they are separated from these homes, their identities become fractured, and they cannot continue to function in their societies. I next consider Dido and Aeneas in *Dido, Queen of Carthage*, both of whom are defined in terms of physical places, and who cannot function when they are separated from those physical places (Aeneas does not know who he is after Troy, and Dido does not know who she is after she gives Aeneas control of Carthage). I conclude with Tamburlaine, a character who mostly knows his places. Tamburlaine's downfall, however, begins in *2Tamburlaine* when he tries to destroy places; instead of creating places, he starts to obliterate them. His understanding of self, once grounded in place, becomes more spatial and less stable until he dies.

Marlowe suggests that physical place has an essential role in defining identity, but William Shakespeare presents alternative ways of viewing the role of place, as I argue in "'I have not yet entered my house': William Shakespeare and Old and New Place(s)" (Chapter 4). In *King Lear* and *Coriolanus*, Shakespeare similarly suggests that identity depends on physical place: both characters' identities become unstable after they reject a given place. Lear rejects his kingdom, and Coriolanus rejects Rome after it banishes him. Evident in the way in which he describes the map of his kingdom, Lear has a spatial understanding of his kingdom, and he gives that spatial understanding to his daughters Goneril and Regan, both of whom must acquire new

physical and social places. Portia's and Jessica's identities in *The Merchant of Venice* and Prospero's identity in *The Tempest* are less tied to physical place; Shakespeare demonstrates how these characters can reject a place but still establish (or re-establish) their identities.

In "'The House is Mine Here': Ben Jonson, Individuals, and Place" (Chapter 5), I argue that Ben Jonson sees place as holding a significant, but not necessarily central, role in defining an individual's identity. Jonson suggests that both the individual's experiences and physical places are necessary to an individual's identity. In *Volpone*, the title character's identity is strongly tied to his house, and his identity suffers when he tries to divest himself of that house. In *Epicene,* Morose tries to define himself only in terms of his home, but the play suggests that such a dependence on physical place for identity, a dependence that evokes earlier Elizabethan plays, is no longer sustainable. *The Alchemist* further demonstrates a new understanding of physical place and social identity. Although the play is entirely set at his house, Lovewit is able to spend most of the play away from his home and returns to much success; other characters create place in his house in his absence, but they can do so without negatively affecting his identity. The house is not the most important part of their identities. Finally, *Bartholomew Fair*, another play grounded in a specific place, suggests that place is only one contributor to identity. Cokes and Zeal-of-the-land Busy's actions suggest that their experiences are not necessarily exclusive to a specific place.

CHAPTER 2

# "THIS PLACE WAS MADE FOR PLEASURE NOT FOR DEATH": *ARDEN OF FAVERSHAM* AND *THE SPANISH TRAGEDY*

Methods for dating the initial composition of early modern plays are imperfect, of course, but the general consensus is that *Arden of Faversham* and *The Spanish Tragedy* were both composed around 1588. Although one is set in England and the other in Spain, both demonstrate how physical place is an essential part of identity. That physical place would be essential to a character named Arden of Faversham makes sense; as a landowner who acquires more property in Faversham, Arden's identity depends on physical place. But he manifests little understanding of the physical places he owns; partly as a result, he remains displaced. Physical place is equally significant for Hieronimo, the protagonist of *The Spanish Tragedy*. Place does not define his social role as knight marshal; he does not need his house to be knight marshal as Arden needs land to be a landowner. However, the violation of that home when members of the court murder his son in his garden results in his loss of social status; he attempts to reclaim his status, but he instead remains displaced. In these early Elizabethan plays, physical places are afforded such a central role in these characters' identities that their identities suffer when they are disconnected from them—either through their own failures to experience and create places or through outside violation.

## Losing Plots in *Arden of Faversham*

"Adulterous wife schemes to have husband killed" is the plot of many *Dateline* episodes, but it is also the plot of the anonymous 1588 play *Arden of Faversham*. Like many *Dateline* episodes, *Arden* recounts how the wife hires assassins to murder her husband; the bumbling duo, Black Will and Shakebag, finally kill Arden in his own home. As a domestic tragedy, the play understandably ends in Arden's home, but his home is not the only physical place featured in the play. In the play's opening lines, Arden gains abbey lands, lands that are the subject of complaints from Arden's mistreated tenants Greene and Reede as well as his wife's lover Mosby. In the middle of the play, Arden travels throughout London, visiting St. Paul's, taverns, and his friend Franklin's home, until he returns to Faversham.

As a landowner, Arden should be defined in terms of physical place, but he defines himself in terms of his wife's status during the play. He claims, "I am by birth a gentleman of blood" (1.36), but his assertion obscures his dependence on his wife Alice for much of his social status.[35] As Mihoko Suzuki notes, "the status he enjoys as the foremost citizen of Faversham cannot be separated from his marriage to Alice" (34). As other critics have noted, how Arden's marriage to Alice has elevated his social status is not addressed in the play, but the original source in Holinshed makes clear that Arden does not want to offend Alice since she has elevated his social position (R. Martin 14). Relying on his wife for his social place, Arden is in a difficult position when the play begins because Alice prefers Mosby to Arden. Alice speaks longingly of Mosby usurping Arden's role as husband, articulating her desire in terms of the physical house: "Mosby, you know, who's master of my heart, / He well may be the master of the house" (1.639-640). With his wife's affections directed elsewhere, physical place (the lands he owns) is one

[35] References to *Arden of Faversham* come from *The Norton Anthology of English Renaissance Drama* (eds. David Bevington, Lars Engle, Katherine Eisaman Maus, and Eric Rasmussen).

way that Arden can define his identity separately from his wife. Arden's neglect of these lands, his neglect of physical place, makes it difficult for him to form a separate identity from his wife.

If Arden is displaced as both husband and landowner, what does that mean for his identity? Many critics are conflicted about Arden's character and whether he is a victim or perpetrator. Ian McAdam, for instance, notes the number of differing emotions for and against Arden within the play, which cloud the audience's judgment (45). Frances Dolan in both *Dangerous Familiars* and her article "The Surbordinate('s) Plot" is not quick to blame Arden for his actions; she instead criticizes Alice and her representation of herself as a wronged woman: "Offering no evidence that Arden mistreats Alice, the play in effect portrays her as enacting the abused wife in order to secure sympathy and avoid blame for her adultery, her open defiance of her husband, and, eventually her act of murder" (*Dangerous* 52). And, even more pointedly in "The Subordinate('s) Plot," Dolan argues in favor of Arden, suggesting that "the play enacts how a master can remain central without engaging in either positive or negative action simply by holding the place that stands for privilege and power, the place for which his subordinates compete" (330). I agree that Arden does not actually mistreat Alice, but I disagree that Arden does not "engag[e] in either positive or negative action." At the very least, not compensating his tenants for their lands (as I note below) seems quite negative. I also do not agree with Dolan's notion that Arden "hold[s] the place that stands for privilege and power;" Arden does not truly hold any place, either as husband or as landowner, so the play suggests he can no longer function in society.

Given the prominence of land acquisition and the fates of tenants, *Arden* is also seen by many critics to be a response to the enclosure movement, with Arden as a landowner who exploits his tenants. In *The Drama of Landscape,* Garrett A. Sullivan, Jr. argues that the play

demonstrates how the landed gentry exercised control over their lands, expelled people, and forced those people to find new employment.[36] Sullivan explains that reading Arden as a failed landowner then illuminates how he also fails as a husband: "What the play shows us is the disastrous effects of Arden's absentee landlordism. Moreover, the details of the murder link Arden's role as landowner to his role as husband" (55). In Sullivan's words, "the play presents us with a cautionary tale of an estate mismanaged" (54). This reading is certainly compelling, but it does not fully explore the extent to which Arden neglects his lands *because* he focuses on his failed marriage. Sullivan argues that Arden's murder links his "role as landowner to his role as husband," but I contend that the play links the two from the beginning when Arden focuses more on Alice than the land that could define his identity separately from her.

Franklin announces that Arden has gained the abbey land in the play's opening lines:

> Arden, cheer up thy spirits and droop no more.
> My gracious lord, the Duke of Somerset,
> Hath freely given to thee and to thy heirs,
> By letters patents from His Majesty,
> All the lands of the Abbey of Faversham.
> Here are the deeds,
> Sealed and subscribed with his name and the King's.
> Read them, and leave this melancholy mood. (1.1-8)

The prospect of property, however, does not completely lighten Arden's mood; his wife's indiscretions with Mosby weigh heavily on his mind, as Franklin suggests when he urges Arden to "leave this melancholy mood." In response to Franklin's announcement, Arden does not "read" the deeds, but instead responds by lamenting the "Love letters [that] passed 'twixt Mosby

[36] Sullivan also contextualizes the play within the new methods of surveying in "'Arden Lay Murdered in That Plot of Ground': Surveying, Land, and *Arden of Faversham*." In addition to Sullivan's work, Klein's *Maps and the Writing of Space in Early Modern England and Ireland* provides useful background regarding the changing relationship between landowners and their land during this period brought on by rapidly evolving mapmaking technology. New advancements in surveying were making lands commodifiable through maps that visually erased their lands. When the gentry had their lands surveyed, they could use the maps as evidence of the power over a specific region (or alternatively, the maps could be a sign of their limited power).

and my wife," "[their] privy meetings in the town," and the presence of his wedding ring on Mosby's finger (1.14-18).

Arden spends the rest of the scene fixating on Alice and Mosby. Franklin seems unconcerned that Alice is unfaithful since "women will be false and wavering" (1.21). Arden agrees; he is disgusted less by the adultery than by the fact that she is attracted to "such a one as [Mosby]" (1.22): "A botcher and no better at the first, / Who, by base brokage getting some small stock, / Crept into service of a nobleman" (1.25-27). Displaced as husband, Arden tries to assert his place when Mosby confronts Arden about the abbey lands:

> MOSBY. The abbey lands whereof you are now possessed
> Were offered me on some occasion
> By Greene, one of Sir Antony Ager's men.
> I pray you, sir, tell me, are not the lands yours?
> ARDEN. Mosby, that question we'll decide anon. —
> Alice, make ready my breakfast; I must hence.
> As for the lands, Mosby, they are mine,
> By letters patent from His Majesty. (1.294-302)

Arden affirms his position as owner of the lands, claiming "letters patent from His Majesty," but he does so only *after* affirming his role as master of his wife: "Alice, make ready my breakfast." In commanding his wife, Arden attempts to show Mosby he is in control, even if the reality is that he is in an uncertain place without his wife.

Arden fails to experience the lands that would allow him to elevate his social status apart from his wife. As Sullivan suggests, Arden demonstrates no understanding of his tenants who have claims to the land. In the same scene in which Arden fixates on his wife in his conversation with Franklin, his tenant Greene laments the loss of his land. Greene complains to Alice: "your husband doth me wrong / To wring from me the little land I have. / My living is my life" (1.471-473). Greene's pronouncement, "My living is my life," is echoed shortly after in his vow, "For I

had rather die than lose my land" (1.519).[37] Greene defines himself through physical place, and when he loses his land, he vows revenge upon Arden: "I'll be revenged, / And so as he shall wish the abbey lands / Had rested still within their former state" (1.481-483). Because of Arden's neglect, Greene becomes a displaced wanderer, stalking Arden throughout London and trying to orchestrate his murder.

Greene is not the only character who admonishes Arden for unfair treatment. Shortly before heading to sea, Arden's former tenant Reede makes plans to "intercept" him since Arden would not deign to see him if Reede came to his home: "for at his house / He never will vouchsafe to speak with me" (13.5-6).[38] Like Greene, Reede associates the land Arden has taken with his livelihood:

> My coming to you was about the plot of ground
> Which wrongfully you detain from me.
> Although the rent of it be very small,
> Yet will it help my wife and children,
> Which here I leave in Faversham, God knows,
> Needy and bare. For Christ's sake, let them have it! (13.12-17)

When he loses his lands, Reede cannot provide for his family. They remain in Faversham, but they are "[n]eedy and bare": displaced socially and physically. Moreover, the fact that Reede plans to go to sea after he loses his "plot of ground" further highlights his lack of physical and social place. As Patricia Fumerton demonstrates in *Unsettled*, sailors were considered truly placeless in the early modern period, given the vast space of the sea and the uncertain social status of the men who labored there: "The seaman's nature was, in a word, unsettled… It might well be that the seaman was further unsettled even in his understanding of himself because he

[37] Greene's response is similar to that of Barabas' in *The Jew of Malta* when Malta takes his wealth away from him (see Chapter 3).

[38] Greene also does not speak to Arden at his house; he speaks to Alice. She relays his visit not to Arden, but to Mosby: "This morning, Master Greene—Dick Greene, I mean, / For whom my husband had the abbey land—/ Came hither railing for to know the truth" (1.555-557). Alice notably corrects herself when she initially refers to him as "Master Greene." Alice seemingly has the same troubled relationship to status that her husband does, later worrying, "Mosby loves me not but for my wealth" (8.108).

found himself part of a difficult-to-fathom, newly emergent breed or class of workers that broke so many of the familiar rules of labor" (95). Since one's experiences create place, and those places are essential to one's identity, sailors had a difficult time establishing a firm identity in early modern England because they lacked a firm grounding in place. Tuan and de Certeau both discuss movement in space, and how movement can create a place, but that place is still contained (de Certeau, for instance, discusses everyday movement around a city). Deleuze and Guattari also consider the possibilities of movement with a place, discussing in particular the opportunities for nomads (and people who move frequently like nomads) in the sea, desert, and steppe. All four write how the sea is unique since its currents mean it is constantly changing, and the sailor does not remain in the same physical location. When constant movement is added or the physical place constantly changes, an individual's identity is more uncertain; no experiences can create a place that is in flux. Reede lacks a firm grounding in place as a sailor (particularly since he now has no home to which he can return), so he also lacks a firm identity.

Although Reede is now physically and socially displaced, Arden seems oblivious to his needs; he professes his innocence to Franklin (not even to Reede): "I assure you I ne'er did him wrong" (13.57). Viviana Comensoli notes, "Although Arden's actions have legal sanction, his expropriation of land having been made possible through the state's privatization of church propriety during the seizing of church revenues, his status seeking blinds him to the suffering of those who have become dispossessed through the free land market" (91). Arden may have been actively "status seeking" prior to the play's beginning; he presumably received the lands because he had commissioned the court for them. Even if he was once actively seeking ways to bolster his status, as Comensoli suggests, Arden does not further try to define himself as a landowner during the course of the play. In his socially displaced identity and his disregard for

his lands, Arden seemingly has a spatial understanding of his lands, unaware of what and who constitute them.

In his displaced position, Arden tells Franklin:

> Then that base Mosby doth usurp my room
> And makes his triumph of my being thence.
> At home, or not at home, where'er I be,
> Here, here it lies, ah, Franklin here it lies,
> That will not out till wretched Arden dies. (4.29-33)

Feeling uncomfortable "At home, or not at home, where'er I be," Arden goes to London to relieve his obsession. Prior to his departure, Arden announces to Alice: "I must to London, sweet Alice, presently" (1.81), staying "No longer than till my affairs be done" (83). In claiming business reasons, Arden attempts to demonstrate his identity as a landowner; going to the city could show how he matters socially. Although he claims that his journey to London will also demonstrate unconcern for her and Mosby's relationship, "And I will lie at London all this term / To let them see how light I weigh their words" (359-360), he is actually concerned that Faversham society will discover that he is a cuckold: "The world shall see that I distrust her not. / To warn him on the sudden from my house / Were to confirm the rumor that is grown" (350-352).

His wanderings through London, meanwhile, show his continued displacement. When he arrives in London, he does not seem to have a permanent location in which he resides. During his visit, he moves in fashionable circles, telling Franklin, "let us go walk in Paul's" (3.32). Shortly after he expresses a desire to go to St. Paul's, the assassins following him announce that he frequents a tavern: "To the Nag's head! There's this coward's haunt" (3.40). Travelling with Black Will and Shakebag to orchestrate the murder, Greene speaks of finding fitting places to murder Arden: "And let us bethink us on some other place / Where Arden may be met with

handsomely" and "Let us bethink on some other place / Whose earth may swallow up this Arden's blood" (3.84-85, 116-117). Greene knows, for instance, that he "is now at London, in Aldersgate Street" (2.103); Arden's servant Michael repeats the same address a short time later: "come to his house in Aldersgate" (3.178). The house in Aldersgate, however, is not Arden's. Franklin has urged Arden to reside in his London residence; he tells Arden, "Then stay with me in London; go not home" (4.28).

Dolan notes that the home in early modern England could represent a microcosm of social conflict—"In early modern England, as now, the home could function as a locus of conflict, an arena in which the most fundamental ideas about social order, identity, and intimacy were contested" (1)—so it is fitting that Arden's murder occurs in the home where he has been displaced as husband.[39] In the intimacy of the home, the place that he experienced almost daily but which Mosby has appropriated, his identity as head of the household and husband is finally effaced. Mosby has figuratively eliminated Arden's identity as husband, and the murder within his house actualizes that elimination.

After the murderers are detained and punished, Franklin announces:

> Arden lay murdered in that plot of ground
> Which he by force and violence held from Reede,
> And in the grass his body's print was seen
> Two years and more afar the deed was done. (Epilogue.10-13)

The epilogue alludes to a curse Reede places on Arden for seizing his land:

> That plot of ground which thou detains from me—
> I speak it in an agony of spirit—
> Be ruinous and fatal unto thee!
> Either there be butchered by thy dearest friends,
> Or else be brought for men to wonder at;
> Or thou or thine miscarry in that place,

[39] Dubrow makes the intriguing point that Black Will and Shakebag are often frequently labeled as thieves (22), a connection that she argues emphasizes the way in which violation of home was associated with violation of self.

Or there run mad and end thy cursed days! (13.32-38)

The epilogue associates Arden's failings, and the reason for his murder, with his seizure of Reede's land—with his failures as a landowner. The land, in failing to decompose Arden's body, claims its own definitive rejection of Arden and the manner in which he usurped Reede's physical and social place: "the land itself registers the wrongness of Arden's actions" (Sullivan 57). Sullivan suggests that the land makes a "moral" statement against Arden, but it also demonstrates how Arden has failed to establish his own place apart from his wife. The land he has seized, and did not know in his life, rejects him. One could extend Sullivan's reading even further to the way in which Arden's blood prominently appears throughout his home after his murder. Alice laments as she tries to clean the blood, "The more I strive, the more the blood appears " (14.258). When Franklin and others arrive to find Arden's body, his physical place at his table, the head place, proclaims what has happened. The Mayor exclaims, "Look in the place where he was wont to sit. / See, see, his blood! It is too manifest!" (14.402-403). Arden's blood stands out in his home, just as he stood out of place socially.

**Place and Performativity in *The Spanish Tragedy*[40]**

As a member of the gentry, Arden has relatively high social status. Hieronimo in Thomas Kyd's *The Spanish Tragedy* is not a member of the gentry, but he holds a respected position in the court. As knight marshal, he enacts judicial rulings, and as provider of entertainments, he coordinates performances for the king. His home, meanwhile, is a refuge—a place of leisure that he enjoys with his wife, Isabella, and his son, Horatio. Hieronimo's places at court and at home change after Horatio falls in love with the king's niece Bel-imperia. Bel-imperia's brother

[40] This section is a modified version of my article "'This place was made for pleasure not for death': Performativity, Language, and Action in *The Spanish Tragedy*." My thanks to editor Helen Ostovich and associate editor Erin E. Kelly for their copyedits and suggestions.

Lorenzo and the Portuguese prince Balthazar kill Horatio for presuming to love a woman of such high social status, hanging Horatio in Hieronimo's garden. When he discovers Horatio's body, Hieronimo first believes that someone else will enact justice against him: "A man hanged up and all the murderers gone, / And in my bower, to lay the guilt on me?" (2.510-11).[41] He also asserts the connection between his home and self, first asserting the possession of "my bower," and then connecting the bower to himself, "lay the guilt on *me*" (emphasis mine). After the murder, Hieronimo struggles to revenge himself. His home is no longer a refuge, and his place at court as knight marshal is compromised. In addition to the fact that members of the royal family murder his son, he is supposed to be the one who determines who will be hung. Previously well established in physical and social places, Hieronimo must find a way to reclaim those places.

When Hieronimo loses both social and physical place, he is left with nothing in the court. Katherine Eisaman Maus has previously argued for the centrality of social status within this play: "The Knight Marshal mourns the loss not only of his son, but also of an implicit contract between social classes so basic to his life and work that it seems to underlie rationality itself" (60). In her monograph, *English Revenge Drama: Money, Resistance, Equality,* Linda Woodbridge agrees, "Hieronimo . . . turns vengeful when his position as knight marshall counts for nothing against his foes' hereditary nobility" (232). She further notes that his revenge eliminates those in higher social statuses: "Hieronimo dies, but takes the upper echelons with him, leaving two royal families heirless—satisfying to the frustrated and the powerless in the audience" (240). Hieronimo and his son are well respected at court, but it is clear that they are not of the same status as the royal family. After the war against the Portuguese in which Balthazar is captured, both Horatio and Lorenzo claim that they captured Balthazar, but Lorenzo is given greater credit despite the evidence in favor of Horatio. The king gives Lorenzo the

[41] All references to *The Spanish Tragedy* come from the Revels edition edited by Philip Edwards.

responsibility of imprisoning Balthazar since "thine estate best fitteth such a guest; / Horatio's house were small for all his train" (1.3.186-187). The king "appears to give more credit to Lorenzo than he deserves" (Maus 58). As Maus also points out, Horatio's lower status is reflected in his service at the table when the Portuguese ambassador is entertained. The King notes the honor of Horatio's appointment (and, as Maus notes, "Hieronimo is proud, not mortified, when the King… asks Horatio to wait upon their cups" [59]), but it is certainly not a job for someone of a higher status than Horatio: "Signior Horatio, wait thou upon our cup, / For well thou hast deserved to be honoured" (1.4.130-131). I agree with Maus and Woodbridge that social status is an essential aspect to understanding Hieronimo's revenge (as well as the murder of Horatio), but such a reading does not consider the way that physical place seemingly constitutes Hieronimo's identity. Physical place is so essential to his identity that its violation results in his social displacement. And this despite the fact that his property does not define his identity in the same way as it should Arden's; Hieronimo does not need land to bolster his identity.

Since his role as a knight marshal hinges upon his performative power to enact hangings, he employs language as a way to reclaim places that he has lost. Michel de Certeau speaks of the connection between walking and speaking; for him, moving within "a space" ("practiced place") is like enunciating words (98). In the "rhetoric of walking," a person can go in many different possible directions: "the walker transforms each spatial signifier into something else" (98-99). Although Hieronimo is physically displaced from his home, he does not enact that displacement through wandering as Arden does. He chooses language, something less tangible than walking, to reclaim place. His final revenge is a court performance of *Soliman and Perseda* that results in the deaths of Lorenzo, Balthazar, and Bel-imperia. *Soliman and Perseda* is performed in multiple

languages as a way for Hieronimo to use language to re-appropriate his violated power of performative language and his violated place in society as knight marshal. Language is the best way to understand how place holds a central role in Hieronimo's identity.[42]

To discuss language in this play, I use the terms performative or performative language in the context of J.L. Austin's *How to Do Things with Words* and Judith Butler's application of that concept in gender studies. Austin's basic definition of the performative is that "the issuing of the utterance [constitutes] the performing of an action" (6). For both philosophers, as well as Jacques Derrida, the success of performative language is contingent not upon the intention of the speaker but upon the apposite circumstances in which the performative is spoken. As Austin explains it, "it is always necessary that the *circumstances* in which the words are uttered should be in some way, or ways, *appropriate*, and it is very commonly necessary that either the speaker himself or other persons should *also* perform certain *other* actions, whether 'physical' or 'mental' actions or even acts of uttering further words" (8-9, emphasis in original). Butler's insistence on the ability of acts to construct gender and sex shifts the focus from the body itself and toward the power of context, conventions, and Butler's oft-used term, "norms."[43] Derrida likewise articulates the necessity of circumstances in "Signature Event Context," in which he explains the citational legacy of performatives and their iterability. In using this theoretical framework, I will focus not only on performative language itself but also on the circumstances in which that language (or any language) is uttered as well as the action that, as Austin notes, accompanies that language (performative or otherwise). In particular, I am extending the idea of context and circumstances

[42] Although Hieronimo's home is a specific place within the play, other physical places in the play are particularly vague. Kyd seems to have a spatial understanding of Spain: when he names locations, he uses an Italian name, like St. Luigi's Park.

[43] I evoke Butler since she focuses on the power of performative language (particularly that of justices) but I will not be employing her specific work on gender.

to include *the place* in which language and action are performed: language must be performed in an appropriate place in order for it to have its performative function.

I would be remiss not to acknowledge that evoking the terms performative or performative language in relation to drama is doubly problematic. First, performance studies typically use *performative* to signify the adjectival form of performance. In my analysis of *The Spanish Tragedy*, I do consider the play as a performed work, particularly a performed work in front of Elizabethan audiences, but I also explore how performance choices contribute to a sense that Kyd's play is "performative" in the philosophical, linguistic sense. Second, Austin famously dismisses the application of his theory to drama:

> a performative utterance will, for example, be *in a peculiar way* hollow or void if said by an actor on the stage, or if introduced in a poem, or spoken in soliloquy. This applies in a similar manner to any and every utterance — a sea-change in special circumstances. Language in such circumstances is in special ways — intelligibly — used not seriously, but in ways *parasitic* upon its normal use — ways which fall under the doctrine of the *etiolations* of language. All this we are excluding from consideration. Our performative utterances, felicitous or not, are to be understood as issued in ordinary circumstances. (22, emphasis in original)

Derrida, in contrast, deconstructs the notion of "ordinary circumstances" and contends that no distinction exists between ordinary and "peculiar" circumstances: "isn't it true that what Austin excludes as anomaly, exception, 'non-serious,' *citation* (on stage, in a poem, or a soliloquy) is the determined modification of a general citationality — or rather, a general iterability — without which there would not even be a 'successful' performative?" (17). I believe, however, Derrida's particular solution to the problem conflicts with my own argument that specific circumstances, or contexts, are essential to analyze language and action. Instead, I agree with W.B. Worthen that conventions within the theater function to make the spoken words performative: "As a citational practice, theater—like all signifying performance—is engaged not so much in citing texts as in reiterating its own regimes of performances. Plays become

meaningful in the theater through the disciplined application of conventionalized practices—acting, directing, scenography—that transform writing into something with performative force: performance behavior" (9).[44] The theater is an "arena of performativity," a term that Sharon O'Dair uses to define performative situations governed by "authoritative practices" and citational legacies (151). She agrees with Worthen that "social life is constituted in many arenas of performativity" (150). In *The Spanish Tragedy*, theatrical conventions will prove essential to understanding *Soliman and Perseda* since Hieronimo violates the circumstances of typical performance, including the place of performance. The early modern concept of *theatrum mundi* further renders the theory of the performative applicable to Renaissance drama since the close relationship between theater and life is a reoccurring theme throughout the period.

To illustrate performative language, both Austin and Butler emphasize a judge's performative power; in speaking a ruling, a judge effects the action of that ruling. For instance, when a judge says, "Your motion is granted," these words achieve the action of granting the motion. The circumstances surrounding the authority of a justice and her position imbue her words with performative power; in Butler's words, "it is through the invocation of convention that the speech act of the judge derives its binding power, that binding power is to be found neither in the subject of the judge nor in his will, but in the citational legacy by which a contemporary 'act' emerges in the context of a chain of binding conventions" (225). The circumstances, conventions, or context matter most, not the individual's intention. Furthermore, when a judge says, "Your motion is granted," she depends on the "arena of performativity" of the courtroom. Stating "Your motion is granted" outside of the courtroom would not give her

[44] Shoshana Felman also provides an elegant solution to disregarding Austin's distinction. She contends that Austin's words themselves in *How to Do Things with Words* should be considered speech acts. Austin dismisses jokes, just as he dismisses literature, but, Felman contends, he also uses jokes to prove his theory.

statement the same performative power.[45] Like a judge, Hieronimo as knight marshal speaks within the same citational legacy. When Hieronimo announces to the hangman on the scaffold to "see this execution done" (3.6.101), he makes a binding ruling; his place in society as knight marshal and the physical location of the scaffold renders his language, in Austin's words, "felicitous" (22).

Prior to Hieronimo's loss of performative power (and the physical and social places associated with it) in 2.4, Kyd stresses that social status is defined within the physical place of the court. Following a description of the battle against the Portuguese, a stage direction specifies that Balthazar should enter between his captors, Lorenzo and Horatio (1.2.109 sd). If the stage direction were not there, however, the physical location of Balthazar between Lorenzo and Horatio would be evident in their linguistic sparring. In an exchange rife with "negation and antithesis" (Zitner 82), Lorenzo and Horatio convey physical conflict with their words, after the King asks who deserves the title of conqueror:

> LORENZO. To me, my liege.
> HORATIO. To me, my sovereign.
> LORENZO. This hand first took his courser by the reins.
> HORATIO. But first my lance did put him from his horse.
> LORENZO. I seiz'd his weapons and enjoy'd it first.
> HORATIO. But first I forc'd him lay his weapons down. (154-158)

Each holds an arm of Balthazar, and each holds an arm (or at least some feet) of the first line of this passage. The back-and-forth exchange that follows, in which Horatio counters Lorenzo's claims, is visually paralleled by back-and-forth pulling of the physical body of Balthazar (Barish 70). Simon Palfrey and Tiffany Stern's work on cues and parts in the early modern English playhouse helps to illuminate how the words themselves would have indicated the characters' equal claims to Balthazar. If the actor playing Horatio receives a four-word cue, then he would

[45] The judge also has authority in specific circumstances outside the courtroom, such as performing a marriage ceremony in a park or swearing in political figures in public places.

receive "To me, my liege," to which he counters with the nearly identical "To me, my sovereign." His role as equal supplicant is evident in the line's structure. After "To me, my sovereign," Horatio's part includes the repeated phrase "But first" at the beginning of his subsequent two lines. The repetition emphasizes his counters to each of Lorenzo's claims for triumph in battle. The second "But first" is also in response to the cue, "enjoy'd it first." The playhouse actors, as well as the theatrical audience, would understand that Lorenzo and Horatio are both making equal, balanced claims to their sovereign at the royal court despite their unequal social statuses. Lorenzo's higher social place, however, is demonstrated in the fact that he speaks before Horatio throughout the entire exchange.

After Lorenzo and Horatio's conflict over Balthazar, Hieronimo demonstrates the power of his words in the place of the Spanish court. In supporting his son's claim, Hieronimo implores the King,

> 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. (2.4.166-169)

In the arena of performativity of the court, Hieronimo refers to the citational legacy of his words as knight marshal backed "by nature and by law of arms." He is not merely a father pleading on behalf of his son. In contrast to what happens later in the play, the King acknowledges Hieronimo's appeal, addressing him specifically as "Marshal," and promises his claim will not be denied: "Content thee, Marshal, thou shalt have no wrong, / And for thy sake thy son shall want no right" (173-174). Hieronimo's words can incite the King to make a fair ruling. In making a ruling, the King exercises his own performative power as sovereign to mete out justice within his own court. In contrast to the instability of language and action at court later in the play, the King notably gives a balanced ruling. As James T. Henke notes, the King in this scene

appears "generously mindful of his obligations to his subjects, painstakingly judicious, and politically astute" (354). Lukas Erne agrees: "Kyd goes out of his way to stress that the King's treatment of Horatio is fair" (90). The King properly performs his role as sovereign at the Spanish court.[46] As Hieronimo knows, physical places like the court are invested in performative language and performativity, in addition to their investment in social status. In the arena of the court, language can be a bridge between physical and social places—a way to experience one's place.

In addition to his role as knight marshal, Hieronimo has a role at court as provider of entertainments. Later in act one, he further demonstrates his power of language when Hieronimo presents a dumb show before the King and the Portuguese ambassador. The action occurs before any words are spoken: "*Enter* HIERONIMO *with a* Drum, *three* Knights, *each his scutcheon: then he fetches three* Kings, *they take their crowns and them captive*" (1.4.137 sd). The King says the dumb show is pleasing, but he cannot understand the meaning: "Hieronimo, this masque contents mine eye, / Although I sound not well the mystery" (138-9). Before Hieronimo explains, the King only processes the action as an appealing visual. Hieronimo's descriptions create meaning for the King by identifying each English hero and his accomplishments. In contrast to Hieronimo's later playlet of *Soliman and Perseda*, the King and the Portuguese ambassador understand the action of the dumb show after Hieronimo explains it. Kyd purposefully shows Hieronimo properly using the place of the court before the final catastrophe of *Soliman and Perseda*.

After establishing this balanced relationship between language and action, particularly in relation to Hieronimo, Kyd shatters this world through the violation of Hieronimo's bower in

[46] Broude disagrees, calling the king "corrupt" (143). Henke, however, effectively shows that the King makes balanced judgments. I would add to his argument that if the king were at fault, then Hieronimo could have also killed him; Hamlet, after all, kills his own sovereign.

2.4. Kyd first underscores the connection between the bower and pleasure through Bel-imperia and Horatio's evocative, linguistic coupling within the place:

> HORATIO. Then thus begin our wars: put forth thy hand,
> That it may combat with my ruder hand.
> BEL-IMPERIA. Set forth thy hand to try the push of mine.
> HORATIO. But first my looks shall combat against thine.
> 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 compass'd till they fall. (36-45)

In an exchange devoid of stage directions, the lovers' language enacts their physical entwining. It reads as a romantic exchange, proper language to the bower, but words like "war," "combat," "push," "dart," "threw'st," "glory," and "fall" also hint at the upcoming violence.

When Lorenzo and Balthazar hang Horatio in the bower, Hieronimo remarks, "This place was made for pleasure not for death" (2.5.12). In the garden, the words of Bel-imperia and Horatio are appropriate. Horatio's hanging violently disrupts this purpose and transforms the garden into an executioner's platform. In so appropriating the garden, Lorenzo erodes Hieronimo's identity and his power of language. A hanging would normally occur on the scaffold after Hieronimo, the knight marshal, pronounces a death sentence; we see the proper circumstances at work in 3.6 when Hieronimo proclaims on the scaffold, "God forbid / A fault so foul should scape unpunished! / Dispatch, and see this execution done" (99-101). In situating a hanging in a different setting, a place in which we assume pleasure to occur and not death, Lorenzo and Balthazar appropriate Hieronimo's performative power to sentence death. Molly Smith notes, "No other play of the Renaissance stage dwells on the spectacle of hanging as Kyd's does" (217). I argue that it does so precisely because of Hieronimo's identity as knight marshal.

Furthermore, Lorenzo specifically hangs Horatio to emphasize his lower social status: "Although his life were still ambitious proud, / Yet is he at the highest now he is dead" (60-61). Lorenzo, a noble, certainly feels that Horatio has overstepped his rank in wooing the king's niece, Bel-imperia. As an execution method, hanging was typically reserved for those of low status; Lorenzo comments on Horatio's status in his "punishment" when he appropriates the knight marshal's ability to sentence a lower-status criminal (Smith, "The Theater and the Scaffold" 230n). Horatio is not a criminal, however, and the "sacred bower" (2.5.27) is not the scaffold. Smith notes the centrality of the image of Horatio's hanged body within the play: "Horatio's gruesome murder in the arbor remains the centerpiece; we come back to it again and again through Hieronimo's recounting of it, and as if to reiterate its centrality, the playwright exploits the value of the mutilated body as spectacle by holding Horatio's body up to view either literally or metaphorically several times in the course of the play" (222). I agree with Smith that Horatio's hanging is a key image; however, she curiously does not further explore the significance of the place in which the hanging occurs. Concentrating instead on the image of the body as spectacle, she overlooks the dissonance between the corpse and its environment. That the bower is not a scaffold is critical for understanding Hieronimo's actions throughout the rest of the play.

With his home violated, Hieronimo no longer has the same social status within the court. He can still effect some justice later in the play in 3.6 by declaring Lorenzo's servant Pedringano guilty and calling for his execution. But even within that scene, Hieronimo is incapable of meting out justice to the actual culprit, Lorenzo, who solicited Pedringano to murder Balthazar's servant Serberine. Hieronimo has the King's ear in the earlier court scenes, but his language fails to achieve the same effect in later scenes at court since Lorenzo has undermined his identity. At

the beginning of 3.12, Hieronimo assumes he still has power at court: "The King sees me, and fain would hear my suit" (2). Hieronimo decides to go to the king because "He'll do thee justice for Horatio's death" (13). When he entreats the King, however, his language fails. Lorenzo initially seems to prevent Hieronimo from reaching the King, "Back! Seest thou not the King is busy?" (28), but Hieronimo's pleas for justice strangely do not affect the King. The King recognizes who calls out for justice, acknowledging him by name:

> HIERONIMO. Justice, O justice, justice, gentle King!
> KING. Who is that? Hieronimo?
> HIERONIMO. Justice, O justice! O my son, my son,
> My son, whom naught can ransom or redeem! (63-66)

Even if Hieronimo soon after degenerates into madness, the frequent repetition of the word "justice" remains unheeded. Hieronimo acknowledges his new lack of power when he exclaims that he will "surrender up [his] marshalship" (76). After all, his words and actions, the outward manifestations of his social role, no longer achieve what they once did in the court.

Hieronimo no longer knows his place at court, and he can no longer be himself and effect justice within his own home. In 3.13, a group of citizens come to Hieronimo's house in search of justice, expecting the same level of attention that Hieronimo demonstrated before his son's murder:

> for learning and for law
> There's not any advocate in Spain
> That can prevail, or will take half the pain
> That he will, in pursuit of equity. (51-54)

These citizens come to Hieronimo's house expecting that he will perform his social role as knight marshal properly and grant their suits; even he recognizes what he is supposed to do, "Now must I bear a face of gravity" (3.13.56). Failing to receive justice himself, however, Hieronimo cannot

perform his proper role. Hieronimo's wife Isabella demonstrates a similar feeling of social and physical displacement within the garden. In the famous painter scene (a 1602 addition to Kyd's text), she, like her husband, highlights the bower as a setting of death: "How? Be merry here, be merry here? / Is not this the place, and this the very tree, / Where my Horatio died, where he was murdered?" (Fourth Addition. 59-61). Isabella's violent destruction of the bower and her suicide in 4.2 further emphasize the way in which Lorenzo has stripped the place of its pleasure; unable to revenge herself on Lorenzo, she revenges herself on the physical place: "I will revenge myself upon this place / Where thus they murdered my beloved son" (4.2.4-5). Her suicide emphasizes how the bower has truly become a place of death. The transformation of this physical place, and what it represents for Hieronimo and for Isabella, is one reason that Hieronimo places his revenge, the playlet *Soliman and Perseda,* in the court.

Hieronimo pursues his revenge through the multi-language performance of *Soliman and Perseda* at court. The reasoning behind this choice of revenge has puzzled critics. *Soliman and Perseda*'s performance in multiple languages is usually interpreted as a reenactment of the confused languages in the biblical story of the Tower of Babel.[47] This interpretation originates from Balthazar's objection to a performance in multiple languages: "But this will be mere confusion, / And hardly shall we all be understood" (4.1.180-1). Like Babel, in which "the Lord

[47] Eleanor Tweedie, Sheldon Zitner, Steven Justice, Richard Hillman, John Weld, S.F. Johnson, and Peter Murray have all argued for this biblical interpretation. Related to this interpretation is the argument that the destruction of Spain (Hieronimo wipes out the entire royal family) represents the destruction of Babylon, or the corrupt Catholic Church. Hieronimo notes before his playlet, "Now shall I see the fall of Babylon, / Wrought by the heavens in this confusion" (4.1.195-196). I find this interpretation problematic since it assumes that Kyd consciously (and successfully) associated his Spain with the actual country. Kyd's setting is vague enough that the audience need not suppose that he was making such a nationalistic assertion. Weld makes the most convincing interpretation of Babylon; basing his idea of Babylon on Augustine's concept of Babylon in *City of God* instead of Spain, he argues that the fall of Babylon signals "the end of *the* earthly city, the doomsday horror" (340). Overlap exists between those who argue the playlet represents the Tower of Babel and those who argue for Spain as Babylon; S.F. Johnson, for instance, is one of the most cited critics of the Babylonian interpretation, although he mostly argues in favor of the Tower of Babel. Carla Mazzio also looks at the confusion of language in the playlet, not from a biblical perspective, but rather from the perspective of nationalism and xenophobia in "Staging the Vernacular" and *The Inarticulate Renaissance*. She argues that languages from outside England were causing confusion within the English language.

did confounde the language of all the earth" (Gen 11:9), Hieronimo "confounds" the language of his actors: "like God and the builders of the Tower of Babel, he wreaks confusion with words, and with 'unknown languages' puts an end to the unchastised misbehaviour of his enemies" (Freeman 65).[48] While my own reading of the playlet differs from this biblical reading, critics who argue for this reading assume (as I do) that the playlet's prefatory note indicates *Soliman and Perseda* was truly performed "in sundry languages" in the playhouse: "*Gentlemen, this play of HIERONIMO in sundry languages, was thought good to be set down in English more largely, for the easier understanding to every public reader*" (4.4.10 sd).[49] Going beyond the biblical interpretation, William N. West contends that confusion, for both the royal court and the playhouse audience, is an essential result of the playlet. He argues, "It is hard to overstate the negative connotations of the word 'confusion' in early modern England; it is virtually a synonym . . . for ruin" (219). Like West, I believe that the audience's confusion is essential to the playlet, but not exclusively because confusion signals ruin for the early modern English audience. Instead, I contend that the audience's incomprehension reflects that the playlet is no longer a conventional performance; by using a multi-lingual performance, Hieronimo robs the court's power of performative language and the theater's ability to represent fiction.[50] Attempting to appropriate the *place* and power of the court, Hieronimo's use of multiple languages plunges the court into confusion; robbed of his own place, he exacts revenge by seeking to disrupt place.

In staging this deadly playlet as his revenge, Hieronimo destroys the power of the sovereign to enact justice within his own court. If we consider the way in which Kyd

[48] Reference from *The Geneva Bible* (1560 edition). Kyd would probably have been most familiar with this English version of the Bible.

[49] Edwards, in the Revels introduction, and Murray, *Thomas Kyd,* both disagree with the general consensus that the playlet was performed in multiple languages. They are part of a small minority, as Dillon addresses in "*The Spanish Tragedy* and Staging Languages in Renaissance Drama."

[50] Dillon, "*The Spanish Tragedy* and Staging Languages" contends that the multiple languages of the playlet have a specific theatrical function. She argues that the audience's incomprehensibility would signal language's breakdown in relation to sound.

manipulates "the authoritative practices relevant to a given arena of performativity," we can better understand why Hieronimo locates his revenge, or, more appropriately, his justice, in the atypical circumstances of this performance (O'Dair 151). In the royal court, Hieronimo manipulates the circumstances of the theater in much the same way as Lorenzo and Balthazar manipulate the typical circumstances of a hanging. First, Hieronimo's choice to use multiple languages in *Soliman and Perseda* breaks the theatrical convention that the audience will understand what happens on the stage; as is clear from the royal spectators' comments, the court audience for Hieronimo's playlet never understands what happens even though Hieronimo provides them the plot at 4.3.6. Second, although actors in the Elizabethan playhouse only received limited lines from other parts, they still could understand what those actors were saying since those parts were usually in English (or at least understandable when spoken); the court performers cannot do so here, given Hieronimo's choice to stage his playlet in a multitude of languages. Third, the playlet ruptures the relationship between theater and reality when the seemingly pretended stabbing of the theatrical performance results in the deaths of the playlet's actors, Lorenzo, Balthazar, and Bel-imperia. Theatrical performances, as Worthen notes, are invested in "regimes of performance" (9). To cause actual death instead of theatrical death violates the typical circumstances of theatrical performance for the onstage characters (but not for the playhouse audience since the actors are not actually dead).

Earlier in the play, Hieronimo provided meaning to the King and Portuguese ambassador who watched a dumb show. In contrast, the language in *Soliman and Perseda* and the play's meaning are never comprehensible to the onstage audience or the characters who perform it. Balthazar's first speech, for instance, is rife with details that cannot be successfully conveyed to the audience since he performs his part in Latin. In the English translation, his speech reads:

*Bashaw, that Rhodes is ours, yield heavens the honour,*
*And holy Mahomet, our sacred prophet:*
*And be thou grac'd with every excellence*
*That Soliman can give, or thou desire.*
*But thy desert in conquering Rhodes is less*
*Than in reserving this fair Christian nymph,*
*Perseda, blissful lamp of excellence,*
*Whose eyes compel, like powerful adamant,*
*That warlike heart of Soliman to wait.* (4.4.11-19)

The specific phrases "our sacred prophet," "thy desert in conquering Rhodes," "this fair Christian nymph," "blissful lamp of excellence," "powerful adamant," and "warlike heart" would all be untranslatable to the audience by means of gestures or Balthazar's onstage actions. When the King observes, "See, Viceroy, that is Balthazar your son / That represents the emperor Soliman / How well he acts his amorous passion!" (20-22), he understands Balthazar acts "amorous passion" as the emperor, but he does not seemingly understand any other details (Tweedie 229). The King says nothing, for instance, about Balthazar/Soliman also celebrating a military victory, the seizing of Rhodes. He knows the general plot, but what the performers are saying is less clear.

Furthermore, the characters performing within the playlet would be as confused as their court audience. Hieronimo follows the Elizabethan practice of role distribution by providing their separate roles to them instead of a full manuscript of the playlet: "And here, my lords are several abstracts drawn, / For each of you to note your parts / And act it as occasion's offer'd you" (4.1.141-143).[51] Bel-imperia, Balthazar, and Lorenzo would not have understood each other since Hieronimo provides their separate roles in different languages. Since their roles would only contain their own lines and a two- to five-word cue from other parts (in this case, in a foreign language), the details from their fellow performers would have been lost. In other words, when

[51] Not only *Shakespeare in Parts* but also Tiffany Stern's *Rehearsal from Shakespeare to Sheridan* is useful context here.

the character Balthazar says, "*Ah, Bashaw, here is love between Erasto* / *And fair Perseda, sovereign of my soul*" (4.4.39-40), he may not have understood that Lorenzo was "*Thrice happy"* that Perseda lives and that "*Rhodes' loss is nothing to Erasto's joy: / Sith his Perseda lives, his life survives*" (37-38) since Lorenzo speaks in Italian. He may glean some meaning, just as the King of Spain does, but no action or gestures could convey poetic details spoken in another language, details like "*Sith his Perseda lives, his life survives*."

With the actors also unable to interpret meaning through action, the meaning of action itself falls apart. In the "independent and dangerous life" of actions in *Soliman and Perseda*, gestures and onstage action take on meaning they do not have in a regular theatrical context (Barish 83). During the course of the performance, Hieronimo (acting as Soliman's Bashaw) murders Lorenzo, Bel-imperia stabs Balthazar, and Bel-imperia (whom Hieronimo earlier informs about his plans) kills herself. The audience, as well as the characters of Balthazar and Lorenzo, may assume that the gesture of stabbing means that the actors are only pretending to be dead, but "pretend" stabbing causes "real death": "to kill *in fact* the victims whose 'killing' he [Hieronimo] might only have represented in theater" (Sacks 538). By crossing the boundary into reality (the reality of the court), breaking down theatrical conventions, and "draw[ing] attention to the nebulous nature of the boundary that separates spectators from the spectacle" (Smith, "The Theater and the Scaffold" 228), Hieronimo destroys the court's familiar understanding of the relationship between action in the theater and action in "real life."

After riddling the stage with bodies, Hieronimo provides a long explanation of his motivation to the royal court (73-152). Despite the wealth of detail, the confused members of the court demand that Hieronimo name his accomplices and explain why their children are dead. Critics have attempted to explain this illogical progression from Hieronimo's account of the

murder to the royal court's confusion by suggesting either the text is corrupt or the court is so distraught that none of them fully processes what Hieronimo says.[52] I propose, in contrast, that the court's confusion reflects Hieronimo's manipulation of the circumstances and the place necessary for the ability of language, performative or otherwise, to function properly. Members of the court no longer know their own places. When Hieronimo shows Horatio's body, he says, "*Behold* the reason urging me to this: [*Shows his dead son*.] / *See* here my show, *look* on this spectacle" (88-9, emphasis added). His words coincide with the action of revealing Horatio's body, and he entreats the court to look at his son. Like Lorenzo and Balthazar before him, however, he has moved an execution outside of the logical, state-sanctioned place of the scaffold; he has rendered the logic behind his justice incomprehensible by placing a hanged body within the inappropriate places of the royal court and of a theatrical performance. The King's response, "Why hast thou done this undeserving deed?" (165), reflects the fact that this transformed context has made Hieronimo's language and action unintelligible to the court. None of the royals ever acknowledges Horatio or his murder, even though his corpse would conceivably be rotting by this point in the action. Dismissing the futility of further explanation, since language and action together have become meaningless, Hieronimo scoffs, "O good words!" (168).

Following his ineffective explanation, Hieronimo enacts the final meaninglessness of language by violently severing his own tongue. Before he bites out his tongue, Hieronimo tries to keep silent (180-181), but the King threatens torture: "Traitor as thou art, I'll make thee tell" (184). The King tries to force words through violent action; he attempts to reestablish his power of performative language and justice within the "arena of performativity" of the court. Erne agrees: "the King's power is destabilised not only by what is represented, but also by his lack of

[52] Arguments made, respectively, by Edwards in the Revels edition and Murray, *Thomas Kyd*.

control over its exegesis" (98). Hieronimo instead emphasizes the final destruction of performative power, the destruction of social and physical place, by biting out his tongue. After receiving a pen to write the names of his accomplices, Hieronimo gestures to the court for a knife: "*Then he makes signs for a knife to mend his pen*" (198 sd). The court correctly interprets that he wants a knife, but they continue to misunderstand the meaning behind the action: "Oh, he would have a knife to mend his pen" (199). Instead of mending his pen to communicate, Hieronimo uses the penknife to stab the Duke of Castile and himself, further destabilizing the action of stabbing, which has already lost its theatrical meaning, and killing one of the playlet's onstage spectators.

The death of the Duke of Castile has proven confusing for critics (since the Duke of Castile did not know that his son Lorenzo killed Horatio), but his death also reflects Hieronimo's transformation of circumstances and destruction of language and action's effectiveness.[53] The Duke of Castile is not only a spectator but also the King's brother and subject to the King's power. Without any heirs of his own, the King uses his brother's heir, Bel-imperia, to secure the Spanish line. In the negotiations over the marriage between Bel-imperia and Balthazar, the King commands Castile, "Go, brother, it is the Duke of Castile's cause; / Salute the Viceroy in *our* name" (3.14.1-2, emphasis added). In employing a penknife as a weapon, Hieronimo uses "an instrument of written words," or written language, to kill someone of royal blood (Kay, "Deception through Words" 37n). He does not need to use written words for language; he has no further use for language of any kind.

Hieronimo's violent manipulation of the places of both the theater and the court—his ruination of proper language, action, and justice—is akin to Lorenzo and Balthazar's appropriation of the means of justice for personal revenge. As Erne proposes, Hieronimo's

[53] S.F. Johnson notes: "His reasons, if any, for killing Castile are not even hinted at" (34).

playlet also signals the fact that man can effect change in society, apart from God. In manipulating the theatrical context, Hieronimo not only re-appropriates his own ability to effect justice as knight marshal, but also assumes a godlike place: "Hieronimo shows that the idea of the *theatrum mundi* can take on a radically different meaning. The traditional *topos* asserts that we are all subject to God's dramaturgy, but the Spanish tragedy, that is, the wiping out of an entire royal line, is brought about by human dramaturgy" (Erne 102). Hieronimo's "human dramaturgy" destroys the relationship between the places of the theater and the places outside the theater (the court and the playhouse): the relationship between theater and reality. Kyd's focus on place within *The Spanish Tragedy*, his transformation of circumstances and manipulation of "arenas of performativity," radically alters what language means and accomplishes throughout his play.

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Like Ben Jonson, the subject of my final chapter, Thomas Kyd was born in London. His birth and lifelong residence within the city differentiate him from his contemporaries Christopher Marlowe and William Shakespeare, both of whom were born outside of London and moved there as adults. According to Arthur Freeman, Kyd's family was "reasonably well-to-do," living "in a thriving quarter of London" (3).[54] Despite his upbringing and the popularity of his *Spanish Tragedy*, Kyd met a bad end: he was tortured for the supposedly seditious material found in his lodgings, material he claimed belonged to his former roommate Christopher Marlowe. He died a few months later, poor and disgraced (Freeman 36). Kyd's final social displacement is akin to that of his famous protagonist Hieronimo. Hieronimo loses physical place, and his identity is

[54] No biography of Thomas Kyd has appeared in almost fifty years. (Freeman's version, which also covers Kyd's plays, was published in 1967.) Perhaps more egregiously, while new scholarly editions of *The Spanish Tragedy* have been published, a scholarly edition of Kyd's complete works has not been published since Frederick Boas' Oxford edition in 1901.

irrevocably altered. The fatal consequences of this displacement demonstrate the importance of place to an individual's identity, a situation echoed in the nearly contemporaneous *Arden of Faversham.* When Arden and Hieronimo are physically displaced, their identities become fractured. Arden consistently displays a lack of awareness regarding his places—his lands and his home—that leads to his downfall, but even Hieronimo's active attempt to reclaim his places cannot negate the fact that the loss of his physical place destroys his identity in the court. Christopher Marlowe's plays similarly suggest that physical place is essential to defining identity, and he extends the effect to sovereigns.

CHAPTER 3

# "INFINITE RICHES IN A LITTLE ROOM": CHRISTOPHER MARLOWE AND PLACES LARGE AND SMALL

The movements of playwright and alleged spy Christopher Marlowe are relatively well recorded. We know that Marlowe was born in Canterbury, attended Cambridge, shared a room in London with Thomas Kyd, counterfeited money abroad in Flushing (purportedly as part of his spying career), and died in a house in Deptford.[55] Like his famous character Tamburlaine, Marlowe was often on the move, so much so that he needed a note from the Queen's Privy Council to justify frequent absences from his theological studies at Cambridge. Given Marlowe's numerous migrations, he is well suited to explore the effects of place on identity. Like Kyd and the author of *Arden of Faversham*, Christopher Marlowe suggests that physical place, even more than the experiences that create the place, has a central role in defining one's identity.

Stephen Greenblatt, however, argues in *Renaissance Self-Fashioning* that Marlowe is unconcerned with place. He contends that Marlowe changes the locations in scenes so rapidly in order to demonstrate the meaningless of "theatrical space" (195).[56] Because Marlowe's onstage places change so quickly and vary in size—"at one moment the stage represents a vast space, then suddenly contracts to a bed, then turns in quick succession into an imperial camp, a burning town, a besieged fortress, a battlefield, a tent"—his plays demonstrate how all spaces are

[55] Because this project is concerned with the significance of place, I must emphasize that Marlowe was killed in a house, not a tavern as is commonly reported. Biographies for Marlowe are plentiful, but Charles Nicholl, *The Reckoning: The Murder of Christopher Marlowe* and Park Honan, *Christopher Marlowe: Poet & Spy* are two of the most useful.

[56] Greenblatt vaguely uses the term "spaces" without any definition. According to the definitions of this project, the specific locations that he discusses in *Tamburlaine* would be better termed as *places*.

"curiously alike" (Greenblatt 195). Greenblatt argues that this absence of defined places demonstrates the limitations of the dramatic medium. Greenblatt is correct in noting that the places in Marlowe's plays vary considerably in size; the places stretch from smaller domestic places to larger places like countries or cities. But does that mean that all places in Marlowe's dramas are meaningless or "curiously alike"? I argue they are not and that Marlowe includes places small (rooms, houses) and large (countries, cities) to demonstrate how essential they are to characters' identities. The places in Marlowe's plays are defined, not "curiously alike," because characters' experiences create places, and those places are then essential to their identities.

To contextualize my opening discussion of *Doctor Faustus* and *The Jew of Malta*, I begin this chapter by analyzing homes in the Elizabethan period. From there, I consider the effect of these homes on the identities of the title characters of *Doctor Faustus* and *The Jew of Malta*.[57] Despite his reputation as the playwright of "overreachers," heroes with lofty aspirations who are seemingly disconnected from the everyday life of his audiences, Marlowe includes intimate, domestic places within his plays, including Faustus' study and Barabas' little room.[58] Marlowe opens both plays with the characters in the enclosures of their homes, and then continues to emphasize the importance of those homes. When Faustus tries to separate himself from Wittenberg and, more specifically, his study and home, he is ultimately drawn back to it, only able to forfeit his soul there. But his return to his study only underscores how the place has formed his identity as a scholar. In *The Jew of Malta*, Barabas considers the house so essential to

[57] This study omits *The Massacre at Paris* since, as most critics generally agree, the text is too corrupt to provide an accurate portrait of what Marlowe wrote or what was performed onstage.

[58] The term "overreacher" comes from Harry Levin's highly influential 1954 study of Christopher Marlowe, *The Overreacher*, in which Levin uses the more colorful aspects of Marlowe's biography as the foundation for his criticism. Characterizing Marlowe as atheistic, Epicurean, and Machiavellian (3), he extends these attributes to Marlowe's protagonists (Icarus is often featured on *The Overreacher*'s book jacket for emphasis). According to Levin, even Marlowe's verse displays his "hyperbolic" aspirations. Levin judges that Shakespeare's characters are the most human and, by extension, the most accessible to audiences; Marlowe's characters, in contrast, are "non-pareils, beyond compare, resembling only the phoenix" (22). This argument continues to resonate in Marlowe (and Shakespeare) studies (cf. Harold Bloom, *Shakespeare: The Invention of the Human*).

his selfhood, particularly his self as a father, that he must purchase another one as soon as he reclaims his wealth. When Barabas' daughter Abigail chooses to leave Barabas' home, she meets her death, as if she has no identity in Malta outside of her father's house. Given his reputation for writing heroes with big ambitions, it is not surprising that Marlowe also emphasizes larger places like countries or cities. After considering the domestic places of *Doctor Faustus* and *The Jew of Malta*, this chapter will address the large places in *Dido, Queen of Carthage,* a play in which Aeneas and Dido leave or reject Troy and Carthage and their identities are fractured as a result. Dido attempts to disassociate herself from Carthage by proclaiming to Aeneas, "This land is thine"; after giving up the physical place of Carthage, she loses Aeneas and commits suicide (4.4.83).[59]

This chapter will conclude with an analysis of the Marlovian character most obviously associated with place: the conqueror Tamburlaine. For most of the two plays, Tamburlaine creates an abundance of places and renames them after himself and his wife, "Calling the provinces, cities and towns / After my name and thine, Zenocrate" (*1 Tam.* 4.4.85-86). Although the second part of *Tamburlaine* is ambiguous about the reasons for Tamburlaine's seemingly abrupt downfall (Tamburlaine is never openly condemned in the way Faustus is, for instance), this chapter will consider the fatal mistake he makes in erasing the place where Zenocrate dies, commemorated by a pillar that reads, "This town being burnt by Tamburlaine the Great / Forbids the world to build it up again" (*2 Tam.* 3.2.17-18). Like Arden, who has only a spatial understanding of the lands that should define him as a landowner, Tamburlaine has suddenly shifted from creating place through his experiences (and identifying them with his name) to divesting himself of the places that define him as a conqueror. Tamburlaine's destruction of the

[59] Quotations from Marlowe's plays come from the Everyman edition of *The Complete Plays*, edited by Mark Thornton Burnett.

town demonstrates not the meaninglessness "of theatrical space" but the extent to which selfhood depends on physical place.

**The Home in the Elizabethan Period**

It is not coincidental that I used the example of the home in my introduction to illustrate the concept of place; as Gaston Bachelard and Tim Cresswell, among others, have shown, the home is the paragon of place; a house, a building, becomes a home when we daily experience it. Bachelard, as I noted above, sees the house, and its more intimate manifestation of the home, as a refuge: "Life begins well, it begins *enclosed*, protected, all warm in the bosom of the house" (7, emphasis added). Cresswell echoes this sense of welcoming enclosure by saying, "Home is an exemplary kind of place where people feel a sense of attachment and rootedness. Home, more than anywhere else, is seen as a center of meaning and a field of care" (24). Seeing the home as a welcome enclosure, a refuge, and a place in which we have established our roots is essential to the concept of home as a place.

One might object that the early modern English, or, more specifically, the diverse classes of the Elizabethan theater audience, did not view homes in the same way as Bachelard, Cresswell, and others describe them. In late sixteenth and early seventeenth century England, the family home often doubled as the family's place of business: "private business, which was the family business, was accomplished in the household, which functioned as a unit of production as well as consumption. Rather than performing domestic occupations, many live-in servants were actually apprentices, journeymen, or other employees retained for the family's trade or business" (Warnicke 127). Shakespeare's Birthplace in Stratford-Upon-Avon, for instance, features a glove-maker's workshop downstairs since John Shakespeare was, among his many professions, a

glove-maker. Despite the additional business purpose of the home, it would be incorrect to say that the notion of the home as a refuge, as something familiar and welcoming to individuals, was foreign to Elizabethan audiences. In *Passions of the Renaissance,* Philippe Ariès writes of the Renaissance in England, "the birthplace of privacy" (6), as a period of monumental transition for the household and, by extension, the home: "the entire history of private life comes down to a change in the forms of sociability: from the anonymous social life of the street, castle court, square, or village to a more restricted sociability centered on the family or even the individual" (9). The size of the home may have varied dramatically among audience members, but audiences would be able to apply a sense of a home to their viewing of a play.

In "Social Problems in Elizabethan London," A.L. Beier describes the housing conditions for the city's poorer citizens: "Landlords divided houses for multiple occupation, crammed people into cellars, and threw up hovels in alleys. By 1570 the space left by the dissolution of the monasteries was filled" (208). Space was at a premium in London and the poor's allotment of space was certainly smaller than most. In *Locating Privacy in Tudor London*, Lena Cowen Orlin notes that even wealthier London citizens had to make spatial compromises (relatively speaking) when it came to their homes: "In the tense new living conditions of the city's explosive population growth, many Londoners shared not only drains and cesspits but also gutters, chimney-stacks, passages, entryways, yards, wells, and, perhaps most importantly of all for the history of privacy, walls" (162-163). The space within this place is not extensive. For a London audience struggling with increasingly cramped housing conditions, a "little room" in their homes was something they knew much about, even if the size of the "little" depended on a person's class (*Jew of Malta* 1.1.37).

In addition to class differences, gender affects how a person perceives the home. Feminists Gillian Rose, Doreen Massey, and Linda McDowell have all argued that women feel oppressed within the confines of the home, in contrast to men. But, as Sara Mendelson and Patricia Crawford demonstrate in *Women in Early Modern England 1550-1720*, managing the household in early modern England was a woman's responsibility and the home equally served as a refuge to females as well: "the household was a female-dominated milieu, offering women a secure yet flexible base of operations for their forays into the outside world. Unlike elite advice books, popular culture affirmed women's right to control household space" (205). As Patricia Fumerton notes in *Unsettled*, even "poor housewives" would have been familiar with the concept of the home as an enclosure since they "resorted to various occasional and makeshift labors *within a relatively circumscribed space* ('the home') in order to help support their families" (38, emphasis added). Class, of course, remains a complicating factor here: women in the poorer classes, particularly single women who worked as servants, may have found the home more oppressive than the privileged classes would have found it. (Women of the upper classes may also have found the home oppressive, depending on the level of freedom afforded to them by men.) Further, although we may consider the role of a servant as oppressive, it may have provided some social freedom, as Vivien Brodsky Elliott has argued. In "Single Women in the London Marriage Market: Age, Status and Mobility, 1598-1619," Elliott notes that female servants, many of whom were migrants to London, had greater freedom in choosing their husbands than they may have in provincial England: "For the unattached migrant servant, the issues of personal choice, mutual liking and love are equally as important as the small dowry saved from her independent earnings" (86). In other words, the home may have been a realm of possibility for more genders and classes than we would normally assume. Even if the degree of

refuge they attributed to the home varied between genders and classes, the notion of the house as a place would have been familiar to both males and females in the Elizabethan audience.

**Domestic Places in *Doctor Faustus* and *The Jew of Malta***

Despite the fact that Faustus spends much of *Doctor Faustus* away from his study after he sells his soul to the devil, his study has a key role in defining his identity. As suggested by the above discussion regarding the home as a business and residence, the audience would associate the study with Faustus' home. Featured in the opening and closing of the play, as well as in his early exchanges with Mephistopheles, his home and study ground his identity and social status as a doctor of theology. After he sells his soul to the devil and renounces his self as scholar, his subsequent wanderings emphasize his social and physical displacement.[60]

The prologue to the play moves through significant places in Faustus' life, starting large with the country of Germany (12), zooming in on the cities of Rhodes and Wittenberg (12-13), and then finally pinpointing his study in Wittenberg, "And this the man that in his study sits" (27). In addition to the physical places of his life, the prologue establishes Faustus' social status. First, he was born into a lower social status in Rhodes: "Now is he born, his parents base of stock / In Germany, within a town called Rhode" (11). He has since elevated his status, becoming a

[60] Although my primary concern is with Faustus' study and home, I would be remiss if I did not acknowledge how the play explores hell as a place. The play confronts hell as a state of mind and a physical location. In response to Faustus' query about hell—"How comes it then that thou art out of hell?" (1.3.77)—his demon servant Mephistopheles retorts:

> Why this is hell, nor am I out of it.
> Think'st thou that I, who saw the face of God,
> And tasted the eternal joys of heaven,
> Am not tormented with ten thousand hells,
> In being deprived of everlasting bliss? (1.3.78-82)

The extension of mental space into physical place—that hell could be an extension of the mind as opposed to just a physical place—is in keeping with Lefebvre's idea that we, as producers of "space," move from mental to social "spaces." Mephistopheles speaks of hell as a mental place, but the play also suggests that hell is a physical place. First, Lucifer offers to show Faustus hell after he says, "O, might I see hell and return again, how happy were I then!" (2.3.175-176). Second, Faustus is dragged to some location when the play concludes: "Ugly hell, gape not, come not, Lucifer!" (5.2.121). More could be said about hell as place, but such a topic is a book unto itself.

scholar of theology at the university in Wittenberg: "So soon he profits in divinity, / The fruitful plot of scholarism graced / That shortly he was graced with doctor's name" (15-17). His low social status is tied to Rhodes; his status as a doctor of theology is grounded in Wittenberg, the "fruitful plot of scholarism." As a scholar, Dr. Faustus is a well-respected member of society, even if he was born in a low social status. Marlowe notably establishes this status not only in terms of Faustus' university (that "graced [him] with doctor's name") but also of his study ("And this the man that in his study sits").

The prologue ends in his study, which is where the next scene opens. This opening setting establishes for the audience how his identity as a scholar is grounded there. The audience sees Faustus going through multiple branches of knowledge (philosophy, medicine, law, and divinity)—"Settle thy studies Faustus, and begin / To sound the depth of that thou wilt profess" (1.1.1-2)—before he finally decides to reject those traditions and turn to magic: "These metaphysics of magicians, / And necromantic books are heavenly" (1.1.51-52). In rejecting the branches of knowledge that have established him as a scholar, Faustus breaks from the experiences that have made his study a place.

After he sells his soul to the devil, Faustus asks his demon servant Mephistopheles a number of questions: "Come, Mephistopheles, let us dispute again, / And argue of divine astrology" (2.3.33-34). The questions he asks deal with topics he might have found in the books that he rejected in the play's opening scene: "Tell me, are there many heavens above the moon?"; "have they all one motion, both *situ et tempore*?"; and "have every sphere a dominion or *intelligentia?*" (2.3.35, 44-45, 56-57). After a number of less than insightful responses from Mephistopheles, Faustus laments, "Tush, these slender trifles Wagner can decide. / Hath Mephistopheles no greater skill?" (2.3.49-50). Faustus goes on to say, "Tush, these are

freshman's suppositions" (2.3.56). That he has a doctorate in theology is contrasted with the fact that he receives no answer to his question, "Tell me, who made the world?" (2.3.68-69). Even after he sells his soul to the devil, Faustus tries to hold on to his identity as a scholar by asking Mephistopheles these questions. Although he rejects his experiences in the first scene, he tries to hold on to the place of the study as the place that defines him as a scholar.

When Mephistopheles does not answer him, however, Faustus must reconcile himself to his displacement from his study as well as his identity as scholar. No longer able to experience the study as a scholar, the conversation with Mephistopheles emphasizes how the study is no longer Faustus' place of scholarly enrichment. The pageant of the Seven Deadly Sins, which follows his unenlightening discussion with Mephistopheles, foreshadows Faustus' new identity as a court entertainer. The scholarly activities that Faustus once pursued in his study contrast strongly with his activities during the rest of the play. When he decides to sell his soul to the devil, he speaks boldly of the possibility of ruling large countries and cities, "All things that move between the quiet poles / Shall be at my command" and manipulating places for his own amusement, "I'll have them wall all Germany with brass, / And make swift Rhine circle fair Wittenberg" (1.1.58-59, 90-91). But, he never rules any place and instead travels from Rome to various royal courts, remaining physically displaced for twenty-four years. Physically displaced, he is also socially displaced. His activities are restricted to clowning and parlor tricks: stealing food from the pope, putting horns on the head of a knight, and fetching grapes for a pregnant duchess during wintertime.

After twenty-four years of worldwide meanderings, Faustus feels compelled to return to Wittenberg:

> Now, Mephistopheles, the restless course
> That time doth run with calm and silent foot,

> Short'ning my days and thread of vital life,
> Calls for the payment of my latest years.
> Therefore, sweet Mephistopheles, let us make haste
> To Wittenberg. (4.1.100-105)

The Chorus emphasizes that Faustus returns home after his extensive travels abroad, not just that he returns to Wittenberg: "When Faustus had with pleasure ta'en the view / Of rarest things and royal courts of kings, / He stayed his course, and so *returned home*" (4.Chorus.1-3, emphasis added). In other words, if we assume that his study is in his home, then the play opens with his study and ends with his study. As Garrett A. Sullivan, Jr. notes, the play does not articulate a reason why Faustus must return home after twenty-four years, yet he feels drawn there ("Geography and Identity" 239). Sullivan justifies Faustus' return in two ways, suggesting first: "In a kind of cosmological joke, Faustus seems to have taken Mephistopheles literally: if hell is in his house, it is to that house that Faustus must travel at the end of his twenty-four years" (240). Sullivan alludes to the fact that Mephistopheles' explanation of hell, "Why this is hell, nor am I out of it" (1.3.78), is spoken while they are in Faustus' study (240). Second, and more importantly, Sullivan rightly connects the place of the study and his identity as a scholar: "it is to such a place that Faustus feels compelled to return and from which he is finally so poignantly torn (5.2.55-64)" (241). Sullivan's first point has its merits—in "'Infinite Riches in a Little Room': Closure and Enclosure in Marlowe," Marjorie Garber likewise argues that all enclosures in Marlowe's work represent hell—the second is in keeping with what I have argued above: physical place establishes a person's identity. In other words, the return to his home reveals Faustus' acknowledgement of his former identity as a scholar; although he has spent twenty-four years living another life, his soul will be forfeited in the place that initially defined his identity. Leslie Thomson notes that staging the first and last scene of the play in the same theatrical space further "conflate[s] his study with hell and act[s] as a reminder of why he has been 'in hell'

spiritually from the start" (30). Sullivan notes the connection of the study to his identity as a scholar, and Thomson notes the study's connection to hell. Sullivan and Thomson both argue that the return to his study shows how Faustus has not changed; Sullivan notes that he is still a scholar, and Thomson believes he has always been in hell in his study.

Although I agree with Sullivan's connection between the study and his identity as a scholar, I believe that setting the final scene in his study shows how Faustus has irrevocably changed; he tries to return to his home, but he is not the same person. The tie to his home, to his identity, is broken because he has renounced his identity within the place of his study. This separation between his identity and place is echoed in his lament that he ever came to Wittenberg and established his home there:

> Though my heart pants and quivers to remember that I have been a student here these thirty years, O would I had never seen Wittenberg, never read book! And what wonders have I done, all Germany can witness, yea, all the world, for which Faustus hath lost both Germany and the world, yea heaven itself—heaven, the seat of God, the throne of the blessed, the kingdom of joy—and must remain in hell forever. Hell, ah, hell forever! Sweet friends, what shall become of Faustus, being in hell forever? (5.2.18-27)

The experiences that tied him to the place of his study and the home that encloses it are no longer recognizable experiences to him, perhaps one reason he offers to "burn [his] books" to avoid hell (5.2.122). Physical places are necessary to his identity, but his former places are now spaces, and his identity is ungrounded. He remains both socially and physically displaced—unable to remain even in his own home.

Like Faustus' study, Barabas' counting house—his "little room"—famously opens *The Jew of Malta*. In his counting house, he describes how to "enclose / Infinite riches in a little room" (1.1.36-37). As editor Mark Thornton Burnett notes in *The Complete Plays*, "Infinite riches in a little room" parodies two traditional concepts: "Christ's conception within the

Virgin's womb" and the proverb "Great worth is often found in things of small appearances (in little boxes)" (591n). Both are true, but neither interpretation addresses the fact that in evoking "a little room," Barabas suggests his physical emplacement within his home.[61] Given the dual purpose of Elizabethan houses as dwellings and places of businesses, Elizabethan audiences may likely have assumed that the "little room" of Barabas' counting house was part of his home.[62] And, as Roy Booth points out, London audiences may have also assumed the connection between the counting house and Barabas' home because those audiences had a distinct idea of what constituted a "Jew's house": "The house was a product of accumulated wealth: *a banker's vault*, a place of worship, and the first line of defense against the pogrom" (26, emphasis added). Despite the room's associations with the home, many critics (with the notable exception of Andrew Hiscock) have previously read Barabas' little room as having negative connotations. Garber, for instance, connects the "little room" with the boiling cauldron that kills Barabas at the end, arguing that enclosure in this play (and the rest of the Marlovian canon) becomes fatal "closure": "the inner stage, or discovery space, becomes a version of hell, and a place of final entrapment" (6). James Knowles finds Barabas' "little room" evocative of the closet and the paranoia inherent in the surveillance culture of Elizabethan London, arguing that this play and Marlowe's other plays (particularly *Edward II*) "stag[e] the culture of the closet, a treacherous world, full of intelligencers, covert messages, hidden motives and plans" (6). Knowles's article, written in 1998, assumes that the closet is a completely private room, a theory that Orlin debunks, first in her article "Gertrude's Closet" (also published in 1998) and later in *Locating*

[61] Sullivan believes Barabas' "little room" reflects Malta: "As the 'little room' contains literal traces of Barabas's commercial dealings, it also metaphorically encloses within it the Mediterranean trade of which those traces are the produce. In this regard, the little room is like Malta" (238). But, as I note below, Barabas becomes socially displaced within Malta.

[62] In his 2012 film version of *The Jew of Malta*, director Douglas Morse makes this connection between the counting house and Barabas' home explicit by opening the film with Barabas (performed by Seth Duerr) counting his money at a table in a grand house.

*Privacy in Tudor London*. I contend that these readings are unnecessarily negative and do not explore the extent to which Barabas' home defines his identity.

Hiscock also notes the significance of Barabas' counting house, arguing that Barabas, like city dwellers in the audience, uses the counting house and his home to differentiate himself from the surrounding island:

> Through the endeavor to demarcate living areas, to establish valuable intervals in the urban experience, Barabas may be seen to be involving himself in the process of social definition and self-authorizing familiar to city dwellers from all ages. The initial projection of dramatic space in the counting house reveals Barabas attempting to individuate himself in the very midst of an interdependent yet painfully antagonistic urban environment. (54)

I agree with Hiscock that the home is part of Barabas' identity in Malta, but I want to emphasize that Barabas' defining place is his house. Hiscock's critical concern is the appropriation of spaces; for him, space is a power struggle and characters differentiate themselves by carving out spaces. I am concerned less with the social struggle and more with how characters are defined by physical places. Which specific places do playwrights use to define identity and why do they use those places? For Hiscock, that Barabas' defining place is a home is of minimal concern. Although Hiscock argues that Barabas is trying to differentiate himself, a focus on power cannot then explain why, when Barabas later attains the governorship of Malta, he willingly gives it up. Focusing on Barabas' home, however, will explain why he renounces such a high social status.

Using Barabas' house as my focus, I argue that Marlowe goes beyond highlighting Barabas' social status in Malta as a Jew and a businessman and instead uses the home to emphasize Barabas' status as a father. In doing so, Marlowe can show how physical place is essential to defining Barabas' identity. In reading Barabas as a father, I go beyond the critical readings of him as a typical Vice character. Critics have explored his relationship to the stage Machiavell (Cartelli, *Marlowe* and Maus, *Inwardness*) and the way in which his villainy reflects

the corrupt society of Malta (Cartelli; Stephen Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning* and "Marlowe;" and Emily Bartels, *Spectacles of Strangeness*). But such readings neglect how Marlowe's physical places can illuminate Barabas' role as a father. In "Bringing the House Down: Religion and the Household in Marlowe's *Jew of Malta*," Chloe Preedy focuses on Barabas' household, but she uses the home to discuss Barabas as a Jew and not a father. Considering the effects of the removal of Barabas' home, she concludes: "Marlowe dramatizes many of the criticisms directed by Elizabethan subjects against the ecclesiastical policies of their government" (179).

After beginning *The Jew of Malta* in Barabas' "little room," Marlowe continues emphasizing Barabas' home. For Malta, Barabas' house serves as a marker of his religious convictions and a site that houses the wealth he has accumulated. Faced with paying tribute to the Turks, Malta's governor Ferneze summons "all the Jews in Malta" (1.1.167). When Barabas expresses surprise at Ferneze's summons, the knights explain: "Thou art a merchant, and a moneyed man, / And 'tis thy money, Barabas, we seek" (1.2.53-54). The Maltese government believes that money and property solely defines the Jews in their society. When Barabas refuses to give up half of his estate to pay the tribute, Ferneze seizes all of his assets, including Barabas' home. The First Knight's recommendation to Ferneze, "*Convert* his mansion to a nunnery; / His house will harbor many holy nuns" (1.2.132-133, emphasis added), suggests the close relationship between Barabas and his home since the knight uses the telling verb "convert;" instead of merely recommending that the Christians make Barabas' house a convent, the knight suggests that the building, a stand-in for Barabas, needs to change its religion. The Christians originally assert that Barabas must convert to Christianity if he does not give up his wealth (1.2.74-75), but his house actually does the converting. Barabas' self is tied to his house, so the

Christians try to erase his identity by making the house a convent with "men generally barred" (1.2.259).

Following the loss of his estate, his fellow Jews urge Barabas to find solace in Job and his troubles, but Barabas responds by comparing all of Job's wealth to what was contained in his home:

> What tell you me of Job? I wot his wealth
> Was written thus: he had seven thousand sheep,
> Three thousand camels, and two hundred yoke
> Of labouring oxen, and five hundred
> She-asses; by for every one of those,
> Had they been valued at an indifferent rate,
> *I had at home.* (1.2.184-190, emphasis added)

His home contains "*infinite* riches," far exceeding Job's "measly" possessions. Barabas does not truly despair about losing his wealth, however, until his daughter Abigail tells him he will not be able to reenter his house. Only when Abigail tells him "they have seized upon thy house and wares" does he exclaim, "My gold, my gold, and all my wealth is gone!" (1.2.253, 260). The "little room" initially serves as a synecdoche for Barabas' home, and he loses those "Infinite riches" when his home and the "little room" within it is seized. Although the focus has been on his religion and wealth, the arrival of his daughter highlights his role as father. In fact, Abigail employs the verb "displaces" to highlight what effect the loss of his home has had on their family: "For there [at Barabas' house] I left the Governor placing nuns, / *Displacing me*" (1.2.256-257, emphasis added).

By beginning the play with the loss of Barabas' home, Marlowe can show which physical place is most essential to defining his identity. Barabas' home is more essential to his selfhood than Malta. Ferneze notably decides he will not exile Barabas from Malta: "we will not banish thee, / But here in Malta, where thou got'st thy wealth, / Live still; and if thou canst, get more"

(1.2.103-105). Ferneze speaks of Barabas making his wealth in Malta, but, as Barabas recounts to his slave Ithamore, Barabas has lived throughout Europe, including among "the Italian" and in "France and Germany" (2.3.187, 192). Like his fellow Jews that he describes in the diaspora (1.1.120-127), Barabas has migrated to multiple places, but he has made a *home* in Malta, establishing not only a place of business but also a dwelling, a refuge, and welcome enclosure: a place for his household. When he describes to Ithamore the previous countries where he has lived, Barabas mentions only occupations, not any deeper connections to those places: "Being young, I studied physic, and began / To practice first upon the Italian" and "in the wars 'twixt France and Germany, / Under pretense of helping Charles the Fifth, / Slew friend and enemy with my stratagems" (2.3.187-187, 192-194). It is not clear where his *original* home is: "Like Malta, he is endlessly cosmopolitan. Although we do not know where he is from, he has connections across the globe" (Bartels 100). Barabas is certainly "cosmopolitan," but the "little room" and house connected to it are more essential to his identity than his birthplace (just as Wittenberg and his study are more important to Faustus than Rhodes). Barabas has travelled throughout Europe, but his home in Malta is an essential part of his identity.

After the initial loss of his home, Barabas uses his daughter Abigail to infiltrate the convent and find the "gold and jewels" he has hidden "underneath the plank / That runs along the upper chamber floor" (1.2.298-300). He forces her to pretend she wants to covert to Christianity and become a nun. She pleads with the Abbess of the convent: "Fearing the afflictions which my father feels / Proceed from sin, or want of faith in us, / I'd pass away my life in penitence" (1.2.323-325). In her pleadings with the abbess and friars, she asks, "let me now lodge where I was wont to lie" (1.2.334). The house is the central part of the deception; as the former place of their household, the house also contains the wealth that Abigail has been tasked with reacquiring.

As Abigail performs her task, Barabas wanders around his former home, lamenting:

> Now I remember those old women's words,
> Who in my wealth would tell me winter's tales,
> And speak of spirits and ghosts that glide by night
> About the place where treasure hath been hid:
> And now methinks I am one of those:
> For whilst I live, here lives my soul's sole hope,
> And when I die, here shall my spirit walk. (2.1.24-30)

Barabas enacts his physical displacement in his wanderings around his home. The lines refer to his gold ("his treasure"), but his daughter Abigail is also his "soul's sole hope" since she alone can save the money hidden in his house. When she does throw the money down to him, he celebrates her before he celebrates his wealth:

> O *my girl*,
> My gold, my fortune, my felicity,
> Strength to my soul, death to mine enemy;
> Welcome, the first beginner of my bliss!
> *O, Abigail, Abigail, that I had thee here too,*
> *Then my desires were fully satisfied.*
> But I will practise thy enlargement thence:
> *O girl*, O gold, O beauty, O my bliss! (2.1.47-54, emphasis added)

Both the gold and his daughter are key components of his house, and both are his property as he uses the possessive "my." Most importantly, both are essential parts of his identity. The importance of his wealth to his identity has been fairly obvious from the beginning of the play; Barabas himself spoke of housing his "infinite riches." Only through Marlowe's emphasis on Barabas' house can we understand how central his daughter is to identity. Shakespeare does something similar in *The Merchant of Venice* when Shylock's daughter Jessica leaves his house with his wealth and he calls for "My daughter! O my ducats!" (2.8.15). But, in *Merchant*, Shylock learns of Jessica's disappearance offstage (and even "My daughter! O my ducats" is reported by other characters); in Marlowe's work, the setting at Barabas' house reveals the significance of the physical place to his identity as a father.

Given the significance of his home to his identity, Barabas' first act after recovering his wealth is to purchase a new home: "I have bought a house / As great and fair as is the Governor's" (2.3.13-14). Before he specifies the size of the house, however, he emphasizes that Abigail resides in that home, "They hoped my daughter would ha' been a nun; / But she's at home" (2.3.12-13). He notes the purchase of the physical "house" after he discusses how his daughter is at "home." Her residence within the house is more important than the size of the house, but the physical place is still necessary for his household to function. Barabas begins his revenge against the Christians after he purchases his new home, targeting the governor's son Lodowick and using Lodowick's attraction to Abigail to revenge himself on the governor. Defining himself as a father, Barabas goes after the child of his rival. He manipulates Lodowick into killing Abigail's actual love, Mathias, a man he also hates because he is a Christian.

After Lodowick and Mathias kill each other, Abigail decides to leave her father's house. Abigail's decision to move from her father's new house back to the convent has been interpreted in various ways. Emily Bartels argues that Abigail's sole motivation is to escape her father, not to convert to Catholicism: "Abigail herself, in the pattern of her father, appropriates religion, converting 'for real' in order to be saved not by Christ, but from the Jew, seeing 'no love on earth, / Pity in Jews, nor piety in Turks' (3.3.53-54) and, therefore, by what seems a process of elimination, turning Christian" (*Spectacles* 98). Kimberly Reigle agrees with Bartels that the convent is a place to escape Barabas and his plots. The convent, according to Riegle, provides Abigail's freedom: "Abigail can only find the autonomy to control her words and speak truthfully away from her father's house, and she finds her independence during her second admission into the convent. Once Abigail enters the convent, she no longer speaks Barabas' false words" (509). Reigle extends the argument further by suggesting that Abigail chooses the

convent not for independence but for its "protective" enclosure: "The protective nature of enclosure is a lesson Abigail has learned well from the abbess, for when she does decide to re-enter the convent, she sends Ithamore to the nunnery to get the friar rather than venture out herself. In this way, Marlowe conveys to the audience that Abigail understands the potential dangers she faces in the city" (506). I agree that the convent can potentially be viewed as a welcoming enclosure, but two plot details complicate this interpretation. First, Abigail remains in Barabas' home when she dispatches Ithamore. Reigle argues this action emphasizes Abigail's adherence to the convent as enclosure, but remaining in Barabas' home to talk to the friar seems to emphasize Barabas' home as a refuge. "Abigail understands the potential dangers she faces in the city," as Riegle says, so Abigail uses Barabas' home as a place to escape those dangers. Second, performance context is key here: early modern England is decidedly not a Catholic country, so convents would not be an attractive housing option for early modern English women. A Protestant citizenry, furthermore, may not feel any personal affection for a character who chooses to live among Catholics. Marlowe exploits this idea by making the clergy members morally questionable. The friars lament that Abigail dies a virgin (3.6.41) and greedily fight for Barabas' goods when he pretends to convert (4.1.77-78). Friar Jacomo celebrates Barabas' wealth more than his conversion: "O happy hour, / Wherein I shall convert an infidel, / And bring his gold into our treasury!" (4.1.161-163). Ithamore and Barabas both make jokes about the nuns' supposed promiscuity (3.3.35-36; 4.1.6). Despite these negative associations with the convent, I argue that when Abigail returns to the convent, she attempts to return to Barabas' original home (that of the "little room"). She tries to return to a place in which she and her father lived, a place that reflected their family and household.

The convent is neither the welcome enclosure that Riegle contends it is nor does it remain Barabas' home after it becomes a convent. Abigail helped to relocate Barabas' home earlier in the play when she removed his wealth from his original house to his new house. As Bartels and Riegle both correctly note, however, Barabas' new home is no refuge either. No one will dispute that Abigail's father is a dangerous man; he has her potential suitors kill each other. Her identity as a woman, however, is tied to the household and, as Mendelson and Crawford demonstrate, the household would have been considered her refuge and responsibility. Marlowe shows her superior position in the household when Abigail orders Ithamore to fetch a friar, and he responds, "I will forsooth, mistress" (3.3.41). We modern readers and theater audiences might cringe at the suggestion that her nefarious father's home would still be considered the source of her identity in Maltese society, but early modern English audiences may have found it less problematic given the location of the household as one of the only available refuges for women. Her father's house is most essential to her identity as a daughter; breaking that connection seems fatal for her within the play. Only after Abigail's departure does Barabas disinherit her, refusing her a refuge within his house: "N'er shall she live to inherit aught of mine, / Be blest of me, nor come within my gates, / But perish underneath my bitter curse" (3.4.30-32). When he separates himself from his role as Abigail's father, Barabas speaks of the physical place of his house. He tries to make Ithamore his heir (3.4.43-44), but the loss of his daughter from his house leaves him displaced through the rest of the play. It is not coincidental that Barabas' plots start to turn awry after he schemes to have his daughter and the other nuns of her convent murdered with a poisoned bowl of soup; displaced as a father, Barabas starts to lose control of his revenge. Continuing in his plots against Ferneze, he eventually obtains a social status that he cannot maintain.

The displacement that results from the loss of his daughter includes a rather unexpected increase in social status for Barabas. By helping the Turks seize Malta, Barabas earns the governorship of Malta from Ferneze. At his moment of triumph, Barabas mocks Ferneze's earlier words about Barabas' Maltese roots:

> [A]s once you said, within this isle
> In Malta here, that I have got my goods,
> And in this city still have had success,
> And now at length am grown your Governor. (5.2.67-70)

In the final scenes of the play, Marlowe ensures that the audience remembers how Ferneze evoked Barabas' roots, his home in Malta, when he seized his wealth. Barabas repeats those words to emphasize how his revenge has elevated his place in society within "this isle." He emphasizes his new social status within the physical place of Malta. Although he has elevated his position in society through his machinations, Barabas rejects the social status he has gained because he fears for threats to his life:

> I now am Governor of Malta. True,
> But Malta hates me, and in hating me
> My life's in danger; and what boots it thee,
> Poor Barabas, to be the Governor,
> Whenas thy life shall be at their command?
> No, Barabas, this must be looked into. (5.2.29-34)

He does not originally choose to have his home and "little room" taken away, but he gives away the governorship. I contend he rejects the governorship because he is most comfortable within his own home. The new house he gains may be as "great and large as is the Governor's," but he does not want the governor's actual house. If Barabas stays inside his home, and executes his domestic duties, he can be safe from the treacherous plots of Malta. If he is the governor, then he is vulnerable to attack. Although he would prefer to stay in his "little room," his daughter and household are gone; Barabas remains displaced in Malta after he gives up the governorship.

Since he has lost his identity in Malta, it is no surprise that Ferneze shortly afterward kills Barabas.[63]

**Leaving Large Places: *Dido, Queen of Carthage***

*Dido* is likely Marlowe's first play, composed sometime in 1585-6 and performed by the Children of the Royal Chapel in London in front of a small, private theater audience (Crowley 420).[64] For Dido and Aeneas, characters of high social statuses, larger places are essential to defining their identities. While most critics argue that the two characters are opposites, Dido and Aeneas actually complement each other; Dido and Aeneas are both disconnected from the cities and countries that they rule. Their physical and social displacement, as well as the play's performance by a children's company, further allows Marlowe the opportunity to question England's use of the Aeneas myth.

After escaping the burning "topless towers of Ilium," Aeneas reaches the shores of Carthage at the beginning of *Dido* (*Faustus* 5.1.90). When Aeneas arrives in Carthage in *The Aeneid*, he finds a mural depicting Troy's defeat; in Marlowe's play, Aeneas finds a statue of the Trojan ruler Priam. Priam's statue, synecdochically representing the abandoned Troy, causes Aeneas to question where he is: "Where am I now? These should be Carthage walls" (2.1.1-2). Aeneas does recognize that he is physically in Carthage; however, the presence of Priam (or a representation of him) leads him to see features of Troy in place of Carthaginian landmarks. "Methinks that town there should be Troy," he says, "yon Ida's hill, / There Xanthus' stream, because here's Priamus" (6-8). The difference between the physical reality of Carthage's walls

[63] That Ferneze kills Barabas by deceiving him is one of many reasons that Cartelli (*Marlowe*) rightly considers Ferneze more Machiavellian than Barabas.

[64] While Thomas Nashe is often credited as Marlowe's coauthor, I follow general critical practice in calling Marlowe the sole author of *Dido, Queen of Carthage*. Nashe's contribution seems to be minimal (perhaps conveniently so for Marlowe criticism).

and his mental image of Troy—his inability to see Carthage objectively—is echoed shortly after when he says, "Achates, though mine eyes say this is stone, / Yet thinks my mind that this is Priamus" (24-25). These lines demonstrate the disjunction between Aeneas's objectivity and subjectivity. His eyes actually *speak* the statue's physical presence, "mine eyes *say* this is stone;" objectively, he knows that a statue stands before him. But, subjectively, he believes the statue is actually the living Priam. If Priam were alive, then Troy would still exist: "He is alive," Aeneas proclaims in his delusion. "Troy is not overcome!" (30). Achates, however, points out the difference between reality and Aeneas's mind: "Thy mind, Aeneas, that would have it so, / Deludes thy eyesight. Priamus is dead" (31-32). Aeneas's mind and identity remain in Troy, a place from his past. His mind remains there, but, because he is separated from it, his identity is destabilized.

Owing to this displacement after the destruction of Troy, Aeneas is unable to identify himself when Dido arrives to meet him. When she asks his name, he replies, "Sometime I was a Trojan, mighty Queen, / But Troy is not. What shall I say I am?" (2.1.75-76). His response is markedly different from Virgil's Aeneas, who—when faced with a similar query from Dido—responds, "'Before your eyes I stand, / Aeneas the Trojan, that same one you look for, / Saved from the sea off Libya' (1.809-811)."[65] Virgil's Aeneas affirmatively knows who he is and where he comes from, and his origins are secondary to his name. Virgil's Aeneas equates his homeland and his identity; Marlowe's Aeneas presents himself exclusively in terms of his homeland and passively asks Dido to supply him with an identity: "What shall I say I am?" Critics including Harry Levin, Sara Munson Deats, and Clare Kinney have noted the Marlovian Aeneas's passivity, but I argue that Marlowe's Aeneas is less than passive: when he arrives in Carthage, he has virtually no identity after Troy has been destroyed. Virgil's Aeneas focuses on establishing a

[65] All quotations from *The Aeneid* come from Robert Fitzgerald's translation.

new Troy in Latium (Troy is his past and Latium is his future), but Marlowe's Aeneas remains focused on the old Troy, not on establishing a new one.

Later, after consummating his ill-fated relationship with Dido, Aeneas determines that he will start rebuilding Carthage: "Here will Aeneas build a statelier Troy / Than that which grim Atrides overthrew" (5.1.2-3). He has trouble, however, identifying the new city under construction. Ilioneus inquires, "But what shall it be called? 'Troy,' as before?" (18). Aeneas' compatriots suggest two possible names: "Aenea" after Aeneas or "Ascania" after his son Ascanius (20-21). These two suggestions illustrate the present (Aeneas) and the future (Ascanius). Instead of looking to the present or future, however, Aeneas continues to focus on the past. The name on which Aeneas ultimately settles is Anchisaeon, "Of [his] old father's name" (22-23). Even while he does not use the name Troy, he nominally identifies the new city with his past and his life in Troy. Anchises is not just his father; he is Aeneas's "*old* father," wording that further emphasizes the past. Anchises is not just old, of course; he is also Aeneas's dead father. Anchises, like Priam and, more importantly for Aeneas, like Troy, no longer physically exists.[66] Aeneas is displaced from Troy and from his identity as a son.

Aeneas's fixation on a past place, and his inability to move beyond it and re-place himself, is complicated by the fact that Carthage, the town he wants to rename as Anchisaeon, is a *new* city, recently established by Dido. Like Aeneas, Dido has been forced from her homeland, Tyre (which I will discuss more below). This seemingly unusual action of Aeneas building in a city already under construction does have precedent in *The Aeneid*. Upon his arrival to the city, Virgil's Aeneas observes a bustling Carthage under construction:

> Aeneas found, where lately huts had been,

[66] Aeneas naming the city after his dead father contrasts with how Tamburlaine names cities after himself or his wife Zenocrate (see below). Aeneas tries to identify the city with something from his past, but Tamburlaine makes the cities part of his identity. Tamburlaine, of course, is a stronger ruler than Aeneas.

> Marvelous buildings, gateways, cobbled ways,
> And dins of wagons. There the Tyrians
> Were hard at work: laying courses for walls,
> Rolling up stones to build the citadel,
> While others picked out building sites and plowed
> A boundary furrow. Laws were being enacted,
> Magistrates and a sacred senate chosen.
> Here men were dredging harbors, there they laid
> The deep foundation of a theatre,
> And quarried massive pillars to enhance
> The future stage. (1.576-587)[67]

Virgil emphasizes the development of Carthage, the establishment of civilization "where lately huts had been," in other moments in Book One. Aeneas comments shortly after the above passage, "How fortunate these are / Whose city walls are rising here and now!" (1.595-596). Dido is initially described as "cheering on the toil / Of a kingdom in the making" (1.686-687). The construction in Carthage halts after Dido becomes romantically entangled with Aeneas:

> Towers, half-built, rose
> No farther; men no longer trained in arms
> Or toiled to make harbors and battlements
> Impregnable. Projects were broken off,
> Laid over, and the menacing huge walls
> With cranes unmoving stood against the sky. (4.121-126)

Aeneas, as in Marlowe's play, restarts the suspended building in Carthage. When the gods decide Aeneas must continue on his journey, Mercury locates Aeneas in the midst of (re-)building: "On the first hutments, there he found Aeneas / Laying foundations for new towers and home" (4.353-354). Mercury scolds Aeneas: "Is it for you / To lay the stones for Carthage's high walls, / Tame husband that you are, and build their city? / Oblivious of your own world, your own kingdom!" (4.361-364).

In Marlowe's play, Hermes scolds Aeneas in a similar fashion: "Why, cousin, stand you building cities here / And beautifying the empire of this Queen / While Italy is clean out of thy

[67] Even in Carthage, the people are still called Tyrians (line 578), acknowledging a connection to their previous place and implying a lack of connection with their present place.

mind?" (5.1.27-29). In both Virgil's and Marlowe's works, Mercury/Hermes comments that Aeneas is adding to something already being built, a city that belongs to someone else. In Virgil, Carthage is "their city;" in Marlowe, Aeneas is "beautifying the empire of this Queen." Marlowe's Aeneas, however, believes he is recreating an old place. Dido established Carthage as a new place, a fresh start for her after she escaped her murderous brother; Marlowe's Aeneas looks to transform Carthage into something from his past, by naming it after his dead father. Virgil's Aeneas, meanwhile, restarts the building in Carthage to finish what Dido has started, to build her city, not to recreate Troy. Displaced, Marlowe's Aeneas is unable to move beyond the place of Troy from which he has been forced and to which he can never return.

Marlowe's Aeneas, in contrast to Virgil's, initially seems more than content to remain in Carthage. Ann C. Christensen goes as far to suggest that, in contrast to *The Aeneid*, *Dido* "concerns itself less with founding a *patria* in Italy than the ordinary process of settling and then leaving another home, Carthage" ("Men" 11-12). I agree with Christensen that Marlowe is not concerned with the establishment of Aeneas' empire: that Marlowe focuses only on Aeneas' time in Carthage (and names the play after Dido instead of Aeneas) suggests that he is unconcerned with Aeneas' future beyond Carthage. Christensen further argues that in taking his household gods with him from Troy and bringing them to Carthage, Aeneas plans to settle there and establish a home in Carthage: "Marlowe makes this a significant change from Virgil's tale in which Aeneas specifically rescues his own household gods from their fate in a burning Troy" (15). But I would argue that bringing his household gods with him represents how he cannot successfully leave Troy; he continues to carry Troy with him, even if he remains displaced because Troy no longer exists. Bringing his household gods with him is similar to the way in

which he approaches the (re-)building of Carthage; he is trying to achieve something from the past (his household in Troy), not establish something new for the future.

Called by Timothy D. Crowley "a hollowed-out performer of that epic role" (424), Aeneas has no sense of his own identity, feebly asking Dido to supply one for him: "What shall I say I am?" (2.1.76).[68] Aeneas' identity as a founder of Italy, reaffirmed by Jupiter in the opening scene of the play, is never realized. When Venus visits Jupiter to lament her son's stalled progress since his departure from Troy, Jupiter consoles her by affirming Aeneas' prosperous destiny:

> Content thee, Cytherea, in thy care,
> Since thy Aeneas' wand'ring fate is firm,
> Whose weary limbs shall shortly make repose
> In those fair walls I promised him of yore. (1.1.82-85)

Because he fails to achieve this destiny, Aeneas is not Virgil's Aeneas (who reaches his destined land during the epic), but a man uncertain of who he is away from Troy. If he had chosen to stay in Carthage, then perhaps he could have established his empire (even if such an ending would have conflicted with Virgil's conclusion and the promises to Venus in the play's opening). In *Marlowe's Counterfeit Profession*, Patrick Cheney does argue that the play seems to imply that Aeneas should actually marry Dido, instead of founding Italy: "Marlowe suggests that Aeneas's wandering is part of a larger providential plan for the founding of Rome, but this plan constitutes a 'wandering' from *what should form Aeneas's true fate*, his marriage to Dido. The fates may be firm, but they wander from the truth" (111, emphasis added). Because Aeneas does not achieve his destiny in Marlowe's play, I disagree that the play suggests that the "wandering is part of a

[68] Aeneas' reputation (like Dido's) is a complicated one: some traditions maintained that he was a coward and a traitor for abandoning Troy. The opening of *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, for instance, conveys this critical opinion of Aeneas. In the words of Simon Armitage's translation: "the traitor who contrived such betrayal there / was tried for his treachery, the truest on earth; / Aeneas, it was" (lines 3-5). The well-educated Marlowe likely exploited this critical tradition with Aeneas' portrayal in *Dido*.

larger providential plan for the founding of Rome." The wandering instead illuminates Aeneas' displaced identity without Troy, a displacement that further illuminates how Dido herself is displaced. Even though Aeneas and Dido are often read as opposites of each other (Aeneas passive, Dido aggressive; Aeneas feminine, Dido masculine), the two characters are similarly displaced in their identities.[69] Both characters show how physical place is central to identity.

In addition, Marlowe casts doubt on the legitimacy of the Troy myth used by Elizabeth and other English monarchs as a foundation myth for their empire. Aeneas's inability to leave Troy behind, not unlike those who continue to hold on to the myth as justification, might imply that calling London the New Troy, or Troynovant (established by Brutus), is questionable; Marlowe suggests that his audience find new reasons to justify political power. As Lisa Hopkins also explains in "Englishmen Abroad," expanding the English empire under the banner of the Aeneas myth is ridiculed in this play since Aeneas fails to do anything worthwhile: "For Marlowe… a Trojan identity functions as a marker of failure rather than success. Ultimately, the dominant impression… is that a national identity transported overseas is a national identity which is in very serious danger of being wrecked" (336). The fact that the performers are a children's company in a private theater is relevant—after all, this audience was more privileged than the heterogeneous audience who attended the public theater. Consequently, the audience members for *Dido* may have included those perpetuating the Troynovant myth. In the case of Troynovant, England is not establishing its own identity; it remains dependent on the past for definition.

[69] Levin, *The Overreacher*; Deats, "Subversion" and *Sex;* and Kinney, "Epic" all argue for Aeneas' passivity. Deats and Kinney focus on a reversal of traditional gender roles between Dido and Aeneas, with Dido as masculine and aggressive and Aeneas as feminine and passive. It is worth pointing out that Dido is explicitly labeled in the play's title as Queen of Carthage, and Dido takes the aggressive initiative to found her own city (although she gives up that city, with fatal consequences).

As I noted above, Aeneas' displacement also highlights the displacement of the play's title character, Dido. Both characters' identities are inextricably linked to physical places. Dido twice abandons places under her control and suffers as a result. Dido's first departure occurs before the play begins; she flees Tyre when her life is threatened. Marlowe alludes to this history in Iarbas' lament to the gods, describing her as:

> The woman that thou willed us entertain,
> Where, straying in our borders up and down,
> She craved a hide of ground to build a town,
> With whom we did divide both laws and land. (4.2.11-14)

Traditionally, Dido requests as much land as she can contain within the space of an ox hide, "a hide of ground to build a town"; to maximize her gains, she cuts the hide into thin strips to contain the land for Carthage (an enclosure and refuge writ large). Vivien Thomas and William Tydeman, the editors of a collection of Marlowe's sources, note that Iarbas, who possessed the land before Dido's arrival, is afforded far greater importance in Marlowe's play than in *The Aeneid*: "In the epic, Iarbas is no more than a figure in the background; there is no suggestion that he is favoured by Dido and he is of importance to the story only when Jove answers his prayer by sending Mercury to Aeneas" (21). By using Iarbas to emphasize how she acquired the land, Marlowe can emphasize Dido's ties to both Tyre and Carthage. Iarbas can comment on Dido's past life before Carthage; even though she escaped Tyre to save her life, Dido is as connected to that place as Abigail is connected to her father's home. That Iarbas lost Carthage to Dido can emphasize the place of Carthage in her life; Carthage is the common thread between Dido and Iarbas, as it will become a common thread between Dido and Aeneas.

Before the play begins, Dido has lost her home, a loss that similarly caused the displacements of Faustus, Barabas, and Aeneas. Dido perhaps may be forgiven for falling in love with Aeneas (she does not choose to be pricked by Cupid's arrows), but she makes the dangerous

and fatal choice to give Carthage to Aeneas. Carthage, as the title of Marlowe's play implies, is part of her identity. Before she abandons Carthage to Aeneas, and before Cupid affects her judgment, she offers Aeneas her privileged seat at the table when he arrives at her court: "Sit down, Aeneas, sit in Dido's place" (2.1.91). Marlowe indicates that Dido is willing to give up her physical and social place to Aeneas before the gods decide her fate. Aeneas refuses, "This place beseems me not! O pardon me!" (2.1.94), but Dido persists: "I'll have it so. Aeneas, be content" (2.1.95). Seats at the table reflect the significance of physical place to identity; before she gives Aeneas control of Carthage, she gives him control of her social status at the table. It should be noted that this exchange occurs after Aeneas asks Dido, "What shall I say that I am?" Dido supplies him with a physical place in which to define his identity in Carthage.

After the gods decide to bring them together, she goes further in offering Aeneas her crown and scepter: "Wear the imperial crown of Libya, / Sway thou the Punic sceptre in my stead" (4.4.34-35). When Anna objects that the people may not accept Aeneas as their new lord, Dido angrily retorts:

> Those that dislike what Dido gives in charge,
> Command my guard to slay for their offence.
> Shall vulgar peasants storm at what I do?
> The ground is mine that gives them sustenance,
> The air wherein they breathe, the water, fire,
> All that they have, their lands, their goods, their lives;
> And I, the goddess of all these, command
> Aeneas ride as Carthaginian King. (4.4.71-78)

Dido defines her control in Carthage in terms of the physical place, "The ground is mine that gives them sustenance." She also owns "The air wherein they breathe, the water, fire / All that they have, their lands, their goods, their lives." In outlining her possessions, she privileges physical places ("the ground" and "their lands") over the peasants' lives. She effectively erases the peasants from maps of Carthage, even though the fact that the citizens may "repine threat"

suggests the close connection between Dido and the citizens who populate Carthage (4.4.70). After all, Tyrians followed her from Tyre and helped establish Carthage; she has ruled the same people in two different locations. They would object to Aeneas because Aeneas is foreign to them; Dido is familiar. In *Spectacles of Strangeness,* Emily Bartels argues that Marlowe suggests that both Dido and Aeneas are colonizers; by depicting two competing colonizers onstage, Marlowe questions which of them has the greater claim and, by extension, whether colonized people like Iarbas may instead have the legitimate claim to their own land. This postcolonial analysis is important, but Anna's words seem to imply that, prior to giving up her claim to Carthage, the people were dedicated followers of Dido. When Aeneas requires a new identity, Dido loses hers and the place that establishes it.

In their first meeting, Aeneas asks Dido to supply him with an identity since he claims he has left his in Troy; here, Dido gives him an identity as "Carthaginian King." Making him ruler of Carthage seemingly erases her identity, not to mention the roots she has established in this place, as she makes herself subservient to Aeneas. Shortly after her speech to Anna, she says to Aeneas, "Speak of no other land. This land is thine. / Dido is thine; henceforth I'll call thee lord" (4.4.83-84). "This land" of Carthage equals herself: "This land is thine / Dido is thine." She is no longer above the land, claiming it is as her property, as she did to Anna; she claims both herself and the land are Aeneas' property. In her earlier outburst, she claimed that she was "goddess of all these" (4.4.77). After she tells Aeneas "This land is thine," she makes him the deity in Carthage instead: "Henceforth you shall be our Carthage gods" (4.4.96). The plural "gods" is notable here; earlier she was the sole "goddess," now he alone encompasses the pantheon of gods. In a full abandonment of her connection to the land, she goes so far as to claim that

Carthage as a place could be erased as long as she is with Aeneas: "And let rich Carthage fleet upon the seas, / So I may have Aeneas in mine arms" (4.4.134-135).

Dido's fatal mistake is abandoning her place and giving it to Aeneas. Dido's questionable choices regarding her social status and her most valuable possession, the land that she rules, further complicate the use of the Aeneas myth as a foundation for England and London, already problematic since "Aeneas' abandonment of Dido is the reason the Tudor monarchy and the English nation exist" (Purkiss 155). Although the play features larger places (in contrast to a study and a little room), it also emphasizes the significance of home or, in this case, homeland. As I noted earlier, home—in its various forms and sizes—is the paragon of place. To eliminate one's home is to eliminate one's refuge, one's enclosure, and—potentially—one's identity. Finally lacking any ties to place, to any refuge or home, Dido throws herself on a pyre, putting into action the elimination of self she earlier committed through words.

**The Spatial Ending of *Tamburlaine***

Greenblatt's criticism that all spaces in Marlowe are "curiously alike" focuses in particular on the two parts of *Tamburlaine*. The settings of the two plays are certainly expansive, dealing with rulers of multiple countries and featuring action that traverses continents. What Greenblatt does not acknowledge is that the plays demonstrate Tamburlaine's meticulous attention to place, what D.K. Smith calls "a sharp and abiding geographical awareness" (128). Tamburlaine's attention to place is key to his identity. As a successful conqueror, Tamburlaine demonstrates knowledge of the places that he conquers, and he claims them as part of his identity. For most of the two parts of *Tamburlaine*, the title character knows his places, but his downfall begins when he tries to eliminate place instead of create it.

Tamburlaine's knowledge of physical places extends from cities to the world. Camped outside Damascus in *1Tamburlaine*, Tamburlaine describes in detail different parts of the city to his followers. He notes "Damascus' lofty towers" (4.2.101) and "The golden statue of their feathered bird / That spreads her wings upon the city walls" (105-106). Rhetorically moving from the outside fortifications to the individual houses, he states "every house is as a treasury" (109). After carefully noting all its aspects, Tamburlaine announces that he will control everything in Damascus: "The men, the treasure, and the town is ours" (110). For someone who identifies himself as "the scourge of Jove" (*2Tam.* 3.5.21), he can also take a God's-eye view of the world and control whole regions:

> I will confute those blind geographers
> That make a triple region in the world,
> Excluding regions which I mean to trace,
> And with this pen reduce them to a map. (*1Tam.* 4.4.81-84)[70]

Geographers try to compartmentalize the world, to "make a triple region," to "exclud[e] regions which [he] mean[s] to trace" (or, one might say, recreate as his places), but Tamburlaine views the world as a place. Tamburlaine will make geographers unnecessary because he, not they, will provide the locations with identities: his identity. As he explains to his wife Zenocrate, Tamburlaine plans to rename conquered places after her name and his: "Calling the provinces, cities and towns / After my name and thine, Zenocrate" (4.4.85-86). The "blind" geographers literally lack Tamburlaine's vision, his ability to assess the potential of the world for conquering and re-identifying.

[70] Critics often focus on this passage's relationship to new concepts of geography during the Renaissance. Gillies notes the way in which Marlowe used specific maps to write speeches in *Tamburlaine*; he argues that this passage demonstrates Marlowe's knowledge of changing concepts of geography: "The irony of the passage arises from Marlowe's awareness of the profound incongruity, the incommensurability, of the medieval and the Renaissance constructions of space" (57). The Renaissance construction of "space" means a more specific understanding of the surrounding world; maps became more specific, so people's understanding of places became more specific.

Given his knowledge of both small and large places, Tamburlaine is the least socially displaced of Marlowe's characters—despite the fact that he is constantly moving. With the exception of one appearance in *The Massacre at Paris*, the two parts of *Tamburlaine* contain the only appearances of the verb *plac'd* in Marlowe's canon (ten in total: two in the first part and eight in the second); Tamburlaine's firm placement is evident in the frequency of the verb's appearance (Fehrenbach, Boone, and Di Cesare 976).[71] The difference between him and a constantly moving character like Arden of Faversham is that Tamburlaine claims each place that he conquers and, in so doing, establishes his identity. Early in *1Tamburlaine,* he announces he is "yet a shepherd by [his] parentage" in Scythia (1.2.35), but he then casts off his shepherd's garb and puts on armor to establish himself as a conqueror and leader: "Lie here, ye weeds that I disdain to wear! / This complete armour and this curtle-axe / Are adjuncts more beseeming Tamburlaine" (1.2.41-43). Arden, in contrast, also needs land to establish his identity, but he has a spatial understanding of those physical places. Tamburlaine, who has risen in social status, claims his status as well as the lands that he needs to establish that status. Tamburlaine's firm knowledge of his social position in *1Tamburlaine*'s second scene contrasts with the opening scene of the play in which the king of Persia, Mycetes, does not know his place. Faced with the threat from Tamburlaine, Mycetes assembles his lords to devise a plan of attack. Instead of demonstrating his power as king, Mycetes defers to his brother Cosroe:

> Brother Cosroe, I find myself aggrieved,
> Yet insufficient to express the same,
> For it requires a great and thund'ring speech:
> Good brother, tell the cause unto my lords;
> I know you have a better wit than I. (1.1.1-5)

[71] *Place* (used most often as a noun, but occasionally as a verb) appears four times in *Dido*, five times in *1Tamburlaine*, eight times in *2Tamburlaine*, eleven times in *The Jew of Malta*, nine times in *Edward II*, nine times in *Doctor Faustus*, and six times in *The Massacre at Paris*, making for a total of fifty-two occurrences in Marlowe's plays (Fehrenbach, Boone, and Di Cesare 976-977). Including his poems and translations, the word appears seventy-nine times, the same number of times as the word *Barabas* (Fehrenbach, Boone, and Di Cesare 1652).

In the scene preceding Tamburlaine's knowledge and declaration of his identity, Mycetes demonstrates incompetence in his own. Unsurprisingly, Tamburlaine quickly defeats Mycetes.

Tamburlaine's downfall begins when he destroys instead of claims places. When Zenocrate dies in *2Tamburlaine*, Tamburlaine blames the city in which she dies for her death: "This cursed town will I consume with fire / Because this place bereft me of my love" (2.4.137-138). Not illness, but "this place" is responsible for her death. While the houses in Damascus were considered treasuries for possessing, the houses in this town will become devoid of treasure: "The houses, burnt, will look as if they mourned" (2.4.139). Tamburlaine has destroyed places before, but he always recreates them as *his* places. When Tamburlaine destroys the town where Zenocrate dies, he does not reidentify it. Instead of linking his name to the new name of the town, he links his name to the burning of the town, to the elimination of place, and deprives it of a name and identity: "This town being burnt by Tamburlaine the Great / Forbids the world to build it up again" (3.2.17-18). He may have destroyed cities before, but here he eliminates place and creates space. He curses the land that he blames for her death and forbids anything to grow or be rebuilt:

> So burn the turrets of this cursed town,
> Flame to the highest region of the air
> And kindle heaps of exhalations
> That, being fiery meteors, may presage
> Death and destruction to th' inhabitants.
> Over my zenith hang a blazing star
> That may endure till heaven be dissolved,
> Fed with the fresh supply of earthly dregs,
> Threat'ning a death and famine to this land.
> Flying dragons, lightning, fearful thunderclaps,
> Singe these fair plains, and make them seem as black
> As in the island where the Furies mask
> Compassed with Lethe, Styx, and Phlegethone,
> Because my dear Zenocrate is dead. (3.2.1-14)

The passage still demonstrates his close attention to the features of the town, the "turrets" and the "fair plains," but the way in which Tamburlaine erases the town with "death and destruction," "death and famine," and blackness differs from his usual approach of destroying then re-identifying place (and adding its fortunes to his coffers). Furthermore, he refuses to allow Zenocrate's body to be buried where she died; in giving the land Zenocrate's body, he would associate it with her self, just as he earlier named places with her name. Instead, he brings her embalmed body with him on his travels: "thou shalt stay with me," he says to her corpse, "Embalmed with cassia, ambergris, and myrrh, / Not lapped in lead but in a sheet of gold" (3.1.129-131).

When Tamburlaine destroys without creating, as he does here, he has nothing to contribute to his identity. Instead, his focus becomes death, carrying his wife's corpse with him and razing places as he goes. Harry Levin calls *Tamburlaine* "the tragedy of ambition" (111), but that is true only to a certain extent (and whether *Tamburlaine* is actually a tragedy is certainly an open question). The tragedy or, perhaps more appropriately, Tamburlaine's decline, begins when he stops creating place: when he loses his ambition and only destroys. If he destroys places, then he destroys the makers of his identity. He becomes displaced socially and physically. When his places become spaces, he has nothing on which to ground his identity.

At his death, Tamburlaine laments what he has not conquered, "And shall I die, and this unconquered?," and urges his sons to continue conquering, "That these, my boys, may finish all my wants" (*2Tam.* 5.3.151, 126). He begins his lament by looking at a map of the world: "Give me a map, then let me see how much / Is left for me to conquer all the world" (5.3.124-125). Instead of demonstrating his ambition, however, his deathbed plea to his sons indicates how he

no longer has the same understanding of the places left to conquer. When he first looks at the map, he demonstrates his old self, confident in the places that he has conquered:

> Here I began to march towards Persia,
> Along Armenia and the Caspian Sea,
> And thence unto Bithynia, where I took
> The Turk and his great Empress prisoners;
> Then marched I into Egypt and Arabia,
> And here, not far from Alexandria,
> Whereas the Terrene and the Red Sea meet,
> Being distant less than full a hundred leagues,
> I meant to cut a channel to them both,
> That men might quickly sail to Insia.
> From thence to Nubia near Borno lake,
> And so along the Ethiopian Sea,
> Cutting the tropic line of Capricorn
> I conquered all as far as Zanzibar;
> Then, by the northern part of Africa,
> I came at last to Graecia, and from thence
> To Asia, where I stay against my will—
> Which is from Scythia, where I first began,
> Backward and forwards near five thousand leagues. (5.3.127-145)

I quote this passage at length for the level of specificity that Tamburlaine demonstrates—and the fact that he mentions his origins in Scythia, where he first established his social status. This passage sharply contrasts with what comes after, with his discussion of what remains to conquer:

> Look here, my boys, see what a world of ground
> Lies westward from the midst of Cancer's line
> Unto the rising of this earthly globe,
> Whereas the sun, declining from our sight,
> Begins the day with our Antipodes:
> And shall I die, and this unconquered? (5.3.146-151)

A "world of ground" indicates the extent of remaining space on the map. He does not know it in the same way that he knows the places he conquered earlier. It remains "this": an undifferentiated area, or space. His spatial understanding of the "world of ground"—of "this" left to be conquered—reveals how his identity has suffered since the beginning of *1Tamburlaine*.

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Marlowe's life and career were famously short, and his complete works number only a fraction of those of Shakespeare, a fellow migrant to London from rural England. However, the way in which Marlowe deals with place and identity in his tragedies is similar to the way that Shakespeare deals with place in his tragedies. Shakespeare also creates tragic characters who are famously displaced, including Coriolanus from Rome, and King Lear from his castle, his daughters' castles, and the lands of his kingdom. Marlowe did not leave any comedies, so it is impossible to speculate how those plays would have engaged with place. With Shakespeare and his comedies and romances, however, we get a different picture of how one can engage with place—offering up the possibility that, at least for some characters, one *can* go home again: an unsurprising pronouncement from an author who would return to the place of his home or, more specifically, his New Place. Instead of displacement sometimes being fatal for a character's identity, these characters are able to emplace—or re-place—their identities. But, to do so, they must reclaim those places with their experiences.

CHAPTER 4

# "I HAVE NOT YET ENTERED MY HOUSE": WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE AND OLD AND NEW PLACE(S)

William Shakespeare's movements are less well documented than Christopher Marlowe's. We do know something of the major places in his life: he was born in Stratford-Upon-Avon, moved to London, and eventually returned home to Stratford and his grand house of New Place. As Stephen Greenblatt notes in *Will in the World*, Shakespeare also conducted land and home purchases in Stratford-Upon-Avon and London (58). The significance of place within his own life, not only in his business dealings but also in his social status in London and Stratford, is echoed in the significance of place in forming his characters' identities. For Lear and Coriolanus, physical place is an essential element to defining their identities; for Portia, Jessica, and Prospero, physical place is significant, but the individuals' experiences are also essential. Shakespeare acknowledges that physical displacement can cause social displacement, but he also suggests that an individual can reclaim place to form or re-form identity.

I linger a moment to acknowledge that Shakespeare, unlike the other authors considered so far, has an extensive canon from which to draw examples. Although I focus the majority of my attention on *King Lear, Coriolanus, Merchant of Venice,* and *The Tempest,* I begin with brief examples from *Macbeth* and *Timon of Athens* to explore how physical place defines identity. In *Macbeth*, the title character's downward spiral begins when Thane of Cawdor is added to his status as Thane of Glamis (a change in social status articulated through physical places). Macbeth desires even larger physical places, including the whole kingdom of Scotland.

Macbeth's social displacement, uncertain in his position as king since Banquo's heirs will inherit the throne, fittingly coincides with the otherworldly (or so he thinks) occurrence of a physical place displacing: "Till Birnan Wood remove to Dunsinane / I cannot taint with fear" (5.3.2-3). In *Timon of Athens*, Timon rejects Athens following the loss of his social status and dies in exile:

> Timon will to the woods, where he shall find
> Th' unkindest beast more kinder than mankind.
> The gods confound (hear me, you good gods all)
> Th' Athenians both within and out that wall!
> And grant, as Timon grows, his hate may grow
> To the whole race of mankind, high and low! (4.1.35-40)

Socially displaced, Timon rejects Athens and its people. Like Tamburlaine cursing the place where Zenocrate died and commemorating his destruction through a pillar, Timon's epitaph urges people away from the place in which his body is buried since he considers himself a cursed man: "Pass by and curse thy fill, but pass and stay not *here* thy gait" (5.4.73, emphasis added).

Acknowledging these and other numerous examples in Shakespeare's canon, I have chosen *King Lear, Coriolanus, The Merchant of Venice,* and *The Tempest* to demonstrate the ways Shakespeare examines the extent to which place defines identity. This chapter will first focus on the tragedies of *King Lear* and *Coriolanus*, plays in which the title characters are forced from places and fatally choose to reject places. King Lear divides his kingdom, divesting himself of his kingship, and he is subsequently expelled from his daughters' castles. His movements throughout the kingdom and his madness reveal his social displacement; Lear's social displacement, like Edward II's, displaces the rest of his court. Coriolanus, a character whose own name is defined by place, struggles with the connection between himself and other places (Rome and Corioles) and the people within those places. Exiled from Rome, Coriolanus solidifies the rejection of his homeland by banishing Rome from himself: "I turn my back. / There is a world

elsewhere" (3.3.133-134).[72] I contend that his mother Volumnia convinces Coriolanus not to destroy Rome because, in calling him a citizen of Corioles, she evokes how his identity has become defined by defeat. In rejecting Rome, Coriolanus rejects his identity and, consequently, has no place in Rome when he returns.

In contrast, the characters in *Merchant of Venice* and *The Tempest* can reclaim place to establish or reestablish identities. In *Merchant of Venice*, Portia speaks often of her house (using the possessive "my"). Even though she initially gives up ownership to Bassanio, "This house, these servants and this same myself, / Are yours, my lord" (3.2.170-171), she is able to reclaim her house when she returns from Venice: "I have not yet / Entered *my* house" (5.1.272-273, emphasis added).[73] In the words of Roy Booth, "Though Portia in the first heat of the moment profusely makes over ownership to Bassanio . . . by Act V she is speaking with marked and renewed proprietorship" (24). I will explore what her "marked and renewed proprietorship" means in terms of identity and place and demonstrate how she, unlike Lear and Coriolanus, successfully refashions her identity by reclaiming her home. Jessica also rejects her father's house and recreates herself as a Christian and a wife. In *The Tempest*, Prospero is separated from one place, Milan, and claims a new place, the island. At the end of the play, he can reclaim his identity in Milan, but he has to "drown [his] book" in order to return (5.1.57).[74] He must reject the island to return to Milan, even though—as Prospero seems to sense—rejecting a place may have fatal consequences: "Every third thought shall be my grave" (5.1.309). Through the uncertain futures of other characters in *The Tempest*, Shakespeare experiments with the extent to which physical place defines identity: Caliban is forcibly removed from his social position on the

[72] References to *Coriolanus* come from the Arden third series (ed. Peter Holland).
[73] References to *The Merchant of Venice* come from the Arden third series (ed. John Drakakis).
[74] References to *The Tempest* come from the Cambridge Shakespeare in Production series (ed. Christine Dymkowski).

island, and Miranda is set to leave the island for an uncertain future in Naples. Shakespeare suggests that some characters are able to reclaim physical place to establish identity, but others are exclusively bound to physical place. It is not surprising that an author "not of an age, but for all time" would bridge the gap between an older, almost exclusively place-bound identity (seen in *Arden, Spanish Tragedy*, and Marlowe's works) to one in which identity can be constructed by reclaiming place with one's experiences.

**Tragic Rejection of Place: *King Lear* and *Coriolanus***

*King Lear* and *Coriolanus* date from the early years of King James' reign: 1605-1606 and 1608, respectively. The effects of physical place on identity that we saw in the earlier Elizabethan tragedies of Kyd, *Arden'*s author, and Marlowe still appear in early tragedies produced under James' reign. London continued its massive population growth during his reign; James followed Elizabeth's example and issued Royal Proclamations "that prohibited new urban building and the subdivision of property" in London (Turner 194). Henry Turner notes that such proclamations were a response to the rapid expansion of London's suburbs, suburbs that "had long been associated with the worst aspects of contemporary urban life" (194). Jacobean audiences of both *Lear* and *Coriolanus* would be familiar with the same kinds of problems that Elizabethan audiences had experienced: massive growth, migration, and the precariousness of (social and physical) place—the potential for displacement—within a rapidly expanding society.

Probably more so than any other Shakespeare play in this chapter, *King Lear* has been fruitfully studied in terms of place and identity. First, Bruce R. Smith notes (although he uses the term *space* where I would use *place*): "Lear sees a one-to-one correspondence between personal identity and geographical space" (31). Second, as I noted in my introduction, Linda Woodbridge

has done pioneering work on place and social status within *Lear*. In *Vagrancy, Homelessness, and English Renaissance Literature*, she primarily considers the way that sensationalist pamphlets about vagrants influenced society's beliefs about vagrancy and homelessness and influenced laws against vagrants: "[R]ogue literature (the tabloids of its day) *influenced* statutes. The word 'rogue' itself seems to have migrated from rogue literature into the Poor Laws; and in more general ways, the myths generated by rogue literature were the yeast acting upon a dough of public anxieties to produce the bitter bread of repressive literature" (4, emphasis in original). Using her work on vagrancy and homelessness as a foundation, she considers the way that Lear contemplates the homeless of his kingdom after he loses his own connections to physical places and becomes homeless himself:

> Poor naked wretches, whereso'er you are,
> That bide the pelting of this pitiless storm,
> How shall your houseless heads and unfed sides,
> Your looped and windowed raggedness, defend you
> From seasons such as these? (3.4.28-32)[75]

As a result of this loss of physical place, Lear gives up his identity as king (and, as Woodbridge notes, as a father): "Identity, bound up in social roles (Lear starts questioning who he is after losing the roles of king and father), is also a function of place. Some of the play's many uses of 'place' situated the individual according to his or her rank in society, and some situate individuals geographically—or at least they try to" (226). The inability to "situate" the homeless "geographically" is her critical concern, but I believe I can take her work on Lear further in terms of his understanding of his kingdom and self before he begins wandering within his kingdom.

Other critics have done notable work on domestic places and property within the play. Heather Dubrow notes a connection between the loss of social and physical places in the context

[75] References to *King Lear* come from the Arden third series (ed. R.A. Foakes).

of the home: "*King Lear* connects housing and its absence with the loss and restoration of Lear's mind, his dignity, and his power" (109). Like Woodbridge, she acknowledges the relationship between physical and social place that I have explored here. She connects Lear's loss of his social status with his inability to find a dwelling: "Lear's parody of a royal progress through his kingdom demonstrates the many connections between abandoning his political and social place as king and variously surrendering and being denied literal dwelling places" (107). I agree with Dubrow's contention about "political and social place" and "dwelling places," but I believe that the division scene is essential to understanding Lear's physical and social displacement.[76]

With these studies serving as the foundation, I argue that more should be said about Lear's knowledge of his kingdom before he divides it among his daughters. Knowing his place as king arguably should mean knowing the physical place that he rules; instead, he evinces little understanding of his kingdom. He holds a spatial understanding of it and in so doing, anticipates his and the court's later displacements. Furthermore, I contend that Shakespeare's treatment of Lear's division of his kingdom and his rejection of his identity as king reflects a larger trend in early modern English drama regarding the formation of identity in terms of physical places. Instead of enacting a story from the *Chronicles,* Lear's division of the kingdom is another instance of an early modern English dramatist dealing with the effect of physical displacement on one's identity. Lear negates his identity as monarch by divesting himself of the physical places that constitute his identity. His identity is fractured, and the rest of his court—including Goneril, Regan, Gloucester, and Edgar—no longer know their own places.

[76] In terms of personal property, Margreta de Grazia argues, "Through the lives of both titular and subtitular characters, the play dramatizes the relation of being and having… removing what a person *has* simultaneously takes away what a person *is*" (21). She notes that this is true not only for Lear but also for Edgar, who after losing his inheritance loses his place as heir and legitimate son.

*King Lear* famously opens with a division of place. Lear puts into effect the division that Edward II had only wished to enact in his desire to "[m]ake several kingdoms of this monarchy" and retain a "nook or corner" to reside in with Gaveston. Lear's failures as king (and, arguably, as a father) are anticipated by how he initially views his kingdom; he is physically and socially displaced before he even divides the country. In discussing the division of the kingdom, Garrett A. Sullivan, Jr. focuses on the identities of Lear's subjects, the people who live in the places that Lear rejects: "this partitioning is accomplished by monarchical fiat, with no attention paid to the people affected by these divisions—while regions are granted a certain geographical specificity, they are seen as culturally vacant" (*Drama* 108). As Sullivan notes, advances in cartography during this period commodified the places under monarchical and noble control and visually erased the people living in those places.[77] But, I disagree that the "regions are granted a certain geographical *specificity*" (emphasis added): the terms that Lear employs are vague. Lear promises to Goneril "all these bounds, even from this line to this, / With shadowy forests and with champaigns riched, / With plenteous rivers and wide-skirted meads" (1.1.63-65). His language conveys his own "shadowy" understanding of his lands; he knows that the land has forests, rivers, and meads, but where they are located seems uncertain. He displays even less knowledge when he describes Regan's portion:

> To thee and thine hereditary ever
> Remain this ample third of our fair kingdom,
> No less in space, validity and pleasure
> Than that conferred on Goneril. (1.1.79-82)

Although the size of the land is the same—"No less in space"—specificity is completely absent; Lear appropriately uses the term *space*. Before Cordelia speaks, Lear suggests that her portion of the land is more "opulent": "what can you say to draw / A third more opulent than your sisters?"

[77] See also Klein, *Maps* and Gillies, *Shakespeare*.

(1.1.87-88). It is not clear from his description in what way her portion would be more "opulent," whether in the goods it would produce or in the features of the land. When Cordelia refuses to participate in his love test, Lear does not even describe the portion of land that would have belonged to her: "Cornwall and Albany, / With my two daughters' dowers digest this third" (1.1.132-133). Although he has a map to enact his division, he does not display specific knowledge of the lands that the map conveys. Lear's own lack of attention to the places under his control contrasts with Tamburlaine at his most successful, when he can describe Damascus with minute detail and knows names and regions on maps. Just as Tamburlaine begins to see his places as spaces near the end of his life, so Lear conceptualizes his kingdom as a space, not a place, since he barely differentiates it. In some way, Lear has already divested himself of physical place before he divides his kingdom.

When Lear describes these lands so vaguely, he puts his daughters and their husbands in socially displaced positions when they receive their lands.[78] If place is necessary to define identity, then giving his daughters and their husbands spaces gives them undefined identities. The way that Lear's attendants treat Goneril's home may then be a consequence of how Lear divides the kingdom. Goneril expresses frustration at the way the knights treat her home: "Epicurism and lust / Makes it more like a tavern or a brothel / Than a graced palace" (1.4.235-237).[79] What should be appropriate to a "graced palace," however, is compromised if her social status is unclear. Goneril and Regan's attempt to remove Lear's household train from him—"What need you five and twenty? Ten? Or five?" (2.2.450)—emphasizes his lack of social place

[78] Klein draws attention to the fact the divided land is given as gifts to Lear's daughters: "the land is either mistaken for the image itself, reduced to a set of geometric coordinates, or *instrumentalized in a test of filial obedience*" (95, emphasis added).

[79] The extent of Goneril's and Regan's treachery remains a matter of critical debate. See, among others, Christina Leon Alfar's "Looking for Goneril and Regan." In his 1971 film version of *Lear* featuring Paul Scofield as Lear and Irene Worth as Goneril, Peter Brook tries to rehabilitate Goneril's reputation by demonstrating how Lear's men poorly treat her home, visually conveying 1.4.235-237.

as he wanders through his former kingdom. In removing his train, the daughters attempt to prevent Lear from subsuming *their* places. Goneril's question, "Why might not you, my lord, receive attendance / From those that she calls servants or from mine?," asserts her own and Regan's desired control over their homes even though Lear has tried to make their castles his places (2.2.432-433). Lear's subsequent inability to find an adequate place to shelter himself on the heath reveals his inability to reconcile himself with the places he has rejected, and the madness that he demonstrates during that scene reveals his own "unmoored" identity. When Lear is unable to find hospitality at his daughters' castles, Gloucester offers his home as shelter. Lear ignores the offer and Kent's entreaty to "Take his offer, go into the house" (3.5.152). With no place to go during the storm, Lear stays inside a hovel meagerly described as "better than the open air" (3.6.1).

Lear's rejection of Gloucester's welcome further reveals how Lear's division of the kingdom affects Gloucester's identity. With Regan already in an uncertain position because of her father's division of the kingdom, she and her husband take over Gloucester's house. In one of Shakespeare's bloodiest attacks, Gloucester's guests violate his body and force him from his home: "Good my friends, consider; you are my guests. / Do me no foul play, friends" and "I am your host; / With robber's hands my hospitable favours / You should not ruffle thus" (3.7.30-31, 39-41). Even before Gloucester loses his eyes, he laments how Cornwall's household has appropriated his home: "they took from me the use of mine own house" (3.3.3-4). The loss of his home coincides with the loss of his social place; before Cornwall attacks Gloucester, he calls Edmund "my lord of Gloucester" (3.7.12). Just as Lear is faced with an unwelcoming landscape after he divides his kingdom, so Gloucester wanders after his loss of place and identity as duke of Gloucester. He desires Edgar to bring him to a "cliff whose high and bending head / Looks

fearfully in the confined deep" (4.1.76-77). Gloucester cannot reconcile the physical place he experiences with the one that Edgar describes:

> GLOUCESTER. Methinks the ground is even.
> EDGAR. Horrible steep. (4.6.3-4)

Although Edgar explains that he "trifle[s] thus with his despair / … to cure it" (4.6.3-4), the conversation reveals Gloucester's displacement, displacement that results from Lear's spatial understanding of his kingdom and his foolish division of it.

Edgar is likewise socially and physically displaced when he brings Gloucester to the "cliff." Edgar's own displacement is anticipated not only by Lear's division of the kingdom but also by the way that both Edmund and Gloucester view Edgar's social and physical place. In the second scene of the play, Edmund covets Edgar's physical place: "Legitimate Edgar, I must have your land" (1.2.16). When he believes that Edgar is conspiring against him, Gloucester promises to give Edmund just that: "and of my land, / Loyal and natural boy, I'll work the means / To make thee capable" (2.1.83-85). After he is forced from Gloucester's home because of Edmund's machinations, Edgar comments on his new state of displacement, lamenting that "No port is free, no place / That guard and most unusual vigilance / Does not attend my taking" (2.2.174-176). He visually conveys this lack of place by "tak[ing] the basest and most poorest shape / That ever penury in contempt of man / Brought near to beast" (2.2.173-180). In choosing a disguise of the "basest and most poorest shape," Edgar evokes his lack of place.

Like Lear who rejects his kingdom, Coriolanus rejects his homeland of Rome. Coriolanus is banished from Rome, but he chooses to sever his ties completely even though Rome gives him his identity. Place, and the way in which Coriolanus interacts with place, provides one of the few ways to understand Coriolanus since, as Peter Holland notes, Coriolanus is notably silent, with "remarkably few moments alone and therefore few chances to soliloquize" (1). The audience,

"trained by its experience of Shakespeare's own presentation of interiority, finds itself frustrated by the absence of that interiority in this play" (Holland 49). Since he has few moments alone onstage, Coriolanus's relationship to places—not simply Rome and Corioles but also Antium and Aufidius' house—provides the audience with some of the only insights into his sense of self. When he is banished and "turn[s] [his] back" on Rome, his identity within the play becomes displaced (3.3.133), and his mother Volumnia exploits this displaced identity to convince him not to destroy Rome.

Coriolanus receives his place-based name after he nearly single-handedly defeats the Volscians in Corioles:

> For what he did at Corioles, call him
> With all th'applause and clamour of the host,
> Martius Caius Coriolanus!
> Bear th'addition nobly ever! (1.9.61-65)

Coriolanus' victory against the Volscians has made Corioles a place to him and allowed him to subsume it into his identity, but Rome supplies him with a new identity by renaming him Coriolanus. Coriolanus' acceptance of his new name contrasts with Tamburlaine's more aggressive reidentifying of places after himself. When Rome gives him the name Coriolanus, he becomes subordinate to Rome (since it supplied him with his name) and to Corioles since his name derives from that defeated city.

After reidentifying him, Rome banishes him, and Coriolanus directs his anger toward the Roman people:[80]

> You common cry of curs whose breath I hate
> As reek o' th' rotten fens, whose loves I prize
> As the dead carcasses of unburied men,

[80] I disagree with James Kuzner, who has a more positive reading of Coriolanus severing ties with Rome; Coriolanus "points the way to a life that is openly vulnerable but also livable, to a Sodom whose residents would renounce the constructs of discrete social identity and bodily integrity alike, a place in which subjects would perish but life would not" (175). Coriolanus certainly does not live long after he rejects Rome.

That do corrupt my air, I banish you. (3.3.119-122)

He counters Rome's action of banishment by banishing the people of Rome from himself, rejecting the city because of the people within it: "Despising / For you the city" (3.3.132-133). As Ann C. Christensen notes in "Return," Coriolanus expresses his separation from the people of Rome earlier as well, seeing them as "barbarians" not native to Rome (303): "I would they were barbarians, as they are, / Though in Rome littered; not Rome, as they are not, / Though calved i'th'porch o'the Capitol" (3.1.239-241). Coriolanus' anger against Rome is directed toward the people since the tribunes and people define the city in terms of individuals. Romans in the play understand that a place—specifically a city—is comprised not merely of buildings, but of people:

SICINIUS. What is the city but the people?
ALL CITIZENS. True, the people are the city. (3.1.198-200)

The citizens are certainly highly suggestible; they affirm Sicinius' definition of the city just as they agree to the tribunes' recommendation to reject Coriolanus as consul. Despite the citizens' negative qualities, Shakespeare frequently emphasizes their presence and importance, particularly in the opening scene and in the decision regarding Coriolanus's consulship. In contrast to other plays like *Hamlet* in which the citizens remain an anonymous multitude offstage, this play brings them onstage and makes them an essential part of defining a city. In Coriolanus' initial objection to the Roman people, he does not seem to accept Sicinius' and the citizens' definition; he finds the people "barbarians" and "curs" unworthy of Rome, thereby differentiating a place from the people who inhabit it.[81] He enacts the definition, however, when he rejects Rome, "Despising / For you the city."

[81] In his 2011 film version of *Coriolanus,* director Ralph Fiennes articulates the film's setting as "a place calling itself Rome." This description certainly separates the setting from the traditional ideas of Rome that moviegoers might have, but it also gives the place agency in its identification. Unlike the places conquered and renamed by Tamburlaine, this place has named itself Rome. Rome becomes a character with its own power of self-identification. Seeing Rome as an entity with independent power is something that Jonathan Goldberg also does in

Dependent on Rome for his identity, however, Coriolanus becomes displaced after Rome banishes him and he counters by rejecting Rome. When he arrives in Antium in 4.4, he expresses his continuing hatred for Rome, "My birthplace hate I, and my love's upon / This enemy town" (23-24).[82] He expresses love for Antium, but he differentiates between the people and the physical place. He addresses Antium as an individual, referring to it as "City," and characterizes it in terms of his success against it:

> A goodly city is this Antium. City,
> 'Tis I that made thy widows. Many an heir
> Of these fair edifices fore my wars
> Have I heard groan and drop. (4.4.1-4)

If the people are the city, then Coriolanus has removed the defining aspects of Antium by killing its men and making their wives widows. No one is left to be "heir[s]" to the "fair edifices."

His outward shows of self, of his social status, likewise reflect his displacement. When Coriolanus arrives in Antium, his clothes reflect his changed identity, "*Enter* CORIOLANUS *in mean apparel, disguised and muffled*" (3.3 sd). Aufidius and his serving men remark upon his "mean apparel" when he arrives at Aufidius' house. When Coriolanus arrives at the home, he says: "A goodly house. The feast smells well, but I / Appear not like a guest" (4.5.5-6). The serving men comment, "What would you have, friend? Whence are you? Here's no place for

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*James I and the Politics of Literature.* He describes the end of the play: "And devouring him [Coriolanus], Rome devours itself, and the gods look down at the spectacle of this internecine war, this body eating up itself, this family engulfed by a cannibalistic mother, and laugh at the spectacle of cruelty" (192).

[82] Coriolanus' rejection of his homeland contrasts with the exiled English earl in Thomas Nashe's 1594 prose work *The Unfortunate Traveller*. Nashe's narrator Jack Wilton encounters in Italy "a banished English earl" who laments his exile from his homeland: "thou shalt find there is no such hell as to leave thy father's house, thy natural habitation, to live in the land of bondage" (340, 342). The earl uses the imagery of domestic places to convey the connection he retains in his homeland, his "natural habitation." He now lives "a beggar…. These many years in Italy have I lived an outlaw" (346). He regrets that he never feels at home outside of his homeland, "Believe me, no air, no bread, no fire, no water doth a man any good out of his own country. Cold fruits never prosper in a hot soil, nor hot in a cold" (346). An English audience reading this prose work would likely sympathize with an Englishman forced out of England, evoking nationalistic feelings for an earl trapped among the devilish Catholics of Italy. Others may have seen the earl's words, not to mention Wilton's misadventures abroad, as indicative of the value of claiming one's place, even unpleasant new places. Perhaps the earl might live better than a beggar if he would accept his new situation. Wilton notably expresses relief, not sympathy, when he escapes the earl's company.

you. Pray go to the door!" (4.5.7-8). Coriolanus' earlier rejection of place, conveyed in his "placeless" clothes, is echoed in the question, "Whence are you?" The serving men continue to articulate Coriolanus' displacement: "What have you to do here, fellow? Pray you avoid the house" (4.5.23-24) and "Pray you, poor gentleman, take up some other station. Here's no place for you. Pray you, avoid" (4.5.30-31). Aufidius' failure to recognize Coriolanus emphasizes his fractured identity.

His displacement in Aufidius' house is anticipated in his displacements from earlier houses in the play. Prior to the battle in Corioles, he finds shelter in an anonymous man's house: "I sometime lay here in Corioles, / At a poor man's house" (1.9.81-82). He cannot, however, remember who gave him hospitality (1.9.90). Forgetting the man's name is not in the original Plutarch, even though Shakespeare otherwise closely follows the source text (Huffman 174). Shakespeare's alteration of the source text allows him to demonstrate how Coriolanus fails to fully connect himself to any home: to any place in which he might identify himself. Christensen further argues that Coriolanus fails to connect with his own home since that home is a microcosm of the state: "The Shakespearean household houses the family, while serving as a metaphor for the early modern state" (296). I agree with the connection between small and large places here, and I agree with her argument to a certain extent. Coriolanus' own home in Rome remains the realm of his mother and wife, both shown sewing within his house at the beginning of 1.3. Shakespeare shows the women in *Coriolanus* fulfilling their duties to the home as "manifest housekeepers" (1.3.53-54). When he returns to Rome after his victory at Corioles, Coriolanus privileges his public role rather than spend time within this home, "Ere in our own house I do shade my head / The good patricians must be visited" (2.1.189-190), even though he will also fail at this public role. But, later in 3.2, he is shown within his home learning his proper

public duties from his mother Volumnia. Consequently, it cannot be said that he truly rejects his house as he rejects Rome, but he does demonstrate that he does not fully integrate it into his identity to the extent that his mother and wife do.

When Coriolanus greets Aufidius within the latter's home, Coriolanus identifies himself as "Caius Martius," explaining what the name Coriolanus meant before Rome banished him:

> My name is Caius Martius who hath done
> To thee particularly and to all the Volsces
> Great hurt and mischief. Thereto witness may
> My surname Coriolanus. The painful service,
> The extreme dangers and the drops of blood
> Shed for my thankless country are requited
> But with that surname—a good memory
> And witness of the malice and displeasure
> Which thou shouldst bear me. Only that name remains. (4.5.67-75)

Although he identities himself as "Caius Martius" to Aufidius, he demonstrates what the name Coriolanus once meant in terms of "The painful service, / The extreme dangers and the drops of blood" that he performed on behalf of Rome. He says, "Only that name remains," indicating the way in which he has become displaced from his homeland. He seems to reidentify himself as Caius Martius, but that reidentification is brief. When he returns to Rome to destroy it, he refuses all names that Rome tries to give him. Displaced from Rome, Coriolanus seemingly lacks any identity when he returns to Rome:

> COMINIUS. "Coriolanus"
> He would not answer to, forbade all names.
> He was a kind of nothing, titleless,
> Till he had forged himself a name o'th'fire
> Of burning Rome. (5.1.11-15)

He is a "kind of nothing, titleless," precisely because he has been separated from Rome. Here, he plans to claim Rome with his experiences and reidentify himself "a name o'th'fire / Of burning Rome."

Coriolanus's displacement following his banishment provides one explanation as to how Volumnia can convince Coriolanus not to destroy Rome. Coriolanus's decision not to destroy Rome has been psychoanalytically explored in terms of his relationship to his mother, most notably by Janet Adelman in *Suffocating Mothers: Fantasies of Maternal Origin in Shakespeare's Plays,* Hamlet *to* The Tempest. Although she does not make a psychoanalytical interpretation, Gail Kern Paster agrees with the importance of Coriolanus' familial ties, arguing that Coriolanus cannot destroy Rome because it is part of his "parentage": "For Coriolanus to march against Rome is to turn against the sources of his life. He cannot renounce his city because he cannot change his mother, cannot alter the fact of his parentage" (88). Jonathan Goldberg agrees with the maternal connection between Volumnia and Rome, calling Rome "a cannibalistic mother" (192). As I noted above, however, I do not agree that Coriolanus cannot renounce his homeland; he already severs his ties to Rome, even if it leaves him displaced. Volumnia's words certainly appeal to their blood ties, and, in Adelman's words, Coriolanus's "place of origin" (162). But I contend that Volumnia's appeal to Coriolanus's identity dooms him to defeat because she reidentifies him with Corioles.

On the eve of the battle against Rome, Cominius and Menenius try to appeal to Coriolanus' sense as a Roman, with Cominius urging Coriolanus to think of his "private friends" (5.1.24). Coriolanus, viewing all of Rome as his enemy, replies to Cominius that he can "not stay to pick them [his friends] in a pile / Of noisome musty chaff" (5.1.25-26). After rejecting Rome and, by extension, its people, Coriolanus cannot consider Rome in terms of individual people, as Cominius and Menenius urge him to do.[83] As he demonstrates in Antium after his banishment, he does not view cities in terms of their people—even though that is how Sicinius and the

[83] Holland remarks in his introduction that Coriolanus speaks of Rome eighteen times in the play, thirteen times in Act Five: "he speaks of Rome most often when threatening to destroy it" (93).

citizens conceptualized cities. Coriolanus instead remains displaced from all of Rome when he returns. Volumnia's characterization of her son as a citizen of *Corioles*, however, ultimately dissuades him from destroying Rome since her wording forces him to equate himself with people within a place: "This fellow had a Volscian to his mother, / His wife is in Corioles and his child / Like him by chance" (5.3.178-180). Volumnia plays on the dual meaning of Coriolanus; as Holland notes, the name Coriolanus puts him in an "ambiguous" position, since while it "defin[es] him as the victor at Corioli, [it] also suggests that, as his mother will say, he is really a Volscian, a man of Corioli, for, just as a Roman citizen, is *civis Romanus*, so someone from Corioli is a *civis Coriolanus*" (94). Exploiting his place-based identity, and its initial dependence on Corioles, Volumnia associates him with a defeated people, placing him in a home in Corioles with a mother, wife, and son (all figures he earlier rejects when he rejects Rome). Volumnia emphasizes that, after the loss of Rome, Coriolanus is now only associated with Corioles and, consequently, defeat. If Coriolanus is divested and divests himself of his Roman identity when he is displaced from Rome, then Volumnia here supplies him with the identity of the conquered. Fittingly, as his identity is that of the conquered, he is subsequently defeated and murdered in the place that now solely defines his identity: Corioles.[84] Coriolanus separates himself from Rome the conqueror and becomes associated with Corioles the conquered.

[84] Doug Eskew makes the intriguing spatial argument that, unlike her son, Volumnia understands that the upper class must inhabit the same places as the lower class: "Her son, Caius Martius, by contrast, has a morbid conception of such consubstantiality, which we see when he enters the play and fantasizes genocide against the Plebeians" (para. 14). Conveying how Coriolanus the character understands space (or fails to understand space), Eskew also proposes a solution to the editorial problem of the last scene seeming to occur in both Antium and Corioles, arguing for an early modern English understanding of two places occurring at once since "a Renaissance audience [was] equipped with an ideological geography that allowed for a regular doubling of place (as in concepts of the Verge and of Eucharistic consubstantiality)" (para. 26). Furthermore, that same audience experienced such a doubling of place every time they went to the theater: "the audience member of Shakespeare's public theater would have understood the simultaneity of place not just conceptually but materially, seeing the places of the fiction represented simultaneously by the structures of the stage itself" (para. 27).

**Coming Home: *The Merchant of Venice* and *The Tempest***

*The Merchant of Venice* and *The Tempest* date from opposite ends of Shakespeare's career, with *The Merchant of Venice* written during Elizabeth's reign, sometime around 1596, and *The Tempest* written during James' reign in 1610-1611. Categorized as comedies in Shakespeare's First Folio (even though *The Tempest* has since been recategorized as a romance), the plays feature characters (Portia, Jessica, and Prospero) who divest themselves of the places that ground their identities but who subsequently reclaim those places through their experiences. Previous playwrights in this study have suggested that physical place is one of the most essential elements in defining one's identity; in these plays, Shakespeare shows that some characters can reclaim physical place to establish or reestablish their identities. For those characters, physical displacement does not necessarily mean social displacement.

When Bassanio chooses the correct casket in *The Merchant of Venice*, Portia promises herself as well as her property and possessions:

> Myself, and what is mine, to you and yours
> Is now converted. But now, I was the lord
> Of this fair mansion, master of my servants,
> Queen o'er myself; and even now, but now,
> This house, these servants and this same myself,
> Are yours, my lord's. (3.2.166-171)

In this passage, Portia echoes Marlowe's Dido, giving herself and her property to her lord; she "converts" her property to Bassanio's. In addition to divesting herself of property, she gives up her social status as "lord / Of this fair mansion" and "master," losing the masculine titles she has held since her father's death (titles that evoke Shakespeare's female monarch, as Janet Adelman notes in *Blood Relations*). Following the theory of place in this project, Portia's identity becomes subsumed in Bassanio's through marriage since the place that has defined her identity ("[t]his house") has become his. Taking on the role of wife, she must reject the titles of lord and master,

titles dependent on her possession of her house. Although Portia acts as if she chooses to give up ownership of the house, she must follow her father's will and marry the man who chooses the correct casket. Before Bassanio's arrival, she notes her helplessness to Nerissa: "O me, the word 'choose'! I may neither choose who I would, nor refuse who I dislike, so is the will of a living daughter curbed by the will of a dead father" (1.2.21-24).[85] Given her father's challenge, Portia initially seems as if she will be forced from her social and physical places, but she demonstrates determination to give her property and self to Bassanio prior to the casket challenge:

> Beshrew your eyes,
> They have o'erlooked me and divided me:
> One half of me is yours, the other half yours.
> Mine own, I would say: but, if mine, then yours,
> And so, all yours. O, these naughty times
> Puts bars between the owners and their rights:
> And so, though yours, not yours. (3.2.14-20)

Aware of her obligation to her father's will, Portia acknowledges both her current ownership of places ("Mine own, I would say") and her willingness to transfer that ownership to Bassanio if she were free to choose ("but, if mine, then yours, / And so, *all yours*"). Even before Bassanio chooses correctly, she wants to promise him everything, "all yours," but "bars [exist] between the owners and their rights" and the places remain "though yours, not yours." Seemingly helpless in choosing a husband, she tries to assert her agency in the transfer of ownership.[86] Given this claim to her home prior to the casket challenge, I disagree with Geraldo de Sousa's assertion that only Portia's marriage to Bassanio turns her house into a home: "Bassanio's correct choice…

[85] Theodora Jankowski analyzes Portia's relationship with Nerissa in terms of the closet in her article, "…in the Lesbian Void: Woman-Woman Eroticism in Shakespeare's Plays." She argues, "Portia and Nerissa's relationship . . . occurs within an essentially woman-only space" (308). Ashley Denham Busse agrees that their conversation occurs in an exclusively female realm: "Here Portia and Nerissa speak freely, criticizing the various suitors in a way they never would publicly, in the presence of men" (81). But these readings are unnecessarily narrow and do not engage with the fact that Portia owns the whole house: the whole place is a woman's place. Portia does not need just the closet to define herself.

[86] This argument assumes that Portia does not give Bassanio any clues regarding the correct casket since there is no textual evidence for them, despite what critics including Lynda Boose ("The Father and the Bride in Shakespeare") have argued.

allows the lodging place for transnationals and adventurers to become a home. From a place that welcomes transnational mobals [de Sousa's term], Portia's house becomes a place that excludes them. Only then can Portia offer Bassanio possession of her house, wealth, and body" (47). A house becomes a home when we experience it daily, and Portia asserts possession of her house prior to her marriage. She lives in her house even when "transnationals and adventurers" are "lodging" there.

Portia also puts conditions on that transfer of ownership, separate from the conditions her father had imposed, forbidding Bassanio to give away her ring: "when you part from, lose or give away, / Let it presage the ruin of your love, / And be my vantage to exclaim on you" (3.2.172-174).[87] Bassanio does not respect these instructions, and she does not follow her own promises to transfer her property to him, continuing to use the pronoun "my" in relation to her house. Before she and Nerissa leave for Venice, she puts Lorenzo in charge: "Lorenzo, I commit into your hands / The husbandry and manage of *my* house / Until my lord's return" (3.4.24-26, emphasis added). She does limit Lorenzo's control of the home until "my lord's return," implying that the ownership will transfer to Bassanio when he returns. She still refers to it as "*my* house," however, even after she has supposedly given Bassanio ownership of it.[88]

When everyone returns to Belmont from Venice and Portia is reunited with Bassanio, she briefly indicates a shared possession of her property, saying to Antonio, "Sir, you are very welcome to *our* house" (5.1.139, emphasis added). Already aware that Bassanio has given the

[87] Lauren Garrett reads this line in terms of the laws of lending within the play: "However, like any other creditor entering a legal bond, Portia retains her own interest in the titles she lends Bassanio, and she enters the bond on condition of his fidelity to certain terms" (55). After addressing this line, Garrett does not then consider how Portia reclaims her home at the end of the play.

[88] Ellen Caldwell argues how Portia is "opportunistic" in the play, describing her as representing the goddess Fortuna: "She only appears to be subject to chance—in fact, she exercises control, like Fortuna, over the livelihoods of those who risk and hazard for love and wealth" (365). I agree with Caldwell's premise that Portia demonstrates initiative and control in the play, but I believe she could support her argument even further by considering how Portia uses those places to define her identity.

ring away, she quickly reverts to the singular "my" in reference to her home after Bassanio reveals that the ring is in the doctor's possession: "Let not the doctor e'er come near *my* house!" (5.1.223, emphasis added). When Bassanio reveals that he has broken his promise to her, she verbally reclaims her property in his presence. Her earlier expression of "my house" to Lorenzo coincided with her acknowledgement of Bassanio as lord of the home. Directing the expression of "my house" to Bassanio, however, allows her to reclaim her property since he failed to follow the stipulations of their agreement. Even after disguises are revealed and everyone seems forgiven, she retains control of her property; near the end of the play, she proclaims, "I have not yet / Entered *my* house" (5.1.272-273, emphasis added). Seemingly relinquishing both social (lord and master) and physical (house) places to Bassanio, she reclaims those places when Bassanio breaks his promise. In reclaiming place, she refashions herself as independent from Bassanio. By reclaiming the physical place of the home and the social place of master, but at the same time rejecting her place as wife, she recreates her identity.[89] Shakespeare anticipates this re-placement by demonstrating how she successfully functions without Bassanio, not only as lord and master of Belmont prior to his arrival but also as a learned advocate for Antonio. Lear and Coriolanus are adrift when they reject a place, but Portia knows how to function independently, even if her sex would seemingly put her at a disadvantage. Although Portia is able to return to her place, she does so only after Bassanio breaks his promise to her; in reclaiming her place in the home and defining herself separately from Bassanio, Shakespeare provides no definitive conclusions on the fate of their marriage.

[89] This in opposition to Burckhardt who calls Portia "the indefinable being who speaks most truly when she sounds most faithless, who frees us through an absolute literalness, who learns the grim prose of law in order to restore it to its true function" (262). I am not sure how Portia can be "indefinable" since she clearly defines herself and knows her places.

Portia finally redefines her identity by reasserting possession of her father's house, but Shylock's daughter Jessica cannot define her identity in Venice until she leaves her father's house. When bidding farewell to their servant Lancelet, Jessica speaks of Shylock's house in the first person plural: "I am sorry thou wilt leave my father so. / *Our* house is hell and thou, a merry devil, / Didst rob it of some taste of tediousness" (2.3.1-2, emphasis added). Her words, implying a shared ownership of their household, reflect the concept of household as seen in *The Jew of Malta*. Barabas notes that Abigail was part of his household, and Abigail expresses her own control of the household when she commands Ithamore to go to the friars. Jessica's use of "our" implies a shared possession, but Shylock intimates his sole ownership when he instructs Jessica how to manage the household during his absence: "Jessica, my girl, / Look to my house" (2.5.15-16). He first notes his possession of Jessica ("my girl") before he notes the possession of his house ("my house"). When he gives her further instructions, he speaks of the house as an extension of himself: "Hear you me, Jessica, / Lock up *my* doors" (2.5.27-28, emphasis added). In addition to exhorting her to "Lock up my doors," he later entreats Jessica, "Do as I bid you; shut doors after you" (2.5.51). He speaks of the need to protect his home from the noise of the masques, anthropomorphizing his home as having "ears" that can hear: "But stop my house's ears—I mean my casements—/ Let not the sound of shallow foppery enter / My sober house" (2.5.33-35). Shylock's desire to isolate the home from Venice, which reflects his own desired separation from Venice, also usurps Jessica's position within the home and problematizes her identity in Venice. Shylock "identifies completely with his house, which shares a personality with him. He fears its violation" (Booth 24). With the house "sharing a personality with him," Shylock excludes his daughter, Jessica.[90]

[90] Booth has done fascinating work on how early modern English audiences would conceptualize a "Jew's house": Stone structures, in contrast to more common timber structures, were often considered "Jew's houses": "an

In excluding her, Shylock violates the position that Jessica should hold within the household. Mendelson and Crawford note that early modern men were not supposed to meddle in household affairs: "Unlike elite advice books, popular culture affirmed women's right to control household space, applying the derogatory term 'cotquean' to men who meddled with domestic concerns" (205). Mendelson and Crawford note in particular the criticism of husbands who meddle in their wives' affairs in the home: "Ballads like *The Woman to the Plow and The Man to the Hen-Roost* (1629) vividly portray the catastrophes that ensued when the husband usurped his wife's charge of household affairs" (205). Although being her father puts him in a socially superior position to her (Portia similarly must defer to her deceased father), Shylock still violates Jessica's identity when he instructs her how the home should be run: "the household was women's proper realm of authority by virtue of knowledge and skill. In everyday life, women exercised *de facto* control of domestic space and its objects through their work" (Mendelson and Crawford 206). In shutting up the house, Shylock excludes her from the doorway that should serve as a woman's boundary between their domestic realm and the outside world: "most female witnesses spoke as if they assumed that the doorway was their rightful place as housewives and villagers" (Mendelson and Crawford 208). Already usurping Jessica's position within the home, Shylock also bars her from placing herself within Venetian society.

Jessica is at a disadvantage in Venetian society not only because Shylock bars her from the community but also because of her Jewish parentage. Even after she converts, she remains at a disadvantage because former Jews who converted to Christianity were viewed with suspicion. As James Shapiro (*Shakespeare*), Janet Adelman (*Blood*), John Gross, Peter Berek, Aaron Kitch, Robert Healy, Stephen Greenblatt ("Marlowe"), Kenneth Gross, and Alan Dessen

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early modern population, living in a country which had expelled its Jewish population in 1290, was willing to assign Jewish provenance to ancient stone structures within their towns" (26, 28).

("Elizabethan") have all described, early modern English Protestants feared Marranos, Jews who had forcibly been converted to Catholicism by Spanish or Portuguese authorities. English Protestants viewed Marrano immigrants to England with suspicion, doubting the religious faithfulness and sincerity of people who supposedly converted from Judaism to Catholicism and then, upon arriving to England, to Protestantism (Berek 133). Early modern English Protestants, like those in the audience, lacked knowledge of who was definitively Jewish (or Catholic or Protestant). Jessica has an advantage over her father because she lacks the physical marker of circumcision, so she could potentially re-place herself in Venetian society. But, she demonstrates continuing uncertainty.

In order to form her identity independently from her father, she flees Shylock's home during the night, with plans to convert to Christianity and marry Lorenzo: "O, Lorenzo, / If thou keep promise I shall end this strife, / Become a Christian, and thy loving wife" (2.3.19-21). In deciding to leave Shylock, Jessica laments who her father is:

> Alack, what heinous sin it is in me
> To be ashamed to be my father's child!
> But, though I am a daughter to his blood,
> I am not to his manners. (2.3.16-19)

When she escapes with Lorenzo, she feels further "ashamed" at the fact that she disguises herself as a boy: "I am glad 'tis night you do not look on me, / For I am much ashamed of my exchange" (2.6.35-36). She expresses shame at her parentage and herself at these moments when her future is most uncertain; when she is about to escape her father and leave his house, she seems most doubtful of her identity.

Ashamed of herself, Jessica is displaced even after she escapes her father, marries, and converts. Shylock's friend Tubal reports to him how Jessica and Lorenzo are travelling, without any definitive association to physical place: "I often came where I did hear of her, but cannot

find her" (3.1.74-75). Her uncertainty in her position as a new Christian and wife is revealed in her wanderings outside of Venice. When Portia leaves Belmont for Venice, she gives the charge of her household to Lorenzo (as I quoted above), but does not extend that ownership to Jessica: "Lorenzo, I commit into your hands / The husbandry and manage of my house" (3.4.24-25). Excluded from the management of her father's house, Jessica is also excluded from Portia's house. Jessica tries to emplace herself in society through her marriage and conversion, but she lacks a physical place in which to ground her identity.

Although she lacks her own place after leaving her father's house, Jessica will gain her father's house when he dies. Given possession of half of Shylock's estate after Shylock is forced to convert, Antonio asks the court to give that property to Jessica and Lorenzo upon Shylock's death: "that he do record a gift / Here in the court of all he dies possessed / Unto his son Lorenzo and his daughter" (4.1. 384-386). After trying so hard to keep the Christian community from his life and home, Shylock must become a Christian. He will likely never fully integrate into that community, given his own desires and the contemporary suspicions regarding Marranos and Jews who are forced to convert. He will never be able to return to the Jewish community since, in addition to shutting it from his home, he has been forced from it through his conversion.[91] When she receives his house upon his death, Jessica will have the power to run the household as she could not when Shylock was alive. As a member of the Christian community, she will also be able to integrate the home with the surrounding community of Venice. That endeavor will be limited, however, since her Christian identity separates her from the Jewish community in which the house is located. After becoming a Christian, her future with her father's house, her future return to place, remains an uncertain one, and its effect on her identity is uncertain.

[91] Director Michael Radford visualizes this separation in his 2004 film of *The Merchant of Venice* with the synagogue door closing on the lone figure of Shylock (played by Al Pacino).

Jessica's scene with Lorenzo in which they recount tales of doomed lovers further casts an uncertain light on their marriage. The lines, "Did young Lorenzo swear he loved her well, / Stealing her soul with many vows of faith, / And ne'er a true one," could certainly be delivered in a playful manner, but the descriptions of ill-fated couples seem to darken their fate (5.1.18-20). Siguard Burckhardt goes so far as to say that Jessica and Lorenzo's "spontaneous love-match remains fruitless and useless; it redeems no one but is itself in urgent need of redemption" (253). He seems unduly harsh, but I agree that the fate of the marriage is uncertain, given Jessica's social displacement. Adelman suggests that an early modern English audience would have appreciated the connection between these doomed couples and Jessica and Lorenzo since "early death might be a more satisfying outcome for Shakespeare's audience than the mixed offspring of such a marriage would be" (88). Both Jessica and Portia potentially reidentify themselves after divesting themselves of physical places, but dire consequences to such reaffirmations potentially exist, particularly regarding their identities as wives. These consequences, however, remain outside the realm of the comedy.[92]

Despite their social displacement, no characters in *The Merchant of Venice* are exiled from the city, as Prospero is exiled from Milan in *The Tempest*. Exiled from his homeland, he is forced from his identity as duke of Milan. Prior to his exile, however, Prospero disregards his obligations as duke of Milan; he displaces himself from his role as ruler. When he arrives on the island, however, Prospero thrives in his roles of scholar and ruler (in addition to his role as father). As I argue, he needs to ground his identity as a ruler and scholar in the island before he

[92] Robin Russin notes the similarities between Portia and Jessica in "The Triumph of the Golden Fleece: Women, Money, Religion, and Power in Shakespeare's *Merchant of Venice*": "However, what is often overlooked is that it is Jessica, not Antonio, who most closely mirrors Portia in her actions: to subvert a father's will, to take control of his wealth, to dress like a man in order to deceive, and to marry a man whose suit pretends to be love, but whose primary interest in the marriage is financial" (117). I agree that the two are similar, but I am not sure that Portia "take[s] control of his wealth" in the same way that Jessica does. Portia receives the property at her father's death, but Jessica steals from her father.

can return to Milan to rule (but if he will actually return to Milan to rule is left unclear). Socially and physically displaced from Milan, he uses the island to re-place himself, to forge a new identity.

Like Coriolanus who scorns and rejects the people of Rome before he is exiled (and before he definitively turns his back), Prospero neglects his dukedom in Milan in favor of his "secret" study:

> And Prospero the prime Duke, being so reputed
> In dignity, and for the liberal arts
> Without a parallel; those being all my study,
> The government I cast upon my brother
> And to my state grew stranger, being transported
> And rapt in secret studies. (1.2.72-77)

His social status requires that he manage the physical place he rules, but he becomes a "stranger" to his government. He continues focusing on his studies, "neglecting worldly ends, all dedicated / To closeness, and the bettering of [his] mind" (1.2.90-91). Like Shylock isolating his house from Venice, Prospero shuts out Milan, socially displacing himself as duke: "Me, poor man, my library / Was dukedom large enough" (1.2.109-110). He prioritizes his library over his dukedom, an action emphasized through his celebration of the books his faithful servant acquires for him: "he furnished me / From mine own library, with volumes that / I prize above my dukedom" (1.2.166-168). Although such an action would be fitting to a scholar like Faustus, a duke cannot physically shut himself away in his library and leave the obligations of his dukedom to someone else, without risking serious consequences to his person and state. Prospero's brother effects the displacement from Milan that Prospero enacts by shutting himself away with his library. The way in which Prospero and Miranda are placed on a ship without a specific destination reveals Prospero's social and physical displacement:

> In few, they hurried us aboard a barque,

> Bore us some leagues to sea, where they prepared
> A rotten carcass of a butt, not rigged,
> Nor tackle, sail, nor mast—the very rats
> Instinctively have quit it. There they hoist us
> To cry to th'sea, that roared to us; to sigh
> To th'winds, whose pity sighing back again
> Did us but loving wrong. (1.2.144-151)

Leaving Milan, Prospero and his daughter are forced onto the space of the sea.

Prospero embraces the island as his new home: solidifying his role as a ruler, controlling the elements, and dispatching Ariel at whim (even if, as I note below, his rule over Caliban is more problematic). The play juxtaposes the opening scene of the tempest with his conversation with Miranda, balancing the way in which he now succeeds in the island with the ways he failed in Milan in the past. He uses the island to learn how to use his studies properly: "Exile appears to facilitate the achievement of Prospero's scholarly ambitions" (Kingsley-Smith 163). The island also affords him better opportunity to educate his daughter:

> Here in this island we arrived, and here
> Have I, thy schoolmaster, made thee more profit
> Than other princes can, that have more time
> For vainer hours, and tutors not so careful. (1.2.171-174)

Prospero makes the island a place with his experiences and, consequently, becomes more powerful in his identity as father, magician, and ruler. When the shipwrecked sailors arrive, Prospero can declare to them:

> I am Prospero, and that very duke
> Which was thrust forth of Milan, who most strangely
> Upon this shore, where you were wracked, was landed
> *To be the lord on't*. (5.1.159-162, emphasis added)

As Birgit Neumann explains, Prospero sees it as "providential" that he arrives on the island: "his survival is therefore a sure sign of his innocence and, ultimately, of the legitimacy of his control over the island (and his reaccession to his rightful dukedom)" (138-139). More than simply

justifying his rule over the island, Prospero's success on the island suggests that he is a legitimate ruler, regardless of the physical place over which he rules. Given his emplacement as a magician, ruler, and father on the island, he confidently declares himself "lord."

Given the power he has acquired during his exile, he certainly has an unusual response to reacquiring his dukedom. First, before he can return to Milan, he vows to

> break my staff,
> Bury it fathoms in the earth,
> And deeper than did ever plummet sound
> I'll drown my book. (5.1.54-57)

The book(s) that caused him to neglect his dukedom will not return with him. On the one hand, the reaction seems wise since the books initially caused trouble for him. On the other hand, he has flourished with them on the island, and his control over them is reflected in his control over the island (and the confidence in self that he displays to the shipwrecked noblemen). In Milan, the books controlled him, but on the island, he controls the books. In drowning his books, he seems to reject the island that has strengthened his identity and given him such power. His uncertain response regarding his return to Milan, "And thence retire me to my Milan, where / Every third thought shall be my grave," is not a particularly positive view of his upcoming return home, although he does assert his ownership by calling it "*my* Milan" (5.1.308-309). The ending remains as uncertain as when Portia has yet to enter her house; we do not know what Portia will find in her house in the future, and we do not know what will happen when Prospero returns to Milan, fixated on death. He rejects a large part of his refashioned identity to reclaim a place from his past. It is uncertain what exactly will happen to Prospero; if anything, he remains in limbo on the island, asking the audience in the epilogue to "Let your indulgence set me free" (20).

Even with this final uncertainty, Prospero does reacquire the social and physical places that once grounded his identity. The fates are less kind to Caliban, the seeming heir apparent to

the island. In contrast to Prospero's own positive depictions of his rule on the island, Caliban suggests that Prospero's rule is not legitimate:

> For I am all the subjects that you have,
> Which first was mine own king; and here you sty me
> In this hard rock, whiles you do keep from me
> The rest o' th' island. (1.2.341-344)

Prospero chooses to isolate himself within his study in Milan, but Caliban is forced within a "hard rock" away from "[t]he rest o' th' island." Caliban also claims (in a statement well analyzed in post-colonial criticism), "This island's mine by Sycorax my mother, / Which thou tak'st from me" (1.2.331-332). Post-colonial studies have illuminated the problematic nature of Prospero's claim to the island; in terms of place and identity, the play shows one character who reclaims his identity through place, and another who loses his identity as a result. Caliban expresses his ownership of a physical place, "This island's mine," but Prospero has claimed that place as part of his identity and, through his experiences, made that place part of his identity. Like Jessica in *Merchant*, Caliban's social displacement is not easily resolved; physical place is important (which Caliban claims), but place *and* experiences are important to identity. Prospero does finally claim Caliban: "this thing of darkness I / Acknowledge mine" (5.1.275-276), but what happens to Caliban is unclear.

Miranda has something in common with Caliban, despite their antagonism toward each other. Caliban's uncertain position when the play ends resembles Miranda's. She has gained the new identity of wife and the even greater title of wife to the heir-apparent of Naples. But, it is uncertain what these new social places will bring her, and whether she can successfully establish her identity after she leaves the island. The island is all she knows, and everything else is a "brave new world /That has such people in't" (5.1.183-184). In these plays, Shakespeare suggests that physical place holds a significant role in forming identity, but it is not the only

element. The experience of place, not just the place itself, will prove essential to Miranda's identity.

The ambiguous degree to which physical place forms an individual's identity in *The Tempest* likely relates to the time in which the play was written. Given the date of composition, the play could have been first performed at the Globe or at Blackfriars. The actual location remains unknown. Andrew Gurr's "*The Tempest*'s Tempest at Blackfriars" makes a convincing case that it was first performed at Blackfriars (Dymkowski 4). Gurr argues that the play is "uniquely a musical play among Shakespeare's writing," and Blackfriars had more famous musicians than the Globe (92). Second, he contends, "*The Tempest* is the first of his plays to show unequivocal evidence that it was conceived with act breaks in mind" (93). He cites, for instance, the moment when Prospero and Ariel exit at the end of act four and reenter at the beginning of act five (93). He also notes a number of costume changes for Ariel in which act breaks are necessary to provide him sufficient time to change (94). But, even if the play was written for Blackfriars, Dymkowski notes that the play would have found a home at both theaters: "there was no distinction in the repertories of the two theatres nor any need for one, since the indoor theatre did not offer any facilities unavailable at the amphitheatre" (5). Although Shakespeare may have taken advantage of the facilities at Blackfriars as Gurr argues, he likely kept the audiences for both theaters in mind, given his astute consideration of his audiences throughout his works. This play anticipates my discussion of Jonson's *The Alchemist*, which was likely written when the King's Men first performed at Blackfriars. *The Alchemist* uses its London setting to emphasize that not only place but also experience is necessary to an individual's identity. Prospero demonstrates how experience *and* place define his identity, but, in their dependence on physical place, Caliban and Miranda are left with more ambiguous fates.

**Home in a New Place**

After his return to Stratford, Shakespeare purchased a residence in London: "a 'dwelling house or tenement' built over one of the great gatehouses of the old Blackfriars priory" (Greenblatt 379). Greenblatt explains that Shakespeare never actually lived there, renting it instead "to someone named John Robinson" (379). Greenblatt speculates on the legal reasons for such a purchase, but it is worth noting that Shakespeare would continue to own a home in London. Despite the fact that he returned to Stratford and that he owned an impressive home there, he kept another home in London: a reflection of the changing dynamics of place in early modern England and the way in which physical place held a significant, but not exclusively defining role, in one's identity. Shakespeare may have remained rooted in his original home, but he is also drawn to the possibility of returning to London. Not bound to one physical place, he claims a new, higher social status in Stratford when he moves into—not coincidentally—New Place. The necessity of place *and* experiences is further celebrated in the plays of Shakespeare's contemporary, (O Rare) Ben Jonson.

CHAPTER 5

# "THE HOUSE IS MINE HERE": BEN JONSON, INDIVIDUALS, AND PLACE

Both Anne Barton and Ian Donaldson begin works on Ben Jonson by discussing his 1618 journey from London to Edinburgh, a journey he undertook on foot and "purely for pleasure" (Barton 1).[93] By walking across England and (unknowingly) enacting Michel de Certeau's phenomenological theory of place, Jonson experienced place in a way unlike most of his theatrical contemporaries.[94] In his dramas, Jonson features place by specifying locations and integrating the settings of some plays with the theaters in which they were performed. He also extends the experience of place to his audiences, demonstrating that both place and the experiences that create it are significant to an individual's identity.

Given Jonson's extensive knowledge of places in and around his native London as well as abroad, Jonsonian criticism largely focuses on Jonson's attempt to "center" characters: to give them a place to which they gravitate.[95] Critics have seen this center not only in his plays' settings but also in his characters' self-developments. In his seminal article, "Ben Jonson and the Centered Self," Thomas Greene writes that the "centered self" is the key to understanding characters within Jonson's plays. The symbol of the circle in the "centered self" originates from

[93] Barton also relays Francis Bacon's delightful response to Jonson's journey: "he did not like to see poetry going on any feet other than spondees and dactyls" (1). James Loxley, Anna Groundwater, and Julie Sanders recently edited Jonson's "Foot Voyage" as *Ben Jonson's Walk to Scotland* for Cambridge University Press.

[94] The notable exception is actor Will Kempe, who Morris-danced his way from London to Norwich during nine days in 1600.

[95] Ian Donaldson notes in *Ben Jonson* that Jonson's birthplace is not "known with complete certainty," but Donaldson posits "in or near the City of London" (58). In addition to writing Jonson's biography and extensive criticism, Donaldson is one of the editors of the recent Cambridge edition of Jonson's complete works, an invaluable contribution to Jonson scholarship.

Jonson's emblem: "Jonson significantly chose to adopt as his personal emblem the figure of a broken compass and an incomplete circle" (Donaldson, *Jonson's* 30-31). Unlike Jonson who represents his self as an "incomplete circle," his characters' identities should be as constant as a circle is unbroken. Breaking a circle (as so many of Jonson's characters do in their pursuits of wealth or other worldly desires) detrimentally affects the individual: "Center and circle become symbols, not only of harmony and completeness but of stability, repose, fixation, duration, and the incomplete circle, uncentered and misshapen, comes to symbolize a flux or a mobility, grotesquely or dazzlingly fluid" (Greene 326).

Greene's article has inspired extensive work on the way in which Jonson's characters must symbolically and physically center themselves.[96] Borrowing the "broken compass" as the title of his monograph on Jonson, Edward Partridge concludes that while the centered self is Jonson's ideal, it is never achieved in his plays (or in his own life): "the compass was broken, the circle could never be complete, and perfection was eternally marred here below the moon" (239). Something always prevents Jonson's characters from achieving unity: "At the moment of recognition, something still fails to fit. The action ends but the self [that is] discovered through the action is bereft" (Danson 179). That Jonson's characters never fully redeem themselves is perhaps unsurprising given the way that earlier characters in this study have failed to reclaim places and reintegrate those places into their identities after they are separated from them, but these critics still suggest that the center is a necessary part of these characters' identities. In contrast to the Jonsonian criticism that emphasizes the essential element of place (or a center), I argue that Jonson demonstrates that an individual's experiences are just as essential to identity as

[96] Ann C. Christensen responds to Greene's exclusively male vision in "Reconsidering Ben Jonson and the Centered Self." She concludes that women, despite Greene's exclusion, are necessary to Jonson's centering: "women . . . are in fact crucial in the definition of Jonson's circle metaphors and thereby in the construction of Jonsonian households in both the poems and plays" (1).

the places that are created from those experiences. In many of Jonson's plays, physical place is not the central factor to defining identity as it was in earlier Elizabethan plays.

Although in his plays, place is only one contributor to identity, Jonson does show its significance when he specifies the places in which his dramas are set. The specificity of Jonson's settings capitalizes on his knowledge of geography and his familiarity with the precepts of architecture and building. Jonson's stepfather was a bricklayer, and Jonson maintained his own membership in the bricklayers' guild for "a remarkably long period of his life," even after he had achieved success on the stage (Donaldson, *Ben* 89). Ian Donaldson argues that Jonson uses his building skills in his plays: "It is characteristic of Jonson to perceive literary works in spatial terms: as objects laid out and built up like courts or palaces or private houses, to be walked around, observed, inhabited, their details and proportions and the relationship of their parts appreciatively assessed" (*Jonson's* 66). A.W. Johnson likewise contends that Jonson's structural use of a physical center, or "[c]entralized placement" (in Johnson's words), emerges from Ben Jonson's knowledge of architecture: "Centralized placement… is an important structural feature in Jonson's work, acting as a focal core around which other ideas are assembled" (86). The structural center, as Martin Butler describes it, "draws together an assembly of individuals who have no other commonality or collective purposes, and who come from far-flung quarters of their play's world" (21). For Jonson, the "centre attractive" is "an object of desire that serves to draw characters magnetically to some central location (a house, a fairground) and, generally, in due course, to their downfall" (Donaldson, *Ben* 110). Donaldson makes an interesting point that the "centre attractive" is actually a place of the characters' "downfall," even though, as Greene contends, Jonson strongly believes in the necessity of the center to his characters' identities. I

will pick up this point more below when I consider the experiences of the characters in addition to the actual destination, or "centre attractive," to which they are pulled.

For these "centers," Jonson often relies on locations in London. In her 1984 book, *Ben Jonson: Dramatist*, Anne Barton notes the significance of London in Jonson's works, arguing, for instance, that London serves an essential role in *Every Man In His Humor*: "The city is the true centre of the comedy and, to a large extent, its main character" (46). Shakespeare often presents the country as an escape from the city; Jonson uses the city in *Every Man In* as an escape from the country: "*Every Man In His Humour,* by contrast, starts in the country and then gravitates to the city: the place where its real interests lie" (Barton 47). For Barton, London is the necessary catalyst for the play's action.[97] Theodore B. Leinwand goes so far as to argue in *The City Staged: Jacobean Comedy, 1603-1613* that the feelings of Londoners outside Jonson's theater were partially shaped by the London inside his theater: "city comedies are produced in a theater that is shaped by the city and that, in its turn, crystallizes the attitudes *of* city dwellers *for* city dwellers" (13).[98] Regardless of the effect of Jonson's plays on the development of the real London, the city serves a central role in his dramas.

In an attempt to achieve unity of place, Jonson also famously sets some plays in the same location as the theaters in which they were performed. I discuss this in more detail below, but examples include Morose's house in Whitefriars in *Epicene* and Lovewit's house in Blackfriars in *The Alchemist.* The location of *Bartholomew Fair*'s public theater is not the same as the actual fair, but the location of the play's performance echoes the fair's spirit, since the Hope Theatre served as both a theater and a site of "fair-like" entertainments such as bear-baiting. I will use

[97] *Every Man In His Humour* exists in two versions: the 1598 quarto version (set in Florence) and the 1616 folio version (set in London). Barton here discusses the folio version.

[98] Mary Bly disagrees, arguing that *Epicene*'s appeal is that it creates "a world that is *not* the world of the paying audience" (68). People came to Whitefriars to see something different: in Bly's phrasing, Whitefriars had a "tourist" attraction that Jonson exploits in his comedy.

these settings to demonstrate how Jonson, like his contemporaries, explores what it means to reject a place and how it affects an individual's sense of self. He maintains the ambiguities we saw in Shakespeare's comedies and romances, but he also considers what a successful return to place says about an individual's identity.

Like Shakespeare's, Jonson's approach to place and identity changes in his dramas. He begins like Marlowe and Kyd by demonstrating that physical place can play the central role in forming an individual's identity. In an early Jacobean play, *Volpone*, the title character does not falter in his plans until he leaves his home: "I ne'er was in dislike with my disguise / Till this fled moment. Here 'twas good, in private" (5.1.2-3).[99] Jonson also uses the character of Sir Politic-Would-Be as a laughable Englishman who unsuccessfully tries to integrate himself in Venetian society; Sir Politic fails to make places outside of England part of his identity. In *Epicene*, the misanthropic Morose is excessively attached to his home, but instead of facing dire consequences when he gives it away, as Volpone does, Morose is a figure of scorn. Morose's home becomes a place to many different characters; the experiences prove more significant than the house itself. In a play that also demonstrates that place and the experiences that create place are both important to a character's identity, Lovewit successfully returns to his home in Blackfriars in *The Alchemist*, returning to gain more money and a new, socially well-positioned wife. In the wide range of characters in *Bartholomew Fair*, Jonson shows how characters no longer need to rely on place for their identities.

In his recent book, *Our Scene is London: Ben Jonson's City and the Space of the Author,* James D. Mardock argues that "virtuous" characters in Jonson's plays do not use place to construct their identities: "the virtuous man maintains his subjectivity as he performs *espace*,

[99] Unless otherwise noted, references to Jonson's plays come from *The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Ben Jonson*, 7 volumes, eds. David Bevington, Martin Butler, and Ian Donaldson.

refusing to be fundamentally altered by the places he visits" (19). Mardock argues that performing social roles emplaces characters not in place but in *espace,* borrowing the French term for space. For him, *espace* is a "place" that does not affect the individual's identity; instead of considering both place and experience as part of identity, Mardock entirely dismisses the role of place.[100] He extends that power over place to Jonson as an author: "They [Jonson's characters] have, in short, the sort of authorial agency over the space and place of London that Jonson claims for himself" (54). Of course, Mardock's assumption that an individual can be *completely* unaffected by place contradicts the theory behind this project, the arguments of Tuan, Bachelard, Certeau, Casey, and Malpas. Further, although Jonson does show that place does not have the sole central role that earlier playwrights afforded it, Jonson does not then (as Mardock suggests) completely dismiss how place and experience together form identity.

It is perhaps unsurprising given his cross-country journey, but Jonson, more than any other writer in this study, anticipates Michel de Certeau's theory on the creation of place, the significance of the *practice* and creation of places to the individual's identity.[101] The journey to the center, the travel of the compass point around the dial to north, is just as important as the destination. In *Epicene, The Alchemist,* and *Bartholomew Fair*, Jonson celebrates mobility and what the individual can accomplish through his experiences; the danger is remaining in one place, as Morose and Volpone do. As in de Certeau, with his emphasis on walking and

[100] Mardock argues that *espace* is a separate level from the *locus* and *platea,* concepts popularized by Robert Weimann in *Shakespeare and the Popular Tradition in the Theater*. Weimann argues how an actor spatially connects with the audience, a connection necessary for an individual to establish place. He argues that the stage is figuratively divided between the "unlocalized" *platea* and the elevated, representational *locus.* Focusing on the fool and the Vice character, Weimann finds the *platea* (or downstage position) as the position in which a character connects most with the audience. He contends that the language the actor uses in that downstage position reflects the connection established with the audience. In contrast to the space and place theorists that I discuss in my introduction, Weimann contends that "place" (the *platea*) is unlocalized.

[101] Mardock also evokes de Certeau, but does so when he differentiates between the text and the performing of the text: "In repeatedly returning to this analogy of place as text, and space as the performance (practice) of it, I hope to show that de Certeau's model provides a way to conceptualize the various roles that Jonson, as a dramatic author, could take: as a producer of texts on the one hand, as a producer and performer of plays on the other" (14).

experiencing, experience is also significant to identity in Jonson's works. By the time we reach Jonson's works, so many people have migrated to London that their origins may have become less important than who they have become in London.

***Volpone***

Jonson likely wrote *Volpone* in early 1606, according to Cambridge editor Richard Dutton (4). Roughly written at the same time as *King Lear*, *Volpone* dates from the very early years of King James' reign, when the population of London continued to grow. I pause briefly to note that I am excluding from consideration in this dissertation Jonson's major Elizabethan works, notably the comedies of humours *Every Man In His Humour* (1598 quarto) and *Every Man Out of His Humour* (1600). Those plays, as I noted above in my brief discussion of *Every Man In*, do prominently feature place, with *Every Man In* set in a Florence loosely based on London (with characters gravitating towards Cob's house) and *Every Man Out* set in London. *Every Man Out* showcases St. Paul's Cathedral as a physical and social center in London, with characters walking the aisles to gossip and transact business. Cordatus urges the audience, "we must desire you to presuppose the stage the middle aisle in Paul's, and that, the west end of it" (3.1.1-3). Shift promotes his popularity within St. Paul's Walk: "Sir, my name is Cavalier Shift. I am known sufficiently in this walk, sir" (3.1.348). Although place plays a prominent role in these Elizabethan comedies, I have chosen not to analyze them because of both the number of characters with which Jonson deals and the number of places in which the plays are set. In terms of the former, these Elizabethan plays differ from *Volpone* or *Epicene*, which afford one the opportunity to focus on prominent characters. Of course, I do analyze *Bartholomew Fair*, a play that Donaldson describes as "a huge piece, longer in running time than almost any other play of the early modern theater. . . [with] nearly forty speaking parts" *(Ben* 332). The difference

between *Bartholomew Fair* and the Elizabethan comedies of humours lies in the latter of my two reasons; unlike *Every Man In* and *Every Man Out*, *Bartholomew Fair* has unity of place at the fair (after starting in act 1 at Dame Purecraft's and the Littlewits' house). Characters in *Every Man In* and *Every Man Out* travel throughout the larger places of "Florence" and London, but characters in *Bartholomew Fair* travel for the majority of the play within the fair. These two reasons for excluding Jonson's humoural Elizabethan comedies also apply to Jonson's collaborative plays like *Eastward Ho!* (1605), most of which are largely ensemble comedies. Jonson's other major Elizabethan work is *Sejanus* (1603), a play that I have excluded because Jonson specializes in comedy. Unlike Shakespeare who works successfully in both genres, Jonson only truly succeeds in comedy; *Sejanus* and his even-lesser-known Jacobean tragedy *Catiline His Conspiracy* (1611) are so generically different from his other works that I cannot use them to draw conclusions about Jonson's work. His court masques, which form another large portion of Jonson's dramatic works, are intended for an exclusive audience, so I have similarly excluded them from my discussion.

In his influential essay on Jonson, Greene argues, "The subject of *Volpone* is Protean man, man without core and principle and substance. It is an anatomy of metamorphosis, the exaltations and nightmares of our psychic discontinuities. It is one of the greatest essays we possess on the ontology of selfhood" (339). According to Greene, Volpone's lack of a centered self, or moral center, leads to his downfall and harsh punishment in the hospital: "The sinful thirst for perpetual metamorphosis calls for the immobility of bed and chain" (339). Like Face and Subtle in *The Alchemist*, Volpone is—to borrow Greene's word—protean in the way he fashions himself for his audiences: the individuals who come in hopes of his inheritance, the innocent Celia he tries to seduce, and the avocatori of the Scrutineo's law courts. In his various

recreations from a sickly to a virile man, however, Volpone spends most of his time in his house, traveling only briefly to the piazza to catch Celia's eye and to the Scrutineo to renounce her and his servant Mosca. Greene argues that Volpone's constant re-imaginings of self demonstrate that his identity lacks a "core," synonymous with "principle and substance." In contrast, I argue that the "core" of Volpone's self is the physical place of his home; dire consequences result when he leaves it and when he tries to divest himself of it.[102]

After he travels to the court to secure judgment against Celia, Volpone becomes uncomfortable with his identity as a trickster. Barton notes, "the fact that although both previous ventures out of his lair into the liberty of the world outside have been fraught with peril, a newly restive and dissatisfied Fox cannot now remain indoors. The error, this time, is irrecoverable" (117). As Barton intimates, Volpone does travel outside of his home prior to his trip to the Scrutineo; by choice, he disguises himself as a mountebank in the piazza.[103] When he travels to the Scrutineo, he must (against his will) do so as a sick old man, a disguise he has previously chosen to wear only at home. After his trip to the Scrutineo, Volpone laments, "I ne'er was in dislike with my disguise / Till this fled moment. Here 'twas good, in private" (5.1.2-3). This is not to suggest that leaving his house erases his identity; instead, the play suggests that Volpone's identity depends on the physical place of his home. Part of divesting himself of his identity as trickster and actor, "I ne'er was in dislike with my disguise / Till this fled moment," includes divesting himself of his home (and giving it to Mosca); doing so also affects his social status in

[102] In "Jonsonian Comedy," Lawrence Danson argues that Volpone's acting shows that he lacks selfhood: "When Jonson's rogues disguise themselves to set their plots in motion, the expectation for a fifth-act discovery is generated as surely as it is when Viola or Rosalind take on their disguises or when the lovers flee to the Athenian woods. These Shakespearean characters have a self to come home to, but a Volpone has only a succession of roles to play in his 'face-to-face negotiations' with a world of more or less significant others. For the self and for the others, the succession is the identity" (187).

[103] Although Sir Politic points out to Peregrine that where Volpone locates himself as a mountebank is atypical: "I wonder, yet, that he should mount his bank / Here, in this nook, that has been wont t'appear / In face of the Piazza!" (2.2.25-27).

Venice. In *Volpone*, Jonson follows the principles of place and self that we saw in many Elizabethan dramas: physical place has an essential role in defining identity. Volpone does not successfully subsume places outside of his home into his identity; his identity is thoroughly bound up in his home.

In the opening of the play, Jonson shows how Volpone thrives as an actor and trickster at home. Using the prospect of his inheritance to attract people, he convinces each person that he or she will be his heir so he can gain more wealth through their gifts: "Women and men of every sex and age / . . . bring me presents, send me plate, coin, jewels" (1.1.77-78). "This [his wealth]," he says, "draws new clients daily to [his] house" (1.1.76). In *Rival Playwrights,* James Shapiro rightly notes the similarities between the location of the opening scene of *Volpone* and the opening settings of *The Jew of Malta* and *Doctor Faustus* (although he does not then explore the significance of physical place)*:* "Recalling Faustus in his study and Barabas in his counting house, the play opens with the overreacher, isolated, declaring his devotion to his object of desire" (63). Like Barabas housing his "infinite riches" within his home, Volpone uses his home as a place to house his fortune: "Good morning to the day, and next, my gold! / Open the shrine that I may see my saint" (1.1.1-2).[104] Unlike Barabas, however, Volpone has not housed his household there, for he lacks a family: "I have no wife, no parents, child, ally / To give my substance to" (1.1.73-74). Instead, Volpone keeps his servant Mosca as well as Nano, Andrygyno, and Castrone, "fresh gamesters" he keeps for his entertainment (1.2.1).

[104] As Ellorashree Maitra has argued, Volpone displays possessiveness of his house, particularly the wealth housed within his home. The play begins with Volpone's celebration of the gold within his home: "Good morning to the day: and next, *my* gold! / Open the shrine that I may see *my* saint. / Hail the world's soul, and *mine*!" (1.1.1-3, emphasis added). According to Maitra, who focuses on these and other possessives in the play: "*Volpone's* possessives mark people as property to be possessed in the same way as the goods on the Venetian market" (116). She does not explore the extent to which Volpone then defines his identity through his home.

Jonson shows how Volpone thrives as an actor at home, altering his appearance to convince each of his dupes. When Voltore arrives in 1.3, for instance, Volpone speaks faintly and intimates to Voltore that he will die soon: "I feel me going—uh! uh! uh! uh! / I am sailing to my port—uh! uh! uh! uh! / And I am glad I am so near my haven" (1.3.28-30). For the nearly deaf Corbaccio, speaking faintly will not serve Volpone's purpose, so he feigns sleep. As Mosca urges Volpone upon Corbaccio's arrival, "Betake you to your silence and your sleep" (1.4.1). Speaking faintly for Corvino, Volpone pretends he is deaf. As Mosca says, "He cannot understand, his hearing's gone; / And yet it comforts him to see you" (1.5.15-16). In the hopes that it will inspire her to leave and stop trying to give him "restorative" medicine, Volpone tells the verbose and overly helpful Lady Politic-Would-Be that he is actually feeling better: "I'm very well. You need prescribe no more" (3.4.66). The home represents his inheritance to the dupes and provides him the theater in which to perform his various roles.

As I quoted above, Volpone does not question this arrangement until he must go to the Scrutineo to demonstrate that someone so ill could not attack the innocent Celia. His advocate Voltore proclaims when the "impotent" Volpone is brought in the court (4.6.20 sd):

> See here, grave fathers, here's the ravisher,
> The rider on men's wives, the great imposter,
> The grand voluptuary! Do you not think
> These limbs should affect venery? Or these eyes
> Covet a concubine? Pray you, mark these hands:
> Are they not fit to stroke a lady's breasts?
> Perhaps he doth dissemble? (4.6.21-29)

Within the realm of the court, Volpone must be silent; he cannot use the acting skills that he uses in his home. He must depend only on his appearance, and he later notes that he cannot be a successful actor outside of his home:

> Here 'twas good, in private,
> But, in your public—*cavé*, whilst I breathe.

> ‘Fore God, my left leg ‘gan to have the cramp,
> And I apprehended straight some power had struck me
> With a dead palsy. (5.1.3-7)

His identity depends on his home, and his plans begin to fall apart when he tries to disengage himself from that place. After realizing his disguises’ limitations, Volpone devises a new plan to “vex ‘em all” (5.2.56) by making Mosca his heir:

> I will ha’ thee put on a gown
> And take upon thee as thou were mine heir;
> Show ‘em a will. Open that chest and reach
> Forth one of those that has the blanks. (5.2.69-72)

By rejecting his home, Volpone no longer owns his fortune (even if he incorrectly assumes that Mosca will return it to him), and he can no longer be the trickster he was:

> VOLPONE. That I could now but think on some disguise
> To meet ‘em in, and ask ‘em questions.
> How I would vex ‘em still at every turn!
> MOSCA. Sir, I can fit you.
> VOLPONE. Canst thou?
> MOSCA. Yes, I know
> One o’the *commendatori,* sir, so like you,
> Him will I straight make drunk, and bring you his habit.
> VOLPONE. A rare disguise, and answering thy brain! (5.3.110-116)

One of the consequences of giving away his home is that Volpone’s identity begins to suffer; he must depend on Mosca to give him an appropriate disguise outside of his home. Mosca claims Volpone’s home and makes it a part of his identity: “So, now I have the keys and am possessed. / Since he will needs be dead afore his time, / I’ll bury him or gain by him. I’m his heir” (5.5.12-14).

When the lawyer Voltore returns to the Scrutineo to profess the wronged Celia’s innocence, the advocatori summon Mosca to resolve whether Volpone is actually dead. Formerly a servant, Mosca is welcomed to the court as a “gentleman” (5.12.49), and an advocatore sees him as a good husband for his daughter: “A proper man! And, were Volpone dead, / A fit match

for my daughter" (5.12.51-52). This aside implies how Volpone's supposed death, and the transfer of his home (as well as the wealth it houses), has elevated Mosca in Venice. Conversely, it indicates the extent to which Volpone's status was invested in that home; now that Mosca has subsumed it, Volpone has no place in Venice.

*Volpone* is ostensibly a comedy, but Volpone receives a harsh punishment for his trickery:

> And since the most was gotten by imposture,
> By feigning lame, gout, palsy, and such diseases,
> Thou art to life in prison, cramped with irons,
> Till thou be'st sick and lame indeed. (5.12.121-124)

This harsh ending has certainly garnered critical attention (since it goes against typical comic closure), but it is notable in the way in which it defines Volpone by his trickery as well as his physical place. If the punishment fits the crime, he is punished for not only his disguises ("By feigning lame, gout, palsy, and such diseases") but also that he has rejected the place that has defined him.

Volpone's identity is thoroughly based in the place that is his home, but Sir Politic-Would-Be's identity is thoroughly based in England and is, in addition, oddly dependent on his wife, much like Arden's. Also like Arden, Sir Politic is not successful at creating new places or incorporating them into his identity. In his first appearance, Sir Politic articulates questionable motivations for being in Venice:

> Sir, to a wise man all the world's his soil.
> It is not Italy, nor France, nor Europe
> That must bound me, if my fates call me forth.
> Yet I protest it is no salt desire
> Of seeing countries, shifting a religion,
> Nor any dissatisfaction to the state
> Where I was bred (and unto which I owe
> My dearest plots) hath brought me out; much less
> That idle, antique, stale, grey-headed project

> Of knowing men's minds and manners, with Ulysses;
> But a peculiar humour of my wife's,
> Laid for this height of Venice, to observe,
> To quote, to learn the language, and so forth. (2.1.1-13)

Sir Politic highlights some typical motivations for foreign travel (the appeal of the exotic, religious conversion, and dislike of England), but his motivation lies in his desire to please his wife's "peculiar humour." Physically displaced from his homeland, he is socially displaced since his wife rules him. By traveling to Venice, Sir Politic separates himself from both England and what should be his proper status in England's society.

England defines his identity because it is painfully obvious to other characters that Sir Politic is English and not Venetian. He fails to understand other Venetians despite his profession that "all the world's his soil" (and he is certainly not a "wise man" either). Sir Politic is convinced, for instance, that Volpone is a mountebank and that his wares are genuine:

> VOLPONE. For, whilst others have been at the balloo I have been at my book, and am now past the craggy paths of study and come to the flow'ry plains of honor and reputation.
> POLITIC. I do assure you, sir [Peregrine], that is his aim. (2.2.167-170)

Peregrine attaches himself to Sir Politic since his blunders are so entertaining: "This knight, / I may not lose him, for my mirth, till night" (2.3.15-16). In *Volpone*'s subplot, Peregrine convinces Sir Politic that the Venetian government plans to arrest him for treason: a supposed spy "has made relation to the Senate / that [Sir Politic] professed to him to have a plot / To sell the state of Venice to the Turk" (5.4.36-38). To avoid capture, Sir Politic employs Peregrine's help to disguise himself as a tortoise: "Here I've a place, sir, to put back my legs; / Please you to lay it on, sir; with this cap / And my black gloves. I'll lie, sir, like a tortoise" (5.4.56-58). The tortoise disguise symbolically represents his inability to immigrate successfully; he carries his homeland (his shell) with him, obvious to everyone that he is not from Venice. When the shell is

removed from his disguise and his ridiculous self is revealed, he vows to return to England: "And I, to shun this place and clime for ever, / Creeping with house on back, and think it well / To shrink my poor head in my politic shell" (5.4.87-89). Greene argues, "The tortoise shell in which he finally hides suggests a creature without a stable home base, and this is indeed the symbolic interpretation Sir Pol himself makes of his own exile" (342). But, he does have a "stable home base" in England, and he needs to return to England. Like Aeneas in Marlowe's *Dido, Queen of Carthage*, he cannot divest himself of a place, even when he is apart from it. Neither Volpone nor Sir Politic successfully fashions his identity without the place that grounds it.

***Epicene***

In *Epicene* (1609-1610), Jonson situates the house of the misanthropic Morose in Whitefriars, which is also the location of the play's opening performance.[105] In this unity of place between theater and play, audience members could translate their knowledge of the theater's environs to the Boy's description of Morose's lodging: "he hath chosen a street to lie in so narrow at both ends that it will receive no coaches nor carts nor any of these common noises" (1.1.164-166).[106] Echoing the separation of Morose's home from the surrounding community, the liberty of Whitefriars was separated from the jurisdiction of surrounding London. According to Mary Bly, many critics err in treating London's liberties as uniformly the same; she argues that each liberty had specific defining characteristics.[107] Whitefriars was associated with "non-

[105] I adopt the spelling of the play from the Cambridge and Norton editors, but it is also commonly spelled *Epicoene*.

[106] References to *Epicene* come from *The Norton Anthology of English Renaissance Drama.*

[107] Mullaney treats the liberties uniformly in *The Place of the Stage.* Wells likewise does so in "Jacobean City Comedy": "liberties were places of refuge for festive activity—for theaters and markets (Bartholomew Fair was held in Spitalfields), for gaming and houses for resort" (42).

normative sexual practices," an association that Jonson exploits in the marriage between Morose and the disguised boy of the play's title (Bly 67). Not only the marriage but also the marriage celebration are non-normative: "even his marriage is to proceed without due celebration" (Ayers 82). As Partridge also says, "the play is fundamentally concerned with deviations from a norm" (170-171).[108]

The way that Morose isolates himself from this surrounding community is also non-normative. Morose physically isolates himself from experiencing places during the rare times he actually leaves his home:

> TRUWIT. I met that stiff piece of formality, his uncle, yesterday, with a huge turban of nightcaps on his head, buckled over his ears.
> CLERIMONT. Oh, that's his custom when he walks abroad. He can endure no noise, man. (1.1.138-142)

Like Shylock, Morose remains socially displaced since, outside of his own home, he actively rejects sensory experience and the places that he would create from those experiences. The one place that he does experience—his home—is equally isolated from the surrounding community. As I quoted above, Morose chooses "a street . . . so narrow at both ends that it will receive no coaches nor carts nor any of these common noises" (1.1.164-166), and he remains further isolated within that home: "the perpetuity of ringing has made him devise a room with double walls and treble ceilings, the windows close shut and caulked, and there he lives by candlelight" (1.1.180-183). Morose's windows are "caulked," preventing the possibility of experiencing of his surroundings. By socially displacing himself from a non-normative community, Morose is

[108] The play's performance by a children's company further emphasizes the separation of this play's characters from normative practices. In exploring the Children of the Queen's Revels' performance of *Epicene*, Edel Lamb notes that the company exploits the early modern English belief that childhood was a time to develop masculinity. With childhood viewed as an essentially pre-masculine period, *all* children were considered feminine: "To be a child…is to be in the process of becoming masculine and this temporal element exposes the precarious nature of gendered identity itself" (181). For many early modern English, male children existed in an unusual position between genders. Lucy Munro further argues that the Children of the Queen's Revels regularly critiqued social status: "the Queen's Revels comedies actively interrogate the social identities associated with the spectators, and the performance of social class by actors highlights its mutability outside the theatre" (66).

the most isolated character in the play, separated from other non-normative characters and the (theoretically) normative audience.

Socially displaced from the surrounding community, Morose is excessively emplaced within his house in his nearly soundproof, dark room. Like Volpone, Morose depends on his home for his identity (particularly since he refuses to experience place outside of his home); in contrast to *Volpone,* however, Jonson's focus on Morose's rootedness in his home demonstrates the changing significance of place to identity. Instead of Morose experiencing fatal consequences from letting other characters take over his home, the ease with which those characters appropriate his home signals that place is not as central to identity as it previously has been. For Jonson, Morose is a ridiculous character for believing that he could isolate himself from experiences outside his home and rely entirely on his home. From 3.4 to the end of the play, bedlam ensues, with the other characters taking over Morose's house and creating for him a "purgatory" (4.1.6). They, unlike him, do not limit their experiences of place; he offers Haughty complete control of it: "Will it please Your Ladyship command a chamber and be private with your friend? You shall have your choice of rooms to retire to after; *my whole house is yours*" (3.6.96-98, emphasis added). Other characters continue to take over the house, with Morose lamenting, "My very house turns round with the tumult!" (5.3.58-59). Bombarded with noise and willing to do anything to annul his marriage to his loud-mouthed wife, he offers to leave the home he has renounced:

> So it would rid me of her! And that I did supererogatory penance in a belfry at Westminster Hall, i' the Cockpit, at the fall of a stag, the Tower Wharf—what place is there else?—London Bridge, Paris Garden, Billingsgate, when the noises are at their height and loudest. Nay, I would sit out a play that were nothing but fights at sea, drum, trumpet, and target! (4.4.12-18)

Prior to this offer, Morose is like Volpone in rejecting places that define or could potentially define his identity.[109] But his rejection demonstrates not the significance of place but the changing reliance of identity on place. In *Epicene,* Morose's home is a palimpsest of individual experiences; that so many characters invade his home indicates the extent to which the home is only one element to identity. Morose seems particularly laughable because he believes that he can isolate himself within his home and only rely on that home for his identity. Furthermore, the play's London setting enhances Morose's ridiculousness for the audience; as the audience knew from traveling to the theater or walking around the city, London was replete with sensory experiences, and it would have been impossible to detach oneself from experiencing London.

***The Alchemist***

As he does in *Epicene*, Jonson carefully chooses his setting, adroitly achieving unity of place by setting nearly the entire play within Lovewit's house in Blackfriars. The unity of place achieved by Lovewit's house is doubly achieved since the play was first performed in the theater of Blackfriars.[110] The small size of the Blackfriars theater likely enhanced the feeling of being present in a house since "the indoor halls could take in no more than a quarter of the amphitheatre capacity" (Gurr, *Playgoing* 26). In a further intersection of stage and setting, the house follows the play's alchemical premise, "transmuting" itself as needed to serve Face and

[109] In *Jonson's,* Donaldson extends the failures of Morose within his home to his failure to establish a lineage: "The house in which Morose has shut himself remains a thing of bricks and mortar and quilted doors, lacking in life and vitality. Though Morose has chosen to marry, he will never establish (in a further, generational sense of the word) a house of his own: his wife, as the final busy moments of the play reveal, is no woman and therefore no wife" (72).

[110] To further associate the London of the play with the London of the playhouse, Jonson's premise is that Lovewit leaves his house to escape the plague. Jonson's argument notes: "The sickness hot, a master quit, for fear, / His house in town, and left one servant there" (1-2). As Patrick Philips says in "'You Need Not Fear the House': The Absence of Plague in *The Alchemist*": "Jonson goes to great lengths to remind the audience that what they are watching is not a fictional city, and not some ancient or biblical plague, but their own London, in the midst of their very own plague" (53).

Subtle's various customers: "During the reign of Face and Subtle, Lovewit's house in Blackfriars alters its character drastically in response to the different needs of its various characters" (Barton, *Ben* 143). When Lovewit returns from the country, his neighbors describe the many types of people who visited the house while he was away:

> THIRD NEIGHBOUR. Ah, some as brave as lords.
> FOURTH NEIGHBOUR. Ladies and gentlewomen.
> FIFTH NEIGHBOUR. Citizens' wives.
> FIRST NEIGHBOUR. And knights.
> SIXTH NEIGHBOUR. In coaches.
> SECOND NEIGHBOUR. Yes, and oyster-women.
> FIRST NEIGHBOUR. Besides other gallants.
> THIRD NEIGHBOUR. Sailors' wives.
> FOURTH NEIGHBOUR. Tobacco-men. (5.1.2-5)

Jonson constructs each verse line with a variety of classes; line four balances "knights" with "oyster-women," and line five juxtaposes "gallants," "[s]ailors' wives," and "[t]obacco-men." All classes were equally welcomed, suggesting that the house alters itself as needed *and* these other people experience the place and subsume it into their identity.[111] By centering the action in *The Alchemist* in Lovewit's house and allowing a variety of characters to make the house a place for themselves, Jonson demonstrates—even more than he did in *Epicene*—that place is only one aspect of identity. That so many characters can experience and create place for themselves in the house demonstrates that experiences are just as essential as the places themselves.

As critics have well noted (and the different social classes in the quotation above demonstrate), *The Alchemist* addresses social mobility and multiple characters' desires to elevate their social statuses. As John Shanahan points out, "Part of alchemy's traditional allure, and the source of its rampant abuse in Jonson's eyes, was how easily its language doubled as a discourse

[111] The same altering of place and catering to different audiences could be said, of course, of the theater in which the play was performed; presenting itself as Lovewit's house during *The Alchemist*, Blackfriars became different places, like Prospero's island in *The Tempest*, during other performances. Blackfriars' expensive ticket prices, however, would exclude some of the social statuses mentioned in Jonson's description.

of social mobility" (45). Donaldson likewise evokes this mobility: "Jonson brilliantly combines the central premise and promise of alchemy, that of transmutation, with a major preoccupation of the day, social mobility. Those who call to see the wise man at his house in Blackfriars all wish in some way to be transformed" (*Ben* 247). Jonson purposefully emphasizes the setting of London in the play's prologue to evoke the city's social structure: "Our scene is London, 'cause we would make known / No country's mirth is better than our own" (1-2).

Mammon and Drugger, for instance, come to Face and Subtle in the hopes of elevating their social statuses. In assuming he will acquire the ability to transmute metals into gold, Mammon laments that Blackfriars does not have enough raw material to increase his wealth: "My only care is / Where to get stuff enough now to project on. / This town will not half serve me" (2.2.11-13). What critics have not considered in discussing social mobility in *The Alchemist* is the way that the various dupes in the play try to conceptualize their identities in terms of physical places; for instance, Mammon speaks of the "town," describing the liberty of Blackfriars in terms of the *Oxford English Dictionary*'s definition 4a of "town": "An inhabited place which is larger than a village, contains more businesses and amenities, and typically has more complete and independent local government." Mammon desires more than Blackfriars can provide; he believes that he cannot be bound within (the relatively small) liberty. But Mammon still believes that he needs some physical place to elevate his social status. Drugger has enough disposable income to purchase "a new shop, an't like Your Worship; just / At a corner of a street" (1.3.8-9). Not only does he have enough money to build a shop but he also has sufficient funds to waste on figuring out its ideal construction:

> And I would know, by art, sir, of Your Worship,
> Which way I should make my door, by necromancy.
> And where my shelves. And, which should be for boxes.
> And, which for pots. I would be glad to thrive, sir. (1.3.10-13)

In obsessing about the location of the door and the shelving of his property, Drugger puts an inordinate emphasis on physical places. Although both Mammon and Drugger are ambitious regarding physical place, they must settle in the play for experiencing someone else's home.

Anthony J. Ouellette aptly notes that the issues of social mobility under consideration in *The Alchemist* also apply to the King's Men as the play's first performance coincided with the company's use of the Blackfriars theater in addition to the Globe: "Jonson's play promotes the King's Men's position at the Blackfriars over all of the other playing companies who did not have the luxury of performing in both a private and a public playhouse, while also flattering those spectators who have wit enough to recognize and be entertained by the illustration of their own faults" (394). Just as Face and Subtle demonstrate their ability to act outside of their social rank and appeal to a variety of customers, all of whom desire more wealth or possessions, so the King's Men differentiated themselves from other players by performing for a variety of audiences, including the exclusive, high-paying audience of the private Blackfriars theater: "Where the basic price at the Theatre was one penny, and sixpence could buy a lord's room, at the Blackfriars . . . the minimum admission price was set at between three and six pennies. A box alongside the stage cost five times the top price at the Globe, half a crown or two shillings and sixpence, thirty pennies" (Gurr, *Playgoing* 31).[112] Given the necessary wealth these audience members needed to attend Blackfriars, they were closest in class to Lovewit, a character whose success demonstrates that physical place is only one aspect of identity.[113]

[112] The company also performed for James at court, but such performances had much smaller and more exclusive audiences than they had in either Blackfriars or the Globe.

[113] In "Who is Lovewit? What is He?" Andrew Gurr argues that Lovewit represents the owners of the King's Men company, including Shakespeare: "the owners of the Blackfriars had become those five Lovewits: Richard and Cuthbert Burbage, John Heminges, Henry Condell and, last but far from least, that most famous lover of wit, William Shakespeare" (17). It is a pretty story, but I believe something much broader is actually going on regarding how characters construct identity.

Lovewit rejects place (both London and his house) to escape from the plague, but he successfully returns to both city and home and profits in his return, gaining money and a young wife, "receiv[ing] such happiness by a servant, / In such a widow and with so much wealth" (5.5.147-148). His house remains his even if other characters appropriate it for the majority of the play. Before his arrival, other characters recognize the house as his property. In the first act, Subtle refers to the house as Face's "master's Worship's house, here, in the Friars" (1.1.17). He repeats the assertion later in the scene:

> FACE. lent you, beside,
> A house to practice in–
> SUBTLE. Your master's house?
> FACE. Where you have studied the more thriving skill
> Of bawdry since.
> SUBTLE. Yes, in your master's house. (1.1.46-49)

In the repetition of "your master's house," Subtle reminds Face that even though they have established their alchemical "business" in Lovewit's house, it is still not their house, even if it can become a place to them. Face emphasizes that he only "len[ds]" Subtle the use of his master's house (1.1.46). In their fight at the beginning of the play, Face remarks to Subtle, "The place has made you valiant" (1.1.62), but Subtle retorts, "No, your clothes" (1.1.62). When Lovewit returns to London, Face reiterates Lovewit's ownership of the house in his apology to his master: "And only pardon me th'abuse of your house" (5.3.83). After Face reveals the game to Lovewit, Lovewit announces his ownership of the house to Face's former dupes, Tribulation and Ananias, saying, "The house is mine here, and the doors are open" (5.5.26).

These assertions of ownership separate Lovewit from Volpone and Morose and evoke Portia's confident ownership of her home. Although Volpone maintains his disguise for most of the play, he still invites people into his house for the outward purpose of giving away that house and property. He even relinquishes the property on paper to his servant Mosca. Volpone needs

the property to maintain his guise; without it, Mosca takes advantage of him, and the avocatori sentence him to death. Morose, meanwhile, allows others the use of his home and isolates himself from experiences outside of it. He relies excessively on his home for his identity. In contrast, the characters in *The Alchemist* recognize Lovewit's claim to the house even when he is not physically present, but the house still remains only one aspect of his identity. After hearing about the varied sorts of people who have visited his house, Lovewit worries most that Face has sold the property within the house: "Pray God he ha' not kept such open house / That he hath sold my hangings and my bedding" (5.1.17-18). That Face might have appropriated the house in other ways does not seem to bother him: "What should my knave advance / To draw this company? He hung out no banners / Of a strange calf with five legs to be seen?" (5.1.6-8). If anything, the reasons for such a varied assembly at his house intrigues him: "What device should he bring forth now? / I love a teeming wit as I love my nourishment" (5.1.15-16). Confident in both his ownership of the house and the cleverness of his servant, Lovewit can return to his physical place, and his social status is improved upon his return. Whereas in earlier dramas the journey away from places, places in which one's identity was grounded, could have fatal consequences, Lovewit successfully leaves and returns to his home in London. His journey happens offstage; that he has departed London is sufficient enough for the purposes of plot. For Lovewit, the house is only one contributor to his identity; other characters can experience and create place in his house without detrimentally affecting his identity.

As I noted above, Ouellette contextualizes this play with respect to the King's Men new private theater in the Blackfriars. I agree that the performance context is important, but I do not believe that Ouellette goes far enough in his analysis. In the early days of London theaters, starting with Red Lion in 1567, companies were getting used to the radical concept of having a

permanent building in which to perform. Although the acting companies did travel in times of plague (or occasionally perform at court if they were so favored), permanent playhouses meant they were suddenly rooted in one spot in London. There was a permanency to performance in early modern London that stood in marked contrast to the performance of medieval cycle plays, with their mobile wagons, or even to the performances at the inns and taverns in which companies performed prior to the permanent theaters (those inns and taverns were not exclusively used as theaters—they had other economic functions). By the time we reach *The Alchemist*, however, the King's Men have the freedom to perform in two different, dedicated theatrical venues, each with unique challenges and audiences. Instead of just emphasizing that the King's Men now have the Blackfriars theater as a venue (as Ouellette argues), *The Alchemist* demonstrates that physical place is just one aspect of the theatrical experience. In their multiple performance venues, the King's Men can be confident that both place and experiences are elements of their identities.

***Bartholomew Fair***

Jonson excluded *Bartholomew Fair* from the 1616 folio of his works. John Creaser suggests in his introduction to the Cambridge edition that the exclusion was likely "because he could not then have dedicated it to the King without the prominence of such a dedication disrupting the plan of his volume" (268). In 1631, he planned to make the play the "opening . . . of what was presumably intended as a second Folio" (Creaser 268). The exclusion of the play from his folio certainly does not demonstrate a lack of interest in place. Changing the setting of *Every Man In His Humour* to London for the folio, as opposed to "Florence," demonstrates that

Jonson had a continuing interest in the specificity of place.[114] As its title suggests, *Bartholomew Fair* is a play about place. Similar to his work in *Epicene* and *The Alchemist*, Jonson expertly integrates the playhouse with the setting of the play. Viewing the play at the Hope Theatre, the audience was invited to consider the connection between the playhouse and the fair's location at nearby Smithfield: "And though the Fair be not kept in the same region that some here perhaps would have it, yet think that therein the author hath observed a special decorum, the place being as dirty as Smithfield, and as stinking every whit" (Induction.154-158).[115] Jonson also uses the specific public theater in which the play was first performed to evoke the fair. The Hope Theatre was not only a playhouse but also a site for bear-baiting and other (dirty and smelly) spectator sports, entertainments that likely rendered it "as dirty as Smithfield, and as stinking very whit."[116]

Bartholomew Cokes, the naïve man who brings his potential wife Grace Wellborn to the fair, attempts to define himself in terms of physical place, but Jonson demonstrates that physical place is just one contributor to his identity. Jonson hints at the way that Cokes will consider the significance of place when, in the opening scene, Littlewit reads Cokes' marriage license: "Here's Master Bartholomew Cokes, of Harrow o'th'Hill, I'the' County of Middlesex, Esquire" (1.1.3-4). By reading the marriage license, Littlewit introduces the audience to Cokes in terms of specific places, anticipating the way in which Cokes sees physical place as an essential

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[114] In "The Significance of Jonson's Revision of *Every Man In His Humour,"* A. Richard Dutton argues, "Volpone's Venice, True-wit's London, Lovewit's house, and Bartholomew Fair… [are] stable realities against which the private follies which pass through them are measured" (247). I disagree on the stability of place since place, based on individual experience, is not by its nature stable.

[115] References to *Bartholomew Fair* come from the *Norton Anthology of English Renaissance Drama.*

[116] *Bartholomew Fair* was initially performed at two different venues in late October and early November 1614: first at the Hope Theater on October 31 and then on November 1 in front of King James at Whitehall, according to Creaser. Eugene M. Waith argues that the Whitehall performance had similar booths to that of the Hope Theatre performance, noting, "the records show that it was acted at court the following night, on which occasion a payment was made for 'Canvas for the Boothes and other necessaries for a play called Bartholomewe Faire'" (182).

contributor to his identity. Wasp, Cokes' servant, further prepares the audience for Cokes' onstage arrival by describing the way in which Cokes and Grace walked around London the previous day: "yesterday i'th'afternoon we walked London to show the city to the gentlewoman he shall marry . . . we could not meet that heathen thing all day but stayed him. He would name you all the signs over, as he went, aloud; and where he spied a parrot or a monkey, there he was pitched, with all the little long coats about him; not getting him away!" (1.4.108-118). As part of their courtship, Cokes and Grace create place; he gravitates to specific tavern signs, and he pauses to look at parrots. He experiences specific areas of London. London is a place to him; he traverses it. But, his experiences in London proper (being duped and swindled) are not exclusive to his journeys in the city; the same will happen when he travels to the fair. In these opening scenes, Jonson prepares the audience for the way that Cokes later acts at the fair; in doing so, Jonson suggests that place is not as central to Cokes' identity as he thinks it should be.

In his first appearance onstage, he attempts to define the fair in terms of himself and subsume the fair into his identity: "I am resolute Barthol'mew in this. I'll make no suit on't to you; 'twas all the end of my journey, indeed, to show Mistress Grace my fair. I call't my fair because of Barthol'mew Fair: you know, my name is Barthol'mew, and Barthol'mew Fair" (1.5.62-65). He attempts to possess the fair, "my fair," but he cannot do so. As the play demonstrates, many different characters are experiencing the fair and making it a part of their identities; no one person can claim the fair. Cokes, however, remains determined to master and possess the place: he later tries to buy entire booths at the fair instead of simply purchasing individual items. As he says to one of the fair's merchants, "Speak no more, but shut up shop presently, friend. I'll buy both it and thee, too, to carry down with me, and her hamper beside. Thy shop shall furnish out the masque and hers the banquet: I cannot go less to set out anything

with credit. What's the price, at a word, o'thy whole shop, case and all, as it stands?" (3.4.140-145). In buying physical places of the fair, Cokes attempts to actualize the figurative owning of the fair he earlier tries to achieve with his name. But owning the booths does not make the fair his; that the play then shows Edgeworth picking Cokes' pocket in the next scene demonstrates how many different individuals are experiencing the fair and creating place for themselves. Cokes remains as gullible as he was before his arrival. In the play's last line, Cokes expresses his willingness to be pulled along by some of the same kind of entertainment after he leaves the fair: "Yes, and bring the actors along: we'll ha' the rest o' the play at home!" (5.6.122-123). Even after experiencing the fair, Cokes is still the same character, and he is willing to have the same experiences in any place.

Unlike Morose in *Epicene,* Cokes and other characters *Bartholomew Fair* do not keep themselves from experiencing place. Before the characters arrive at the fair, the Puritan Zeal-of-the-land Busy tries to downplay the significance of the fair and its "sinful" offerings in the face of religious resolve:

> It may be eaten, and in the fair, I take it, in a booth, the tents of the wicked. The place is not much, not very much; we may be religious in midst of the profane, so it be eaten with a reformed mouth, with sobriety and humbleness, not gorged in with gluttony or greediness. There's the fear, for, should she [Littlewit's wife Win] go there as taking pride in the place or delight in the unclean dressing, to feed the vanity of the eye or the lust of the palate, it were not well, it were not fit, it were abominable, and not good. (1.6.72-81)

In this passage, Busy seeks to demonstrate that the "place is not much, not very much" compared to their religious convictions; he claims that they will be able to avoid experiencing place in the same way that other characters experience it: "we may be religious in midst of the profane, so it be eaten with a reformed mouth, with sobriety and humbleness, not gorged in with gluttony or greediness." When he arrives at the fair, Busy, like Morose, tries to exclude himself from

experiencing place, "So, walk on in the middle way, foreright; turn neither to the right hand nor to the left; let not your eyes be drawn aside with vanity nor your ear with noises" (3.2.30-33). Depriving himself of the sight of the fair, he lambasts it as "the shop of Satan": "Look not toward them, hearken not: the place is Smithfield, or the field of smiths, the grove of hobby-horses and trinkets; the wares are the wares of devil. And the whole fair is the shop of Satan!" (3.2.40-43). An obvious hypocrite, however, he is quickly enticed by the smell of pork to partake of the fair's delectable offerings. He says to Littlewit, "Therefore be bold. Huh, huh, huh! Follow the scent. Enter the tents of the unclean for once, and satisfy your wife's frailty. Let your frail wife be satisfied, your zealous mother and my suffering self will also be satisfied" (3.2.87-91). But the fair is not central to his identity; he is always a hypocrite, irrespective of place.[117]

I conclude by noting that a variety of social statuses are seen onstage during *Bartholomew Fair*, further suggesting that the physical place of the fair is only one contributor to individual identity. Knockem calls the "pig woman" Ursula's booth her "mansion": "This is old Urs'la's mansion: how like you her bower?" (2.5.39-41). The size of a physical place is irrelevant, especially since Ursula's booth attracts so many customers throughout the play (including the puritanical Busy). When they arrive at the fair, Winwife and Quarlous, who both try to displace Cokes as Grace's potential husband, reflect on the different social statuses they observe at the fair:

> WINWIFE. That these people should be so ignorant to think us chapman for 'em! Do we look as if we would buy gingerbread? Or hobbyhorses?
> QUARLOUS. Why, they know no better ware than they have, nor better customers than come. And our very being here makes us fit to be demanded, as

[117] I argue in contrast to Mardock who believes that the sellers at the Fair are fixed in their places at the fair. "The 'natives' of the Fair—the merchants, criers, pickpockets, bawds, and stall-keepers—are all portrayed as keen observers of humanity, where the objects of their observation (the victims of their various scams and larcenies) are the visitors, whose fluidity and subjection to the (static and located) enticements of the Fair renders them incapable of judgment. The ability to form correct judgments is therefore associated with *fixed* spectators, those who know their place, stay in it, and judge accordingly rather than being wrapped up in the action" (104). This assessment ignores the fact that the "natives" also travel around during the course of the action and have experiences as well.

> well as others. Would Cokes would come! There were a true customer for 'em. (2.5.12-18)

To be at Bartholomew Fair is to be a customer, "our very being here makes us fit to be demanded," or a proprietor. One physical place yields many different places and experiences for a variety of social statuses.

**Coda**

Arden's spatial understanding of his lands signals his failures as a member of the gentry in *Arden of Faversham*. The loss of his home has a detrimental effect on Hieronimo's position at court in *The Spanish Tragedy*. Marlowe's characters reject physical places (Faustus' study in *Doctor Faustus*, Barabas' home in *The Jew of Malta*, Carthage in *Dido*, among others), and their subsequent displacement demonstrates the significance of physical place to identity. Lear and Coriolanus demonstrate the similar centrality of physical place, but Portia, Jessica, and Prospero show how characters can reclaim place (even if the effect on their identities is uncertain). For Jonson, in contrast, the experience and creation of place is just as, if not more, important than the place itself. As a London native, Jonson knew how critical London was to his audience, emphasizing it by integrating the setting of plays with the theaters in which they are performed. But, with so many characters creating place, it is no longer as central to identity.

I conclude this study by briefly considering another Jacobean play, *The Duchess of Malfi.* According to its 1623 title page, *The Duchess of Malfi* "was presented privately at the Blackfriars and publicly at the Globe" (Webster 1755). The play was written shortly after *The Alchemist*, dated from about 1612, and was likely performed sometime between 1613-1614, according to Lars Engle (Webster 1749). The title is similar to that of Shakespeare's tragedies like *Hamlet, Prince of Denmark,* which identify a character in terms of a place. The difference is that we have

no other name for her except the Duchess of Malfi: she is defined by her social status and her physical place. But, in keeping with the later date of *The Duchess of Malfi*, her experiences further define her identity. For one, she does not feel bound by her social status or gender in her proposal to Antonio: "The misery of us that are born great! / We are forced to woo, because none dare woo us" (1.1.443-444). She makes the proposal even though she is woman, and she presents herself independently of her social status:

> Awake, awake, man!
> I do here put off all vain ceremony,
> And only do appear to you a young widow
> That claims you for her husband, and, like a widow,
> I use but half a blush in't. (1.1.456-460)

Her physical place is just one aspect of her identity, but not the most essential. Webster shows her traveling throughout the play—particularly when she and her family are escaping from her brothers—and she remains confident in her selfhood and her desire not to defined by one place:

> Why should only I,
> Of all the princes of the world,
> Be cased up, like a holy relic? I have youth,
> And a little beauty. (3.2.140-143)

To a fault, earlier characters in this project often relied on one place to define themselves. The Duchess does not want such a limitation. In some of her last moments, surrounded by insane men, the Duchess questions who she is. Bosola responds in terms of place, or, more specifically, of the body in terms of enclosure:

> Thou art a *box* of wormseed, at best but a salvatory of green mummy. What's this flesh? A little crudded milk, fantastical puff paste. Our bodies are weaker than those paper *prisons* boys use to keep flies in—more contemptible, since ours is to preserve earthworms. Didst thou ever see a lark in a *cage*? Such is the soul in the body. This world is like her little turf of grass; and the heaven o'er our heads, like her looking glass, only gives us a miserable knowledge of the small compass of our *prison.* (4.2.122-130, emphasis added)

She laments at the beginning of the scene, "This is a prison!" (4.2.11). But, despite all the emphasis on enclosed place, or Bosola's attempts to define her in terms of her imprisonment, she identifies herself to Bosola: "I am Duchess of Malfi still" (4.2.138). In this line, she asserts her status as a duchess and that her identity remains constant through her experiences and the physical place in which she is confined. As Margaret J. M. Enzell has shown in her work on women and the patriarchy, "widows often suited themselves [in marriage], disposing of their considerable financial holdings as they pleased" (18). Here, the Duchess does not rid herself of her property when she marries Antonio; she does not reject place. Instead, the Duchess retains them and remains Duchess of Malfi, even when faced with her death. With place as only one aspect of her identity, she can remain herself even when she is separated from the places that socially define her.

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By looking at places in Elizabethan and Jacobean plays, we can better understand how early modern English society was trying to understand the individual in this increasingly mobile society. During the early modern period, in contrast to earlier periods, society was more fluid. People no longer necessarily died in the same places in which they were born, and they did not necessarily retain the same social statuses as their ancestors. The extent to which physical place defined individual identity was not a simple formula, and the range of possibilities from early modern playwrights reflects how concepts of place and identity developed during this period.

Theaters may have been permanent (or semi-permanent given the thatched roofs), but the fluidity of the palimpsest stage echoed the fluidity of the surrounding society. The relative fixity of the stage afforded playwrights an opportunity to explore how to define an individual in a fluid society. Although the society was becoming increasingly mobile, earlier Elizabethan playwrights

(among them *Arden*'s author, Kyd, and Marlowe) suggest that physical place should remain a defining factor in one's identity. Even though their plays are performed to a largely mobile audience, the playwrights retain an older model in which where a person is (or has been) defines who that person is. The fixity of the theater building provides an anchor to ground the plays and the identities of characters within those plays.

Later playwrights, particularly Shakespeare and Jonson, seem more willing to embrace the possibilities of the new mobile society. That the theater is a fixed place no longer necessarily means that the characters onstage are solely defined by place; the large numbers of individuals who have migrated to London and successfully defined themselves away from their original homes have demonstrated the decreased significance of physical place. As early modern English society became modern, modern theories regarding space and place—and the way in which place and experiences contribute to an individual's identity—become more applicable. Like us, early modern individuals were place men, place women, and people in place. But they, and the characters they watched onstage, also remained men, women, and people in society even when they were distanced from previously formative physical places.

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