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Hoarding the Renaissance: The Matter of Ecology in Marlowe, Shakespeare, and Middleton

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Hoarding the Renaissance: The Matter of Ecology in Marlowe, Shakespeare, and Middleton

By

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Master of Arts, University of Nevada, 2006

Advisor: Patricia Cahill, PhD

An abstract of
A dissertation submitted to the Faculty of the
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Abstract

Hoarding the Renaissance: The Matter of Ecology in Marlowe, Shakespeare, and Middleton

By McKenna Rose

This dissertation argues that the Renaissance theater (1576-1642) is a hoard, or a constellation objects, actors, and language that survive from prior contexts before taking their places on stage. Small properties, textual fragments, costumes, and even actors' bodies recycle onto the stage to communicate to audiences themes of accumulation and survival, as hoarding motivates the very plots of Christopher Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus* (1588), William Shakespeare's *The Tempest* (1610-11) and *Cymbeline* (1609-10), and Thomas Middleton's *A Trick to Catch the Old One* (1605). Material cultural studies, the scholarship which traces the historical conditions of nearly all of the objects that composed the early modern theater, informs this project. I draw out ecocritical resonances latent in the scholarship of early modern material culture to suggest that nothing was ever really thrown out in Marlowe and Shakespeare's London. Instead, and as critics show, pawned objects were recycled into properties, threadbare livery was pulped into paper, and new ships were built from the salvage of wrecked ones. I reroute the hoard, the stuff that Gil Harris calls the "positive residua" (116) of the theater, which is expressed at both the level of fiction and at the material level of objects and actors who transmit that fiction, through contemporary ecocritical terms to explain the persistence networks of meaning. The constant cycling and recycling of linguistic and material matter, which compose the Renaissance theater, resonates with the danger anthropocentric ecological change poses to the modern world.

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Contents

Introduction

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> Time hath confounded our minds, our minds the matter, but all cometh to this pass: that what heretofore hath been served in several dishes for a feast is now minced in a charger for a gallimaufry. If we present a mingle-mangle, our fault is to be excused, because the whole world is become an hodgepodge.
>
> —John Lyly, "The Prologue" *Midas*

> … take great pleasure in that disorderly order.
>
> —Edmund Spenser, "Dedicatory Epistle,"
>
> *The Shepheardes Calender*

In March of 2014, the celebrity gossip blog *Gawker* posted a ten-line story about a missing man from Dallas. According to blogger Jay Hathaway, "It took two days of digging for police to find the body of a hoarder who died at home under the mountain of trash he had collected" (par 1). Because a "10-foot wall of trash" blocked doors and windows, police, firemen, and hazmat crews had to cut a hole through the roof and tunnel into the house to search for the lost man (par 2). The workers shifted some of the contents of the house from the inside to the outside over the course of their search. And after days of excavation, a tableau of trash had formed across the sidewalk and lawn.

A photograph of the front of the house, embedded at the head of the post, seems to provide the audience with a window onto the scene. Past the yellow crime scene tape slashed across the bottom of the photo, we watch as the crowd of onlookers mills about the exterior of the white house with its cracking stone facade. In the center of the crowd, a man in a brown shirt leans down to photograph a pile of objects at his feet. Other than a white piece of wood, some cardboard, and a few bits of plastic, the objects he photographs are an indistinct mass. Though most of the hoarded objects are indistinct in the picture, some things stand out against the messy backdrop. For instance, jars filled with liquid that were placed on the lawn garner special attention from neighbors. The jars are so remarkable that *Gawker* cites one witness's astonished impressions at length: "'They've been pulling out jugs and jugs of urine and feces and just the things that he collected is amazing…Everyone knew there was a hoarding situation. No one knew the extent" (par 4). What makes this whole grotesque event so amazing is that an audience would choose to gather together to witness the very things—a corpse, urine, garbage—that in most other parts of life would be hidden away.

While modern day audiences are regularly invited to witness spectacular tableaux of trash on television and the Internet, this *Gawker* post succinctly exemplifies key themes of hoarding past and present. In the little story, and in the Renaissance texts I examine in the chapters that follow, hoarding suggests ways in which collectors are subsumed by the objects they collect. For instance, in the above story the man is never called by his given name; he is called only 'hoarder.' He is effaced by the very same title that marks his identity, because to be a hoarder means to allow objects to compromise autonomous subjectivity. In other words, the sign of his identity is the

same thing that also undoes that identity. Further, he is so compromised by the things he collects that he has become a thing himself. When the hazmat crew finds him, he is just another desiccated object in the "10 foot wall of trash" (par 2).

Because the story is a digital text, the extent to which an audience is always comprised of ever widening circles of onlookers is made plain. What is true of the web text is also true of Renaissance audiences. That is, widening circles of onlookers are produced through the process of textual reproduction. Just like the people who made up the audience at the Globe or Rose, the first responders and neighbors make up the first layer of the audience in the story above. In fact, the *Gawker* author, who has since been fired for plagiarism, presents a revised and foreshortened version of the Dallas web text report. The post author is not unlike an early seventeenth century scrivener or professional scribe hired to prepare a promptbook or foul papers manuscript for publication. The intense interest the "gawkers" invest in the scene above not only suggests a larger cultural anxiety over environmental devastation and excessive waste production, but, as I will show, it is also a legacy of English Renaissance theater.

Similar to its twenty-first century analogue, the Renaissance theater (1576-1642) is, in its own way, a hoard, or a constellation of objects, actors, and language that survive from prior contexts before taking their places on stage. Small properties, textual fragments, costumes, and even actors' bodies are recycled onto the stage to communicate to audiences themes of accumulation and survival. I have chosen to focus on Christopher Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus* (1588), William Shakespeare's *The Tempest* (1610-11) and *Cymbeline* (1609-10), and Thomas Middleton's *A Trick to Catch the Old One* (1605), because each play stages dense networks of objects and people. Drawing on material cultural studies, scholarship that traces the historical conditions of nearly

all of the objects that composed the early modern theater, this dissertation argues hoarding motivates the very plots of all the plays under consideration here. I draw out ecocritical resonances latent in the scholarship of early modern material culture to suggest that nothing was ever really thrown out in Marlowe, Shakespeare, and Middleton's London. Instead, and as critics show, pawned objects were recycled into properties, threadbare livery was pulped into paper, and new ships were built from the salvage of wrecked ones. I reroute the hoard, the stuff that Gil Harris calls the "positive residua" (116) of the theater, which is expressed at both the level of fiction, and at the material level of objects and actors who transmit that fiction, through contemporary ecocritical terms to explain how networks of meaning persist overtime.

Without venues such as the Theater, the Globe, or the Blackfriars, theaters whose productions were made up of assemblages of discarded objects, the contemporary phenomena of hoarding could not exist. I draw attention to the connection between Renaissance and contemporary culture to demonstrates the fluid relations between objects and subjects in plays of all genres. In each chapter, I put the hoard before the hoarder according to ecocritical terms such as exploitation, recycling, sustainability, and salvage. In each of the plays I consider, hoarding is a primal scene of knowledge production, where for a split second objects peep out at audiences filled with potentials other than the ones assigned to them. And just as the curtain is pulled back to reveal the personas responsible for the amazing scenes, the hoarders break-up into hundreds of unkempt objects. In place of a clear sense of subject to objects relations—for instance, a collector to her collection—the audience is left with a bunch of objects, as well as the hand of a composer, that is half obscured from view.

Hoarding offers a way to think the trace of the author in the object, as well as the textuality of material collections. The hoarder is the absent presence that makes a pile of garbage mean more than just garbage. Garbage is, after all, supposedly meaningless, which is what consigns something to the trash to begin with. And yet in a scene like the one above, dead dogs, jars, old boards, caution tape, live rats, hazmat suits, a red car, and the house's bent metal awning, persist in new combinations. In each new combination, the clusters of objects offer new interpretative possibilities. Even as those things go on to have unpredictable legibility long after the hoarder is dead, he haunts the things he composed. The hoarder is not the only ghost rattling his chains at the scene. Moments from the early modern theater, such as the Faustian bargain, haunt modern day spectacles as well. Like the Dallas hoarder, and the subsequent web of authors and audiences, objects such as play texts; wooden boards; jeweled artifacts, and discarded hazelnut shells survive the conglomerate of Elizabethan and Jacobean actors. Even in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century when the plays under consideration here were first being played, the whole assemblage that made up the theater presents itself as if it were living on. Though it may seem as if hoarding is a practice of loss, grief, and decay, I will argue that the spectacles of trash may provide a happy ending. The items accumulated in the hoard live long after the hoarder and their own disavowal. The mess of stuff signifies indefinitely into the future bearing the trace of the hoarder and his compromised subjectivity, along with the ghost of early modern performance of knowledge production.

Objects and Subjects in Renaissance Studies

To my knowledge I am the first person to argue that the Renaissance theater is a hoard.[1] To develop my claim, I first draw on the abundant work produced by medieval scholars that examines the origin of the term, as well as ways treasure and treasure keeping both vex and support the material conditions of sovereignty. Though never explicitly named, hoarding and an attention to stores of artifacts are vitally important to the literature on the tangential rise of subjectivity and the Renaissance, as is clear from the discussion of subjects and objects in the work of Stephen Greenblatt and, before him Jacob Burckhardt. Additionally, I draw on work by critical materialist, early modern scholars such as Lena Orlin, Patricia Fumerton, Peter Stallybrass, Natasha Korda, Jonathan Gil Harris, Margreta de Grazia, and Gail Kern Paster. These scholars elaborate on the objects of Renaissance drama, objects which have been overlooked in the "period that has from its inception been identified with the emergence of the subject" (deGrazia, Quilligan, Stallybrass 2). Furthermore, Stallybrass and Jones's work on garments and cloth; Orlin's work on tiny spaces, doors, and shelves; and Fumerton's scholarship on aristocratic ephemera anticipate the kinds of thing-centered research produced by new material scholars such Jane Bennett and early work by Timothy Morton, as well as medieval and early modern new materialists, such as Vin Nardizzi, Steve Mentz, and Jeffrey Cohen. Similar to the

[1] For a discussion of the stock figure of the "hoarding uncle" see Diana E. Henderson, "Theater and Domestic Culture." in *A New History of Early English Drama*. Ed. John D. a foreign one. Henderson argues that the "second meaning of domestic current in the sixteenth century...works to undermine easy dichotomies, since such plays reveal strange dangers lurking within the local landscape" (174).

ways in which cultural material scholarship responded to an overemphasis on the subject through attention to the historical context of cultural objects, so new material scholars suggest we divide subjects and objects to our peril. Not only is such a division an inaccurate description of the ways in which humans and nonhumans are enmeshed in larger networks across which agency is diffuse, but also adhering to such a division authorizes culture's exploitation of nature. In the chapters that follow, hoarding blends the cultural material attention to objects in the face of the subject with the new materialist claim that subjects and object are enmeshed to suggest that the plays are only ever available through dense networks of objects and actors that recycle onto the stage from other contexts.

Though hoarding may seem to be a contemporary disorder, for instance, it was added to the fifth edition of the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders* in 2013, the term comes from Old English.[2] The pejorative connotations of the term hoarder in contemporary usage derive, in part, from the hoarder's dogged insistence that trash is treasure. Though the terms hoard and hoarder have been negatively charged since the Renaissance, they have not always been pejorative or insulting. In Old English poetry the terms stood for treasure and treasure keeping. For example, the first OED entry for the noun defines 'hoard' as,

> An accumulation or collection of anything valuable hidden away or laid by for preservation or future use; a stock, store, esp. of money; a treasure. ("hoard, n.1" OED)

[2] For more on hoarding in its modern cultural and medical connotations see Scott Herring. *The Hoarders: Material Deviance in Modern American Culture*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2014.

The verb hoard stands for the action of preserving and putting away treasure, money, or other valuable items such as thoughts and feelings, and dates from the same period. The Old English word, which blurs mind and matter, was often linked to kings, because keeping the hoard was a central function of kingship. Treasure is vexing to kinship and often carries "…the negative connotations of 'worldliness' and 'temporality'" (*Old English Poetics* 35). For example, in order to sustain power, kings had to pass out gifts to bind retainers in filial obligation. Ideally a king gives a ring or sword, and receives loyalty and service in return. Yet gift giving and reciprocity both sustain and efface ideal Anglo-Saxon, and even Feudal, kingship. Like the objects that survive the Dallas hoarder, treasure gifts bear the trace of the trace of the sovereign and have unlimited iterative possibility. The treasures that make kings also unmake them.

Since its earliest use in heroic Anglo Saxon poetry, the addition of the suffix '-er' is all that separates the hoarder from the hoard. Just like the lost Dallas man, and Renaissance necromancers and virtuosos, a hoarder is a consequence of the hoard. He is the trace that remains in the accumulated mass and secondary to that accumulation. The brief etymology of the term shows that from its inception the idea of hoarding, accumulation, and storage, has a topsy-turvy logic that offers a critique of ontological tradition. That is, even though it seems as if humans act on non-human objects, the relationship between hoard and hoarder suggests non-human objects make claims and effect human behavior. The greater the mass, scope, and size of the accumulation, treasure, or storehouse, the more the human is effaced, drawn-in, and compromised. Hoards also show the extent to which the designations treasure and trash are

judgments that are made about things by people. Garbage is, after all, indifferent to the status of its own disavowal.

Hoards and hoarders can be found inside the scholarship on the rise of the individual in the Renaissance. For instance, the practice of hoarding figures prominently in a passage from Montaigne's essays that Greenblatt cites to engage with Burckhardt's thesis about the joint rise of the Renaissance and the subject. Greenblatt cites John Florio's translation of "Of Solitariness" as an example of self-fashioning, or the "dialectic of engagement and detachment…that generated the intense individuality that, since Jacob Burckhardt, has been recognized as one of the legacies of the Renaissance" (46). In the passage Greenblatt cites, Montaigne advises readers to "hoard up and establish [their] true liberty and principle retreat" (I.39.242). For Greenblatt this passage belies the extent to which Renaissance subjectivity is only possible under very specific preconditions of expression and suppression. According to Greenblatt's famous thesis there can be no self-fashioning without the equal and opposite force of self-cancellation.

The Montaigne that Greenblatt narrates for his readers resembles the sorts of exemplary Renaissance figures that populate Burckhardt's *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*. For example, Leon Battista Alberti ranks foremost among Burckhardt's "many-sided men…who…tower above the rest" because he seems to spring into his accomplishments a fully formed, natural genius (143). That said, according to Burckhardt's narrative, and despite his intentions to show the human genius as a central cause of civilization, Alberti gets lost in Burckhardt's transmission of him. He is composed instead as a glittering array of objects. Paintings, horses, a 'camera obscura,' legal cannons, and even a "Latin oration to his dog," relegate

Alberti's legendary self-hood to an assemblage of objects that survive his death (144). While Burckhardt wants to show how subjects construct culture, and Greenblatt wants to show how culture constructs subjects, both authors show the inevitable paradox inherent in Renaissance individuality: the objects on which the subject depends subsume it. Similar to modern day hoarders, objects that go on to bear the trace of their lost subjectivity constantly undo the Renaissance subjects that Greenblatt and Burckhardt delineate.

In a response to Greenblatt's elevation of "culture" to the status of a transcendental signifier, later generations of Renaissance historicists such as Orlin, Fumerton, Stallybrass, Korda, Harris, and Paster, provide nuanced, historically fixed readings of key cultural materials. For example, Orlin argues that over emphasis on cultural phenomena can lead to overdetermined "…masculinist, heterosexist, and elitist readings of history" ("Gertrude's Closet" 44). She takes the closet as an exemplary figure around which early modern historicists routinely find what they are looking for. She worries readings of early modern cultural history such as Alan Stewart's, "The Early Modern Closet Discovered," and Lisa Jardine's *Reading Shakespeare Historically*, "build what threatens to become an unexamined truism, that the early modern closet was a space in which privacy was habitually sought, and privacy was uniquely found" (46). To challenge such overdetermined readings, Orlin comes very close to arguing that things wriggle free from the uses to which humans put them.[3] While she stops

[3] In *Locating Privacy in Tudor London* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), Orlin argues "The matter of houses and belongings has never been put as a chicken-and-egg question—which came first?—presumably because it has seemed natural to assume that people who acquired more rooms assembled the goods to fill them. But a competing logic would make an argument that is at least as compelling: people who accumulated more possessions needed space in which to employ, store, display, and

short of making an object-centered argument, she does claim, "…things have a cultural project" ("Things in *The Taming of the Shrew*" 169). She also allows that stage properties, clothes, movables, and printed texts have the potential to take on different connotations depending on context. Though humans remain the main force capable of shaping the world of non-human things around them, in the critical materialist tradition, Orlin, Harris, Fumerton, and Paster figure in my project as new materialists.

Just as Orlin comes very close to arguing for the vibrant materiality of things, Fumerton comes very close to claiming that sovereignty is an assemblage of human and nonhuman objects. In her book *Cultural Aesthetics: Renaissance Literature and the Practice of Social Ornament,* Fumerton provides an array of examples in which Elizabeth I, James I, and Charles I injudiciously store up trivial things, provoke obsession through a perpetual withdrawal, and convert trash into treasure. For Fumerton the kings and queen make sovereign subjectivity by animating clusters of rare and wonderful objects, as well as more odious objects such as blood and hair. For instance, she argues that Charles produces his "kingly self" via the orange, medallion, and clock he dispenses as gifts along the route through Whitehall to his execution. According to Fumerton Charles I endures as a constellation of objects such as strands of hair, bits of blood splattered sand, chips off the executioner's block, and strips of stained linen.

This dissertation takes a cue from Fumerton's emphasis on the afterlife of things. I am especially influenced by the way she theorizes the iterability of seemingly worthless objects such as the orange peel, bits of hair, and bloody bits of rag that

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enjoy them…Perhaps it is as important to say that more personal property demands more rooms" (105). Orlin's hypothesis—closets are the result of the things stored inside them—challenges the strain of Renaissance criticism that argues closets were built to house newly developed individual subjectivity.

survive Charles I. These are things that should be consigned to the garbage, but sovereign judgment allows them to accede to a new life. And yet the things exceed the uses to which they are put, and survive long after even the status of the exceptional judgment. Fumerton suggests that objects are texts filled with potentials other than those assigned to them by historical context. She also makes the radical speculation that Renaissance subjectivity is absent presence. Speaking of how her project fits in among work by scholars such as Catherine Belsey, Francis Barker, Jonathan Dollimore, and Greenblatt, she argues "It is as if we seek to interview not so much 'self' as an uncertainty about the nature of self—as if we seek to interview a ghost" (207, note 1). Fumerton rarely strays from claims to the full-fledged transcendental signification of Renaissance subjectivity in the main body of the text. Yet, I take the reservations she voices in her footnote as a launching point for my object-oriented project that is underwritten by cultural materialist and identity studies scholarship.[4]

In both *Staged Properties in Early Modern London* and *Subject and Object in Renaissance Culture,* scholars attempt to remediate the secondary status of the object. For example, Harris and Korda argue that the denigration of stage properties is tied to the puritanical strain of criticism that developed hand-in-glove with the theater in England. Puritanical critics, from the reformation to the present, devalue the "craven thrall" of stage properties and then elevate speech and sound in their place (2). Korda and Harris argue against the myth that a bare stage production of Shakespeare or

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[4] For a further discussion of the importance of Fumerton's research, as well as the drawbacks of her methodology see Julian Yates *Error, Misuse, Failure: Object Lessons from the English Renaissance* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003). According to Yates, "For Fumerton, this 'private self' is the allegorical signified of all cultural production, and so recedes in proportion to every attempt to retrieve it" (220, note 12).

Marlowe is a good production. They argue instead that the "pre-stage histories" of properties interrupt the fantasy of a production to force the audience to consider the ways in which meaning is produced and transmitted (11). Interruption is not secondary or something Renaissance playmakers tried to avoid. Object interruption, which Stallybrass, Jones and de Grazia find in the "very ambiguity of the word, 'ob-ject,' that which is *thrown before*," is essential to the successful transmission of any theatrical production (5). For Harris, Korda, Stallybrass, Jones, and de Grazia objects always seem to be playing a part. They hypothesize a "priority of objects" because objects are marked by their prior experiences before they play their parts on stage (5).

In "Powers of the Hoard: Further Notes on Material Agency," Jane Bennett recognizes the ways that television shows and contemporary medical discourse stigmatizes people who collect and store-up excessive amounts of the wrong sort of objects. Unlike the premise of the show on A&E, which pathologies a new hoarder and attempts to organize a new hoard during each episode, Bennett sees hoarders as people with special insight to the "vibrant potential of things"(239). To relocate hoards and hoarders within a frame of vibrant materialism, she asks her readers to "put things in the foreground and people in the back ground…[and]…Meet the people, the hoarders, not as bearers of mental illness but as differently-abled bodies that might have special sensory access to the call of things" (244). The haphazard collections of objects, which often overwhelm hoarders to their peril, resonate, Bennett suggests, with a philosophical tradition that recognizes the power of nonhuman things. She explains that Baruch Spinoza argued, "every body (person, fly, stone) comes with a conatus or impetus to seek alliances that enhance its vitality." (238). She also cites Lucretius's

Atomism as a forerunner of vibrant materiality, that is, a sense of materiality that hoarders experience in greater supply that the rest of us.

Not only are hoarders another example in a long line of material philosophy that stretches all the way back to classical Rome, they are also alert to the historical moment we all occupy, a moment that values commodification and excessive accumulation above all else. For Bennett "hoarding is the madness appropriate to a political economy devoted to over-consumption, planned obsolescence, relentless extraction of natural resources ('Drill Baby Drill'), and vast amounts of disavowed waste" (248). Hoarding is the logical response to consumer culture, as hoarders often keep and store-up as a means to compensate for loss. In this sense, the grotesque cultural fascination with houses filled full of refuse suggests way to fill the space left by deforestation and species loss. In other words, hoarding has environmental resonances because it forces audiences to recognize the extent to which our participation in consumer culture makes us all complicit in environmental devastation. Hoarding is not only a symptom of the detrimental effects of consumer culture, but also a potential alternative. In so far as hoarders are undone by the objects they collect to the point that they are enmeshed in dizzyingly collections of trash, they also "affirm the existence of a *material* agency at work" (252). For instance, the hoards are slow moving accumulations that sweep people up in what seems to be a "working whole" (256).

Like many scholars of early modern literature, I am influenced by new materialism and ecocriticism. For instance, I draw on Vin Nardizzi's work on *England's Trees,* which looks to the material conditions that literally structure the early modern theater to uncover the liveliness of dead wood. Nardizzi reads the moments in the Shakespearean canon where the lumber that comprises parts of the stage—the

backdrop provided by the inner stage, the underside of the tiring house canopy, or the pillars that support the thrust of the upper stage—is asked to play the role of woods and trees as an example of wood's liveliness. Nardizzi argues that the various fabricated wooden structures of the playhouse are not totally convincing in their sylvan roles. In the present moment of any given performance in which the fabricated planks portrait Windsor Park or the Forest of Arden, they show their age. From inside their various roles, the "woods" announce themselves as structures crafted from the felled forests on which many of the theaters stood. Nardizzi draws on Harris and Korda when he explains; "the theater is not simply similar or analogous to woodland. It was also once a part of the woods, a forest, or tree, and now, in performance, its constitutive woodenness reverts to a former material condition" (23). Like materialist critics, he argues that staged objects, as well as the stage itself, puncture mimesis through series of uncanny ruptures. One of Morton's key insights is that the disastrous event against which humans prepare has already happened. For example, Morton reads the Pixar movie *Wall-E* to argue the garbage apocalypse that the characters in the movie experience as their future, is our present. Of the cartoon robot *Wall-E,* Morton asks, "Yet isn't his obsessive compulsion, so like a manifestation of grief (from where we sit in the cinema at least, spectators to future ruin), exactly our situation right now?" (2). Both Morton and Bennett argue that the long life of objects, along with the trace of authorship the objects bear, has a hopeful potential for the current environmental crisis. By synthesizing cultural materialist, early modern criticism with eco-environmental, object oriented scholarship, in my project I will argue for the radical potential that a uniquely Renaissance concept of hoards and hoarding has for the post-apocalyptic environment.

Renaissance hoarders have special insight into the disastrous consequence a cultural obsession with things. Furthermore, hoarders recognize the power that things have over humans, and that the things they accumulate have a modicum of agency. To claim that objects affect people reverses a deeply held cultural expectation that humans alone are agents that can force things to act. The contemporary cultural obsession with hoarding provides a way into the scale of accumulation that has resulted in environmental devastation. The disgust, anxiety, and pity evoked when the term hoarder is applied to disguise a general cultural preoccupation with stockpiling. Set within the context of the contemporary environmental crisis, the stakes of the subject-object reversal are rather high. We regard hoarders as outliers to our detriment.

Chapter Overview

My first chapter, "Anthropocentric Signatures," takes early modern engagements with the modern idea of recycling. Faustus is a quintessential hoarder: he is "swoll'n" (Prologue 20) and later "glutted" (1.1.80) by a fantasy of accumulation that includes, but is not limited to, pearl, gold, silk, fruits, all the secrets of foreign kings, war machines, and Germany. Consider Faustus's conjuring of Mephistopheles as itself an assemblage, in which ancient and early modern figures and citations are lumped within a circle to fulfill Faustus's fantasy and propel the plot of the play. Even the material and linguistic fragments that Faustus salvages in his conjuration are taken from books that are already hoards of decontextualized citations. Though *Doctor Faustus* is a paradigmatic example, it is not the only play to feature the phenomenon of seemingly random accumulation and reclamation, at both the level of representation and at the material level of the play's properties. In the reminder of the dissertation, I show how the sort of recycling at the level of stage properties and language that

happens during the conjuring scene in *Doctor Faustus* finds expression in a variety of early modern plays.

The opening catastrophe of Shakespeare's *The Tempest* is not simply a providentially ordained storm and shipwreck, but neither is it the singular expression of Prospero's will. Beginning with the reading of the storm and shipwreck, my second chapter, "Surviving *The Tempest*," argues that the play produces and reproduces itself through salvage. The actors, costumes, properties, and language that the act one catastrophe disperses, continually persist and recollect forming the larger ecology of the play. This ecology of salvage extends from the fiction of *The Tempest* to its stage materials, as garments, hand properties, and set pieces, which were recycled from prior early modern contexts into theater storehouses, found their way onto the stage. What is emphasized by the constant recycling of the wreckage, the hoard that the man-made storm leaves in its wake, is that the past continues to exist in the present despite being transformed by human catastrophe. Ultimately, because the remainders made by the storm survive the very devastation they constitute, the play may be said to speak to a larger concerns of the dissertation. That is, the contemporary ecocritical desire to envision ways that people and things already endure man-made disaster.

My third chapter, "Betting on the Future" I argue that while exploitation of natural resources threatens the longevity of the civilization in *Cymbeline,* life is sustained because the several stage objects constantly defy the contexts to which they are assigned. A wager in which characters risk future ruin in the hopes of present gain motivates the plot of *Cymbeline*. If it were not for the material agency of objects such as the ring and bracelet, the civilization represented by King Cymbeline's court would be destroyed. Instead of destruction, the chance collection of people and objects that

accrue in the final scene show that agency is diffuse amid chance clusters of objects and people, and not concentrated in single characters. And since people and things in *Cymbeline* survive every attempt to lose and destroy them, the play suggests that nothing can ever be permanently ruined or made extinct. Indeed *Cymbeline* is an environmentalist artifact precisely because it stages a theory of survival by sustaining old stories of lost civilizations, as well as stage properties such as garments, tapestries, and jewelry, into a story where characters face catastrophe with a show of abundance.

In my Coda, "Radical Recycling," I argue Middleton's *A Trick to Catch the Old One* conceives of a future sustained, not through the regular reproduction of children, but instead through the longevity of domestic movables. I read the figure of the miserly uncle, Walkadine Hoard, and his collection of moveable commodities to suggest that objects have such a hold on the characters that their agency is completely compromised. I further show that Middleton's play, with its emphasis on characters' relentless attachment to superfluous commodities, anticipates hoarding in the way that it is played out on twenty-first century reality television. By reading all four of these plays, I show how the early modern stage, like nature itself, is produced through the constant recycling of materials.

Chapter One

"Anthropogenic Signatures": *Doctor Faustus* and the Ends of Accumulation

Doctor Faustus stages agency as diffuse across networks of people, and not as an activity isolated in the humanist subject. Reading *Doctor Faustus* as a touchtone of distributed agency, as an archive and space of accumulation, not only accounts for some of the play's textual problems but also shows how it is a key text in the origin of the Anthropocene. To read *Doctor Faustus* as itself a hoard is to reveal the ways in which the play stages the ecological context of the late 16th century in which it was written and initially performed. Scenes of expansion and extraction, such as Mephistopheles's fetching of the grapes from the southern hemisphere and Faustus's conjuring of the trees into a bulwark, encode the origin of the Anthropocene. These moments are freighted with the first disastrous effects that humans have on the natural world, as well as the modern crisis of warming and extinction. In other words, the play represents the inevitable extinction that is the consequence of the inchoate imperialism, which Faustus's fantasies of accumulation represent. Though Faustus's appetite for collecting makes it difficult to discern the ways in which he is enmeshed in the larger ecologies of the play, I suggest reading Faustus as a hoarder absorbed by his hoard puts pressure on the very definition of the human both at the start of the Anthropocene and in its current iterations.

Featuring the phenomenon of seemingly random accumulation and reclamation, at both the level of representation and at the material level of the play's text, *Doctor Faustus* seems to offer a paradigmatic example of human exceptionalism that finds expression throughout the early modern world.[5] Faustus is often read as an expression of bounded, exceptional human agency. For instance, Stephen Greenblatt argues that Faustus is motivated by "the renewal of existence through repetition of the self-constituting act" (201).[6] Even before the audience meets him, the Prologue, famously, explains that Faustus is filled nearly to bursting with regard for the knowledge and skill he has amassed,

> Till Swoll'n with the cunning of a self-conceit
> His waxen wings did mount above his reach,
> And melting heavens conspired his overthrow.
> For, falling to a devilish exercise,
> And glutted more with learning's golden gifts,
> He surfeits upon cursed necromancy" (A 20-25) [7]

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[5] For more on Faustus as a tragic hero who triumphs over the forces that seek to subdue him see Harry Levin, *The Overreacher: A Study of Christopher Marlowe*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1952). For a response to Levin, see Graham Hammill, "Faustus's Fortunes: Commodification, Exchange, and the form of Literary Subjectivity," *ELH* 63 (1996): 309-36. Hammill explains, "It is a form of subjectivity that finally Faustus cannot escape, not because he has overreached the bounds of humanism, but because he is inescapably committed to the literary" (33).

[6] Stephen Greenblatt, "Marlowe and the Will to Absolute Play." *Renaissance-Self Fashioning: From Marlowe to Shakespeare*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981. 193-222.

[7] All quotations follow *Doctor Faustus: A- and B-Texts. Revels Plays*. 2nd Eds. David Bevington and Eric Rasmussen. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993). Variants between the
1604 and 1606 editions will be marked in the parenthesis. No edition will be given for citations in which the two texts agree.

The Prologue's description of Faustus suggests that he is an exceptional agent, who acts upon the world by gathering up all the knowledge, skill, and learning he can get his hands on. Here he is depicted as above and apart from objects in the world that he exploits. The notion of the human as a radically separate agent—an exceptional actor as separate from the world as a Prologue is from the remainder of the play—authorizes notions of a nature as treasure trove of raw materials, ripe for the taking.[8] All the images of Faustus's hoarding packed into the Prologue's description also suggest that Faustus is undone by his gluttony and surfeit. When the Prologue explains that the "melting heavens conspired his overthrow"(22), he relates Faustus to Icarus, who falls to earth because his wax wings melted when he flew too close to the sun despite his father's warnings.[9] Icarus's fall is, of course, a type for the fall Faustus suffers as a result of his own excesses. There is in the Prologue, not only a prognostication of the events of the play that follows, but also a forecast of the weather of the future in which the "melting heavens" that "conspired his overthrow" (22) apply as much to Faustus as they do to our own age in which the rise of global temperature threaten the very existence of a human civilization that persists in its excesses.

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[8] See Tiffany Stern, "'A small-beer health to his second day': Playwrights, Prologues, and First Performances." *Studies in Philology* 101.2 (2004): 172-99. Stern argues that Prologues were likely performed on a play's opening days only. The location of prologues relative to the rest of the printed manuscript also suggests that playwrights and performers regarded them as temporary. As Stern explains, "The pages containing prologues and epilogues seem sometimes to have been kept separate from the books containing the plays themselves, leaving them in a hinterland between attachment and non-attachment" (178).

[9] In the A-text the "melting" modifies" "heavens," which suggests it is the heavens that perform the melting. In the B-text, "melting" is set off from the rest of the line with commas, "And, melting, heavens conspired his overthrow" (B 22). The addition of the commas, while potentially clarifying, point back to the "waxen wings" (21) of the Icarus metaphor the Prologue uses to figure Faustus's overreach.

Scholars have long understood that *Doctor Faustus* represents the destruction that late 16th century proto-imperial expansion visited on the environment. Emily Bartels, for example, argues that all of Marlowe's published plays are "deeply invested in supporting or subverting the idea of English supremacy, and with it, England's right to the world's resources" (xiv).[10] William Tate, who identifies Solomon as a type for Faustus, explains that the play's obsession with the accumulation of wealth signifies in the context of "the exploitation of New World resources" (259).[11] Sarah Hogan adds to Tate's connection between the desire for accumulation and new world exploitation by reading the figure of the bridge that Faustus imagines stretching across the ocean as a suggestion of "the relatively novel seventeenth-century ideal of nature as raw material" (53).[12] While critics show how *Doctor Faustus* stages the exploitation of resources, an exploitation authorized by imperialist ideology, only a few studies connect Faustus's violent excesses to anthropocentric climate change. Downing Cless, for instance, suggests that the traditional focus of critics on Faustus's political and theological overreaching obscures "his will to control and exploit nature limitlessly" (164).[13] Despite the lack of other ecocritical readings, Cless argues that the play is in dialogue with both early modern and contemporary climate crisis. Furthermore, in his recent production of *Doctor Faustus*, Cless emphasizes scenes of ravenous eating, such

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[10] Emily Bartels, *Spectacles of Strangeness: Imperialism, Alienation, and Marlowe*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993.
[11] William Tate, "Solomon, Gender, and Empire in Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus*." *SEL* 37.2 (1997): 257-76.
[12] Sarah Hogan, "Of Islands and Bridges: Figures of Uneven Development in Bacon's New Atlantis." *JEMCS* 12.3 (2012): 28-59.
[13] Downing Cless, "Ecodirecting Canonical Plays." *Readings in Performance and Ecology*. Ed. Wendy Aarons. (New York: Palgrave/Macmillan, 2012). 159-168. See also, Downing Cless, "Ecologically Conjuring *Doctor Faustus*." *Journal of Dramatic Theory and Criticism*. 20.2 (2006): 145-167.

as when Faustus consumes of all of the Horse-courser's hay, to alert audiences to the play's regard for natural resources.

Given the urgent challenges presented by human created climate change, I add to the critical scholarship on colonial extraction and Faustus's violent excesses, the suggestion that *Doctor Faustus* complicates the figure of the human as a discrete agent at the very start of the Anthropocene. As Steve Mentz notes, Simon L. Lewis and Mark A. Maslin date the start of the Anthropocene, the age in which humans exert the greatest geological force on the environment, to 1610. In their article, "Defining the Anthropocene," Lewis and Maslin, "assess anthropogenic signatures in the geological record against the formal requirements for the recognition of a new epoch" (171). While Lewis and Maslin support their claim that the geological age shifted from the Holocene to the Anthropocene in 1610 by interpreting evidence found in "stratigraphic material, such as rock, glacier ice, or marine sediments," they also appreciate that the growing recognition of humans as a *the* climatological force is "an act with consequences beyond geology" (171). For Mentz, early modern plays such as *The Tempest*, and especially Prospero's world demolishing machinations, suggest some of the terminal consequences of the age of man to come. To Mentz's reading of "Old Man Anthropocene," I add the claim that Marlowe's Faustus desires the same sort of "ecological disorder" that he identifies in Prospero (par. 4). In order to fulfill his initial fantasies of accumulation, fantasies that result in fetching grapes from the southern hemisphere and moving trees at his command, Faustus signs his name in blood to a deed of gift. Just as Faustus is about to sign, however, the blood he draws from his arm to use as ink unexpectedly congeals. Faustus thinks it thickens of its own accord and asks, "What might the staying of my blood portend?/Is it unwilling I should write

this bill?" (2.1.64-65). Ultimately he is able to sign the deed "By me, John Faustus" (2.1.114) in his blood, but the trace of this weird moment of the blood's resistance remains. Faustus's famous signature is itself a sedimentary layer in the literary historical archive that is freighted with both the citation of the *Faustbook* that precedes Marlowe's play, as well as the historical conditions—expansion, extraction, and extinction—in which Marlowe wrote. At the same time, the recalcitrant blood not only emphasizes the fact that the origin points of human dominion can repeat indefinitely in the absence of the signatory, but it also shows how the very material of Faustus's own body writes itself into this exemplary instance of anthropogenic signature. This instance of cooperative agency challenges definitions of Renaissance subjectivity that Faustus is supposed to embody and also suggests the human of the Anthropocene has been distributed since its inception.

Part I. Authorship and the Archive

The archive in which *Doctor Faustus* begins and ends complicates the possibility of discreet subjectivity. Before the main action of the play, the Prologue assures the audience that the scenes of struggle, often set inside a scholar's study, are no less abundant as those staged on the "fields of Trasimere/Where Mars did mate the Carthaginians" (1) or in the "courts of kings where state is overturned" (4).[14] In his introductory remarks, the Prologue directs attention to the scholar's study as a storehouse of imaginings with limitless possibility.[15] The small space where Faustus

[14] Kristen Poole, *Supernatural Environments in Shakespeare's England: Spaces of Demonism, Divinity, and Drama*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).
[15] Both the A-text and B-text of *Doctor Faustus* open with the direction, "*Enter* Prologue" (Prologue 1). Here, "Prologue" designates a single actor, who likely speaks both the Prologue and Epilogue. While *Faustus*'s "Prologue" certainly belongs to the tradition of choral performances in classical drama, the part is also a remnant of the

hoards the material objects of his knowledge, calls to mind the opening lines of Marlowe's *Jew of Malta*, where Barabas sits, amid "heaps of gold" (SD 1.1), surveying all the treasure he has amassed.[16] Barabas's countinghouse, like Faustus's study, "enclose/Infinite riches in a little room." (*JofM* 1.1.36-7). As Marjorie Garber points out, Barabas conflates the room in which he hoards his treasure to the womb in which Christ gestated.[17] The unnatural regenerative potential inhered in Faustus's "cunning of self conceit" (20) and Barabas's bawdy conflation, both fixed as they are inside the cramped confines of storehouses, Barabas's, exemplify the "strange danger" of Renaissance hoards (Henderson 174).[18] And while the Prologue's first lines may point to other texts by Marlowe, the disclaimer is also the first in a series of ironic citations that comment on the process by which *Doctor Faustus* is composed. Since *Doctor Faustus* is an adaptation, translation, and subsequent iteration of textual fragments, works featuring the more illustrious "fields of Trasimere" (1) or "courts of kings" (4) are as

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allegorical figures of medieval morality plays. The Good Angel and the Bad Angel, external figurations of Faustus's internal strife that comment on the action throughout the play, also belong to the medieval morality tradition, such as *Everyman*, to which *Doctor Faustus* is indebted. For more on the performance of allegory in Christopher Marlowe, see Erika T. Lin, "Dancing and Other Delights: Spectacle and Participation in *Doctor Faustus* and *Macbeth*." Shakespeare and the Materiality of Performance. (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2012): 107-135, and Marx Thornton Burnett, "*Doctor Faustus* and the Form and Function of the Prologue: Marlowe's Beginnings and Endings." *CIEFL Bulletin* 1.1 (1989): 33-45.

[16] Christopher Marlowe, *Jew of Malta*. Norton Anthology of English Drama. Eds. David Bevington, Lars Engle, Katherine Eisaman Maus, and Eric Rasmussen. (WW Norton & Co., 2002) 287-351.

[17] See, Marjore Garber, "'Infinite Riches in a Little Room': Closure and Enclosure in Marlowe." *Two Renaissance Myth Makers: Johnson to Marlowe*. (Baltimore: John's Hopkins UP, 1977); Andrew Hiscock, "Enclosing 'Infinite Riches in a Little Room": The Question of Cultural Marginality in Marlowe's *The Jew of Malta*." *FMLS* xxxv.1 (1999): 1-22; and GK Hunter, "The Theology of Marlowe's *The Jew of Malta*." *JSTOR* 27 (1964): 211-40.

[18] For a discussion of the stock figure of the "hoarding uncle" see Diana E. Henderson, "Theater and Domestic Culture." in *A New History of Early English Drama*. Ed. John D. Cox and Scott Kastan. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), 173-194.

much a product of hoarding as the play the Prologue introduces. The Prologue's references take on an additional ironic cast because they are not really references at all. The lines do not cite or index texts that have actually been written; instead, they are inventions, phrased as citations, which serve to highlight the themes of textuality that the play dramatizes.

From the first scene to the last, Faustus's study functions as a set piece in which major action is housed, as well as a metaphor for the textual processes through which the play produces itself. The figure of the study draws together the play's ironic allusions to classical sources, while also combining the adaptation of source material with the scenes in which characters read from books to conjure devils and sign away their souls in legal contracts. Critics of the play have long been attentive to the ways in which *Doctor Faustus* dramatizes textuality. Elizabeth Spiller, for instance, argues that "*Doctor Faustus* is a play about books," through which the act of reading is "figured in the physical act of taking up and discarding volumes of the works" of classical scholarship and magic (101).[19] Even when the characters are outside of Faustus's study, books and papers are always on hand. As Georgia Brown notes, books and parchment are constantly present on stage to remind the audiences of the ways in which *Doctor Faustus* links "textuality with corporeality" (140).[20] The complex material conditions of the play's manuscript reinforce the textual events dramatized on stage. Since Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus* is an adaptation of the *English Faust Book*—the

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[19] See Elizabeth Spiller, "Marlowe's Libraries: A History of Reading." *Christopher Marlowe in Context*. Eds. Emily Bartells and Emma Smith. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013) 101-110.

[20] Georgia Brown, "The Other Black Arts: *Doctor Faustus* and the Inky Worlds of Printing and Writing." Doctor Faustus: *A critical Guide*. Eds. Sara Munson Deats. (London: Continuum, 2010): 141-157.

anonymous prose reimagining of the Faust legend that was translated from German into English in 1588—the play exhibits an almost hyperbolic citationality from the outset.[21]

In addition to the fact that Marlowe's *Faustus* is produced through the cutting, expanding, reordering, and repeating of the *English Faust Book*, the manuscript is also vexed by its famously complicated textual circumstances. Marlowe's play survives in two distinct extant editions: *The Tragical History of Doctor Faustus,* commonly referred to as the A-text, printed in quarto by Valentine Simmes in 1604, and *The Tragedy of Doctor Faustus*, commonly referred to as the B-text, which was printed in quarto by John Wright in 1616.[22] Add to these two irreconcilable extant editions, with their thousands of variants, evidence from Philip Henslowe's Diary that the play is not the work of a single author, but rather a collaboration among several playwrights, and the play seems to stage the ambiguities that exist at the level of its manuscripts (206).[23] In this sense, writing and reading even extends past pens, books, and paper to the very the material of the play text as well as the actor's bodies themselves. Once outside the study letters sign themselves onto Faustus's arm, and Faustus composes scenes out of body parts that themselves "write" the very action of the play. In this way Faustus's

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[21] For more on the relationship between Marlowe's play and the *English Faust Book* see Sara Munson Deats, "*Doctor Faustus*: From Chapbook to Tragedy" *Essays in Literature* 3 (1976): 3-16, and William Empson, Faustus and the Censor: *The English Faust-book and Marlowe's* Doctor Faustus. Ed. John Henry Jones. (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1987).
[22] See, W.W. Greg, *Marlowe's* Doctor Faustus, *1606-1616*. Parallel Texts Editions. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1950); Eric Rasmussen, A *Textual Companion to* Doctor Faustus. The Revels Plays Companion Library. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993); and Leah Marcus, "Textual Indeterminacy and Ideological Difference: The Case of *Doctor Faustus*." *Critical Essays on Christopher Marlowe*. Ed. Emily C. Bartels. London: G.K. Hall & Co., 1997. 15-38.
[23] Foakes, R.A. ed. *Henslowe's Diary*. 2 ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.

study both encapsulates and haunts the action of the play with the textual figures, properties, and allusions that saturate its dramatic action.

When we first meet Faustus, he is searching through the books in his study in an attempt to find a discipline he can pursue for the rest of his career. One by one, Faustus picks up volumes written by classical authorities, reads a line or two, and then, dissatisfied with his findings, shuts the volume and sets it down. Faustus first reads aloud from a volume he attributes to Aristotle, "*Bene Dissere est finis logices*" (1.1.6). In the lines that follow, he translates the citation and then asks and answers: "Is to dispute well logic's cheifest end? /Affords this art no greater miracle?/Then read no more; thou hast attained the end" (1.1.7-9). Having already completed his disputation exercises to attain his doctorate, Faustus rejects the logical disputes that once "ravished" (1.1.6) him. Though he has proven his rhetorical skill through the memorization, repetition, and translation of classical argument, he rejects logic because he perceives that that the disputation exercises taught in the medieval and early modern academy aim at supporting the truth of authoritative suppositions, not the production of new knowledge.[24] Faustus rejects Medicine as a discipline for the same reasons he rejects Logic. He argues that while "Physic" (1.1.17) may temporarily forestall death, it cannot create new life or transform the dead into the living:

> [*He reads*] *Summum bonum medicinae sanitas*:
>
> The end of physic is our body's health.
>
> Why Faustus, hast thou not attained that end?

[24] For more on humanist pedagogical exercises see Lynn Enterline, "Imitate and Punish: The Theatricality of Everyday Life in Elizabethan Schoolrooms." *Shakespeare's Schoolroom*. (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012): 33-61, and Jeff Dolven, "Telling Learning." *Scenes of Instruction in Renaissance Romance*. (University of Chicago Press, 2008): 15-65.

> Is not thy common talk sound aphorisms?
>
> Are not thy bills hung up as monuments,
>
> Whereby whole cities have escaped the plague
>
> And thousand desp'rate maladies been eased? (1.1.17-21)

Faustus plays with the multiple connotations of "end," a term that ripples through the entirety of the opening passage, in his exegesis of Galen. Here "end" is both goal and conclusion. He reasons that if anyone could accomplish the goal of medicine, curing living things of death, then medicine would be rendered unnecessary. Faustus boasts that he is so accomplished in medicine that his everyday conversations are proverbial, and the prescriptions he has written to cure the plague offer reminders his success. Similar to the ways that pedagogical disputation exercises allow students to demonstrate learning through memorial reconstruction, aphorisms and memorials help readers to recall information but may limit further significance.

Faustus, quite famously, attributes several of the citations he reads in his opening speech to the wrong authors. Though Faustus credits the line, "*Bene disserе est finis logices*" (1.1.5) to Aristotle, the citation is drawn from Peter Ramus's anti-Aristotelian treatise, *Dialectiae*.[25] When Faustus puts down the volume on Logic and picks up the volume on Medicine, he makes another error in attribution. Though he credits, "*ubi desinit philosophus, ibi incipit medicus*" (1.1.12) to Galen, the citation is actually from Aristotle's *Nicomachian Ethics*. Faustus's turn to magic resides in his claim

[25] For more on Peter Ramus's influence on Aristotelian Logic at Cambridge see A.N. Okerlund, "The Intellectual Folly of Dr. Faustus." *Studies in Philology* 74.3 (1977): 258-278. See also, G.M. Pincess, "Marlowe's Cambridge Years and the Writing of *Doctor Faustus*." *SEL* 33.2 (1993): 249-64. Pincess also notes that Faustus mistakes Remus for Aristotle immediately after announcing that he would "live and die in Aristotle's works" (1.1.4).

that he has attained the heights of academic learning, and yet, his misattribution seems to contradict his assertions of intellectual and rhetorical skill. A.N. Okerlund attributes Faustus's folly to the debates of raging at Cambridge over the Ramist response to Aristotle. She explains that while

> The Ramist challenge to traditional scholasticism embroiled Cambridge in a revolutionary reconsideration of Aristotelian Method,…as late as the seventeenth century students at Cambridge were copying the Aristotelian fallacies into their notebooks—presumably the preliminary step to memorizing and mastering them" (261 & 263).

G. M Pincess also notes that Faustus mistakes Remus for Aristotle immediately after announcing that he would "live and die in Aristotle's works" (1.1.4). Despite an editorial tradition that consistently glosses Faustus's misattribution as a lack of learning, Elizabeth Spiller suggests that

> Faustus reads his Galen in the Greek and while he is sometimes accused of willfully misreading and misconstruing the meanings of the texts he cites, he seems to know both the traditional scholastic interpretations of Aristotle and the new Anti-Aristotelian rhetoric of Peter Ramus. (103)

While the debate over the right way to respond to Aristotle no doubt gets written into Marlowe's scholar hero, I suggest something else at play in this scene. Namely, Faustus could not correctly attribute authorship even if he wanted to, which of course he does not. To attribute authorship is to subsume his own position as reader and author. In a way his mistakes create the potential for a whole new text in which nothing is lost or gained. Like the magic books he will eventually take up, the mistaken attribution allows Faustus to keep all of the disciplines. From the very first, the

dilemma with which Faustus is faced that he does not want to choose one discipline over others; instead he wants to be an expert in all the disciplines. And the mistaken attribution allows him to keep hold of all the quotations in so far as they originate with him because he is the author of the text.

Though critics often remark that Faustus is a bad reader, I argue he is merely responding to the material condition under which he reads. One reason that he cannot hope to correctly attribute the citations to their original authors because his books are bound collections of textual fragments. Specifically, Faustus's misattributions suggest that his library is filled with commonplace books. Commonplace books are a kind of scrapbook in which readers, writers, and scholars collect fragments of texts they read to aid their own memory, preserve information for the future, and share with their colleagues. When Faustus says, "Is not thy common talk sound aphorisms?/Are not they bills hung up as monuments" (1.1.19-20) he makes direct reference to the way in which information was routinely collected. Reading Faustus's reading material as a collection of fragments shows that the texts in Faustus's collection are themselves already recollected prior to his conjuring of Mephistopheles. As many critics suggest, the Prologue and first scene in the library represent 16th century reading practices more generally. Sarah Wall-Randall, for instance, notes Faustus's misattributions in the first scene, as well as the dense presence of books as properties and allusions to reading and writing at the level of the play's language, larger practices of fragmentation and collection. She explains,

> In selecting these passages and stringing them together, Faustus condenses a huge amount of 'virtual' text into the small space of this opening speech, and the quotations' variety and cumulative effect

> embody the Erasmian rhetorical ideal of *copia remum*, eloquence through an abundance of examples. In other words, what is being staged in this moment in *Doctor Faustus* is a vision of a Renaissance reader in the verbal act of creating a commonplace book, a kind of personal encyclopedia. (266)[26]

Though the Prologue admonishes Faustus for surplus in learning, by reading Faustus's reading and writing practices in context, we see that his abundance knowledge is in keeping with early modern scholastic norms. Further, the way in which Faustus is fixed with in a process of collection and recollection puts pressure on the notion of him as a discrete subject. Here, again, the sedimentary layers of the archive suggest ways in which the idea of the 'human' in the Anthropocene bleeds out across material networks.

Even when Faustus attributes the phrases he quotes to the correct authors, the way he cuts the lines he cites suggests way in which he is, in a way, possessed by his possessions. Disappointed by what he sees as the limits of Philosophy and Medicine, Faustus puts down the volume of Galen, picks up Justian's *Institutes,* and reads, "*Si una eademque res legatur duobus,/Alter rem, alter valorem rei*, etc" (1.1.27-8). He dismisses Justinian's ruling—if two people are promised the same things in a will, then they must divide the inheritance in half—as "A petty case of paltry legacies!" (B 1.1.29). Any inheritance that has to be shared between two people is meager in Faustus's estimation, and he extends his analysis of the citation to Law in general. To him the inheritance from classical Law is just as "paltry" (1.1.29) as the bequest that has to be

[26] Sarah Wall-Randell, "'Doctor Faustus' and the Printer's Devil." SEL 48.2 (2008): 259-281.

split between two parties (1.1.29). Having discarded the volumes of Philosophy, Medicine, and Law as disciplines insignificant for his purposes, Faustus picks up a copy of Jerome's Vulgate and reads, "*Si peccasse negamus, fallimur/Et nulla est in nobis veritas*" (1.1.41-2) from the First Epistle of John. As is well known, Faustus neglects to read the second portion of the passage in which God promises to forgive sinners if they repent their sins. Even when he translates the lines he cites, Faustus focuses on sin to the exclusion of confession and forgiveness of those sins:

> If we say that we have no sin,
>
> We deceive ourselves, and there's no truth in us.
>
> Why then belike we must sin,
>
> And so consequently die.
>
> Ay, we must die an everlasting death.

Speaking of Faustus's famous textual incision, Drew Daniel explains, "As every schoolchild knows—because every schoolteacher and editor tells her—Faustus precipitously cuts off the text of The First Epistle of John before John can offer him forgiveness for the confession of sins, in the process committing a sophistry known as 'the devil's syllogism'" (1).[27] James Kearny explains that the sort of reading Faustus performs, "this kind of reading in which undigested gobbets of text were removed from context and read as if whole, as if complete, was condemned by all sides as a splintering of the text that could lead to error and idolatry" (153).[28] When Faustus

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[27] Drew Daniel, "Marlowe's Will, Marlowe's Shall", *Shakespeare Up Close: Reading Early Modern Texts*, eds. Nicholas Nace, Russ MacDonald, and Travis Williams. New York: Arden, Bloomsbury, January, 2013.

[28] James Kearney, "The Reading of the Damned: *Doctor Faustus* and Textual Conversion." The Incarnate Text: Imagining the Book in Reformation England. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009. 140-178.

mistakes Ramus for Aristotle, he not only invites the audience to have ridicule him for failing to attribute the passages he reads to the correct authors, but also opens up the question of authority more generally. Here is this character who the Prologue praises for "Excelling all" (A 18) the other scholars at Wittenberg, and yet he cannot even cite his sources properly. The line is also funny because in his attribution of Aristotle to Ramus he performs the very object of Ramus's scorn. That is Ramus's effort at scholastic reform is directed, in part, at what he perceived as error in the long history of gloss on Aristotle's work, as much as on the substance of Aristotle's ideals or reasoning. The tradition of fracturing texts and decontextualizing key citation was, for Ramus and for Luther, a component of education in sorry need of correction. And yet, this question of attribution is really the first of series of the sorts of contests the Prologue warns us about. What would proper attribution look like? Is a proper attribution even possible in a play that stages the ways in which writing functions in the absence of the author? That citations continue to mean new things and get take-up and represented in new ways even though their authors are lost, suggests the sort of subjectivity Faustus valorizes at the outset is impossible.

The citation and fragmentation that *Doctor Faustus* performs onstage, also finds expression in the material conditions of the two extant manuscripts in which the play survives. Familiar as it was to London theatergoers, *Doctor Faustus* was still a big draw at the Rose as late as the 1602 season. Many critics argue the play's popularity accounts for the changes between the earliest printed text, the 1604 A-text, and the 1616 B-text, which includes hundreds of sentence level revisions as well as additional scenes added by collaborators. The argument that the play was revised and expanded explicitly for the playhouse, and not the press, depends on an entry in Henslowe's

Diary from 22 November 1602. In the entry Henslowe records a payment he made to "Bvrde & Samwell Rowle for ther adicyones in doctor fostes" (ed. Foakes 206). The entry puts the B-Text in citational relation to the A-Text. As the Revel Edition editors explain,

> The important thing is that authorship seems to have been collaborative, and that the contributions of Marlowe and his collaborator were out down on separate sheets of paper so that they could be interleaved to assemble copy for the acting company and eventually the printer. (16)

Scenes, such as the opening monologue in which Faustus rejects classical authority for necromancy (1.1.1-65), the conjuring sequence that follows (1.3.1-35), several discourses on natural philosophy between Mephistopheles and Faustus (1.3 & 2.1), and Faustus's final monologue (A5.2.65-115), remained relatively the same in both editions. Since the B-text of 1616 expands a number of the comic scenes and includes more spectacle such the presence of devils on stage in acts 2 and 5, and the addition of a final scene in which Faustus's colleagues find his massacred body in his study, critics have long held that the B-text represents agency in the play as more diffuse than the earlier edition in which agency seems concentrated in the bargain that Faustus makes with Lucifer. Paul Menzer pursues Marlowe's proliferating text even further. He reminds readers that bibliographic description and the codex in which plays such as *Doctor Faustus* exist in the present may offer a false sense of "the wholeness of those documents" (215).[29] He cautions against assumptions of wholeness, and instead offers a theory of textually in which "'Playbooks may have more closely resembled a deck of

[29] Paul Menzer, Fractional *Faustus*: Edward Alleyn's Part in the Printing of the A-Text." *Christopher Marlowe the Craftsman: Lives, Stage, and Page*. Eds. Sarah K. Scott and M.L. Stapleton. Surrey: Ashgate, 2010. 215-225.

cards, liable to cutting, shuffling, and reshuffling. It was the printers work to chasten this textual promiscuity, bringing order and uniformity to the free play of manuscripts" (224).

Not only did the printers collect disparate manuscript pages to reproduce them as a whole collected within the boundaries of the codex, but Philip Henslowe, theater owner, impresario, and pawnbroker, also accumulated theatrical dispersals. Over the last three hundred plus years, literary critics and theater historians from F.G. Fleay to Andrew Gregg have fashioned Henslowe as illiterate, greedy, opportunistic, and exploitative. For instance, in Fleay's estimation Henslowe was shrewd enough to "build a theater on the Bankside exactly where it was wanted," but "in practice [he was] a pawnbroker," who stockpiled poets and actors by keeping them in perpetual debt (117).[30] Whether generous or avaricious, the Diary and archive are organized in relation to accumulation. What exactly are the moral infractions for which the author function 'Henslowe' is indicted? The early modern theater is an institution of accumulation, and plays are transmission of otherwise unbounded objects, papers, and parts.

The idea of Henslowe as a kind of Scrooge, concerned only for profit, an unscrupulous manager in the mold of a later theater owner, Christopher Beeson, has survived and inevitably affects the way the records in the Diary are interpreted. Was Henslowe controlling the players by forcing them to sign contacts and deeds that were

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[30] See, Murray Bromburg, "The Reputation of Philip Henslowe." *SQ* 1.3 (1950): 135-9. It is Fleay who argues that Henslowe is the object of John Day's satire in *Parliment of Bees*: "Most of the timber that his state repairs/He hews out o'the bones of founded players:/They feed on Poet's braines, he eats their breath" (63). Murray argues "Fenerator Bee was not meant to be Philip Henslowe—an identification which has proven harmful to his reputation" (137).

to his advantage or was he acting on their behalf in maintaining records of agreements, and in serving as their banker in paying their bills and lending them money? (viii). Foakes goes on to answer his own questions concerning Henslowe's character. He argues that for a Henslowe who is both generous and successful in business. Foakes even goes so far as to include in his edition of the Diary the pawn receipts and records that W.W. Greg left out of his influential edition. In Greg's estimation the extent to which Henslowe amassed goods, only to lend them out at interest, was so shady, that the records of the pawn brokerage did not merit inclusion his edition. Though he holds Greg's edition in high regard, Foakes argues there is no enough evidence to convict the Diary's author function of avarice and excessive accumulation.[31] The material conditions under which Faustus reads shows how discrete subjects are actually disuse across networks of accumulations.

Part II. "Anthropogenic Signatures"

Faustus alerts contemporary readers to some complexities contained within the debate over human caused ecologies. How can Faustus be both the author of violent accesses and also incorporated into networks across which agency is diffuse? If we accept we have been living in the anthropocene since 1610, then we also accept that humans are the greatest climatological force capable of shaping the geology of the whole earth in ways that used to be reserved for meteors and C02 levels in the atmosphere, then do we risk emboldening and or reifying dangerous definition of "human"? Can Anthropocene recognize the materiality of humans, as well as the ways

[31] See, *Henslowe's Diary*. Ed Walter W Greg. London A.H. Bullen, 1904-8. www.hathitrust.org. In Greg's estimation Henslowe was greedy, illiterate, and exploitative. Greg attributes the challenges posed to those who would read the *Diary* to "Henslowe's handwriting [that] is irregular and uneducated like his spellings" (xxiv).

in which humans are enmeshed in ecosystems across which agency is diffuse? In 2015, Steve Mentz introduced his readers to a paper published by Geologists Simon L. Lewis and Mark A. Maslin, in which they mark the start of the anthropocene, the age in which humans exert the greatest geological force on the environment, to two dates 1610 and 1964.[32] In their article, "Defining the Anthropocene," Lewis and Maslin, "review the historical genesis of the idea and assess anthropogenic signatures in the geological record against the formal requirements for the recognition of a new epoch" (171). Though the later date, 1964, marks a high point of nuclear and technological power, Lewis and Maslin argue that European expansion, which inaugurated an unprecedented exchange of species across continents and dissemination of human life and community through disease pushed the world into a new geological era. Though scientists read changes at geological scale in "stratigraphic material, such as rock, glacier ice, or marine sediments" Lewis and Maslin appreciate that the growing recognition of humans as a climatological force is "an act with consequences beyond geology" (171). In many ways they offer their findings as an invitation to scholars of all disciplines engage investigating the shifting perimeters of the human in relationship to the natural world it shapes, as well as periodization. Mentz accepts their invitation on behalf of scholars of early literature when he sets his model of *compostiture*, a polychronic historical model that theorizes discontinues change over time, like ways all the objects in a compost heap decay at varying rates, against the stark transition described rebirth. He posits this theory of history instead of the "model of radical

[32] Steve Mentz, "Enter Anthropocene, C. 1610." Glasgow Review of Books. 2015. Simon L. Lewis and Mark A. Maslin, "Defining the Anthropocene." Nature 519.7542 (2015): 171-180.

disruption" (5), the model of the paradigm shift popularized by Burckhardt's famous term Re-naissance.[33]

Near the end of their European travels, Faustus sends Mephistopheles to fetch "a dish of ripe grapes" (B 4.6.19) from a "far country" (B 4.6.23) to satisfy the food cravings of the pregnant Duchess of Vanholt. Mephistopheles's nearly instantaneous retrieval of the grapes from the southern hemisphere, the "contrary circle…where they have fruit twice a year" (B 4.6.29-31), marks a fulfillment of the conditions laid out in the first deed of gift that Faustus makes with Lucifer. In the deed, Faustus agrees to give his body and soul to Lucifer, so long as "Mephistopheles shall do for him and bring him whatsoever" (2.1.100). Not only does the fetching of the ripe grapes satisfy the terms of the bargain, but the action also provides, as many critics argue, a concrete example of the exploitation of natural resources.[34] The way that Faustus frames the Duchess's desire for the grapes recalls his own predilection for hoarding when he explains, "I have heard that great-bellied women do long for some dainties or other" (4.2.3-6).

Like the Duchess, Faustus, along with his colleagues in the magical arts, Cornelius and Valdes, begin the play by engaging in resource stripping fantasies.

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[33] Steve Mentz, *Shipwreck Modernity: Ecologies of Globalization*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2015.

[34] See Toni Francis, "Imperialism as Devilry: A postcolonial Reading of *Doctor Faustus*." *Doctor Faustus* a Critical Guide. (London: Continuum Press, 2010): 111-123. Francis reads the fetching of the grapes out of season as an example of Faustus's "imperial power and dominion over the earth" (120). See also Jane Hwang Degenhardt. "The Reformation, Inter-imperial World History, and Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus*." *PMLA* 130.2 (2015): 402-11. Degenhardt explains that the access and acquisition of grapes in winter suggest that "the magic for which Faustus has sold his soul to the devil is, in this instance, that of effortless global commerce—or, rather the ability to attain a foreign commodity while by passing the means of production and the contingencies of exchange" (402).

Valdes imagines controlling the "spirits of every element" (1.1.122) so that "From Venice shall they drag huge argosies,/And from America the golden fleece/That yearly stuff old Philip's treasury" (1.1131-34). Not to be outdone, Cornelius expects: "The spirits tell me they can dry the sea/And fetch the treasure of all foreign wrecks—/Ay, all the wealth that our forefathers hid hid/Within the massy entrails of the earth" (1.1.145-49). Their machinations are a response to Faustus's famous fantasy:

> How I am glutted with conceit of this!
> Shall I make spirits fetch me what I please,
> Resolve me of all ambiguities,
> Perform what desperate enterprise I will?
> I'll have them fly to India for gold,
> Ransack the ocean for orient pearl,
> And search all corners of the new-found world
> For pleasant fruits and princely delicacies. (1.1.80-86)

Faustus's great desire to stockpile treasure draws a hard line between humans and nature. In his desire to "Ransack the ocean for orient pearl/And search all corners of the new found world" (1.1.84-85), Faustus shows that he conceives of nature as raw materials that exist prior to culture. That is the pearls, gold, delicacies, and fruit are raw materials that can be processed into valuable, cultural objects. The repetition of the Prologue's description of him as "glutted with conceit" (1.1.80) and the ease with which Mephistopheles fetches the grapes from "the contrary circle" (A 4.2.24) further defines Faustus as the author of the deed, who composes the natural world, but is never effected in return.

In addition to the grapes, Faustus's composes other scenes out of what he perceives as the raw materials natural world. For instance, in the B-text, when the soldiers ambush Faustus and Mephistopheles on the road to Wittenberg from the Emperor Alexander's court, Faustus commands the trees to move, and they produce a fortification that protects him and Mephistopheles. He issues the command, "Base peasants, stand!" (B 4.2.100), and then the stage directions explain that "[*Trees come between Faustus and the Soldiers*]" (SD B 4.2.101.1). After he realizes that the trick works, Faustus laughs and says,

> For lo, these trees remove at my command
> And stand as bulwarks 'twixt yourselves and me
> To shield me from your hated treachery.
> Yet to encounter this your weak attempt,
> Behold an army comes incontinent.

Faustus is a force of nature in this moment. And yet for all his authority over the natural world, for all his ability to hoard up resources and convert them into self-serving compositions, Faustus is incorporated into the ecosystem of the play. The bit with the moving tress is at once a citation of Marlowe's source text, the *Damnable Life,* in which, "suddenly all the bushes were turned into horsemen, which also ran to encounter with the Knight and his company" (n. 100.1 143), as well as anticipation of Birnam Wood moving up Dunsinane Hill in *Macbeth*. Not only is the scene a citation of previous texts and future texts, but also Faustus's conjuring of Mephistopheles is itself an assemblage, in which ancient and early modern figures and citations are lumped within a circle to fulfill Faustus's fantasies of accumulation. The trees that seem to move of their own accord also provide a metatheatrical commentary on the wood that

was cut and processed to create The Theater in which *Doctor Faustus* was initially staged. As Vin Nardizzi shows through a reading of Simon Forman's Diary entry in response to a 1611 performance of *Macbeth*, moments in which audiences were reminded of the "material link between theaters and woodlands" were pervasive (24).[35] The fetching of the grapes and the moving of the trees, both within the fiction of the play and in terms of The Theater itself, is only possible through dense networks of action. Further, Faustus's conjuring is authorized by his understand of himself as material. After all, in the deed of gift, which precipitates the actions described above, Faustus agrees to give himself body and soul to Lucifer.

Faustus disavows his soul, along with his prospect of eternal life in heaven with the vow, "Had I as many souls as there are stars,/I'd give them all for Mephistopheles" (3.1.104-105). Yet for all of these renunciations and more, the Devil still refuses to accept the terms of the bargain that Faustus offers. It is not until Faustus says plainly of his soul, "Ay, Mephistopheles, I give it thee" (A 2.1.47) that Mephistopheles relents, and instructs him:

> Then stab thine arm courageously,
> And bind thy soul that at some certain day
> Great Lucifer may claim it as his own,
> And then be thou as great as Lucifer. (A 2.1.49-52)

Faustus prefers the living-dead over eternal life, desecrates the name of God, and wishes he could scatter his soul into a million pieces. Yet not one of his pronouncements has catastrophic consequences because they are all limited by clearly

[35] Vin Nardizzi, *Wooden O's: Shakespeare's Theatres and England's Trees*. (University of Toronto Press, 2013).

demarcated boundaries. He is not undone by his rejection of classical authority because the phrases he cites from Galen and Aristotle remain intact, bound between the covers of the volumes he discards. While Faustus rearranges the name of "Jehovah," the anagrammatized name retains its authority because the conjuring circle that Faustus draws on stage circumscribes it.[36] Even though Faustus vows to rend himself into a million pieces, he stays whole because his vow is fixed within the logic of the simile. The classical scholarship and the name of God, as well as Faustus himself, all persist intact until the moment in which Faustus stabs his arm and lets his blood flow out onto the stage.[37] Once his blood is separated from his body, and he prepares to part with his soul by writing a deed of gift with that blood, Faustus is like Lucifer. The chiasmus in Mephistopheles's phrasing intensifies the comparison between Faustus and Lucifer. Through the inverted repetition of "Great Lucifer" (A 2.1.51) with which he bookends his command, Mephistopheles suggests that Faustus will be divorced from the unifying power of his soul.[38] And since Faustus is damned like Lucifer, he is equally unbounded for, "Hell hath no limits, nor is circumscribed in one

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[36] See Marjorie Garber, "Here's Nothing Writ": Scribe, Script, and Circumspection in Marlowe's Plays. *Theater Journal* 36.3 (1984): 301-320. Garber argues that while Faustus intends to desecrate the name of God by rearranging the letters, his conjuring has a pious consequence he likely did not intend: "For to anagrammatize the name of Jehovah—to rearrange its letters so as to form a new word—is merely to replicate the original pious replacement of the tetragrammaton, YWVH" (310).

[37] The self-inflicted wound marks an overturning in *Tamburlaine the Great, Part II* as well as in *Doctor Faustus*. In the middle of the play, Tamburlaine "[*cuts his arm*]" (SD 3.2.113) and invites his sons to put their fingers in the wound to allay their fears of being hurt in battle and to show them that "A wound is nothing, be it ne'er so deep" (3.2.114). Until he cuts himself, Tamburlaine remains, "Quite void of scars and clear from any wound" (3.2.113), and while the wound is not directly responsible for his death it does represent his first loss.

[38] For more on ways early modern humoral theory classified the body and the soul see, William Kerwin, "Beyond Body and Soul: *Twelfth Night* and Early Modern Medicine." *Beyond the Body: The Boundaries of Medicine and English Renaissance Drama.* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press) 194-233.

self place" (2.1.124-125). When Faustus stabs his arm he comes undone, he becomes an instrument of undoing as well.

Just as he starts to write the deed of gift to Lucifer in the blood he spills on the stage, Faustus exclaims to Mephistopheles, "My blood congeals, and I can write no more" (2.2.61). The two characters have very different reactions to the interruption caused by the blood's transformation from liquid to solid. Mephistopheles regards the transformation as an elemental process. The blood's congealing is of no more concern for him than water freezing into ice, so he exits to "fetch [Faustus] fire to dissolve it straight (2.1.63). Unlike Mephistopheles, Faustus regards the "staying of the blood" (2.1.59) as an event that requires a close textual analysis to understand:

> *Faustus*. What might the staying of my blood portend?
> Is it unwilling I should write this bill?
> Why streams it not, that I may write afresh?
> 'Faustus gives to thee his soul'—Ah, there it stayed!
> Why shouldst thou not? Is not thy soul thine own?
> Then write again: 'Faustus gives to thee his soul.' (2.1.59-69)

Because the blood seems to congeal each time he attempts sign his soul away, this scene has been read as one of many instances in which Faustus has the opportunity to make a different decision.[39] Yet, the staying of the blood also suggests that the play's catastrophe has already happened. When he cut his arm, he lost the unifying power of his soul, so he no longer has any control over his blood. From the moment when

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[39] For more on human and diabolical agency see James Ross Macdonald, "Calvinist Theology and 'Country Divinity' in Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus*." *Studies in Philology* 111.4 (2014): 821-844 and Leah Marcus, "Textual Indeterminacy and Ideological Difference: The Case of *Doctor Faustus*." *Renaissance Drama* 20 (1989): 1-29.

Mephistopheles orders Faustus to "Stab thine arm courageously" (2.1.49), and he notes, "this blood trickles from mine arm" (2.1.56), the blood is separate from Faustus's body and endowed with the potential to make meaning. The blood in which Faustus inscribes his deed of gift is itself a text in advance of his writing with it. As Lowell Gallagher explains, "The blood appears charged with an incipient meaningfulness that arrives in advance of the text he is poised to write. In other words, the very matter used to produce the document is already a text, sort of" (10). In addition to constituting the very processes by which the text is transmitted, these scenes of rending, reading and writing also suggests there is a uncanny material agency in the world that Faustus, Mephistopheles, and Lucifer inhabit.

While Faustus eventually succeeds in "clearing" the blood and writing his deed of gift in it, the blood retains the power to make meaning in excess of letters on a page. Faustus repeats his name three times and reads the dead out loud.[40] A 'deal with the devil' is shorthand for eternal loss. Any person said to make a pact with the devil or strike a Faustian bargain, exchanges the promise of future gain for immediate reward in the present. When Faustus makes his deal with Lucifer he does not hold out for something better, because he believes there is nothing better to be had and does not accept the future in ways that it has been prognosticated. To be sure, when a person accepts a deal with the devil he cannot go to heaven. In the bargain Faustus strikes

[40] See, Genevieve Gunther, "Why Devils Came When Faustus Called Them." *Modern Philology* 109.1 (2011): 46-70; Kristen Poole, "The Devil's in the Archive: *Doctor Faustus* and Ovidian Physics" *Renaissance Drama* 35 (2006): 191-219; and Andrew Sofer, "How to Do Things with Demons: Conjuring Performatives in *Doctor Faustus*." *Theater Journal* 61 (2001): 1-21.

with Mephistopheles he exchanges the potential of future gain for material rewards in the present.

> I, John Faustus of Wittenberg, Doctor, by these presents do give both body and soul to Lucifer, Prince of the East, and his minister Mephistopheles; and furthermore grant unto them that four-and-twenty years being expired, the articles above written inviolate, full power to fetch or carry the said John Faustus, body and soul, flesh, blood, or goods, into their habitations whosesoever. By me, John Faustus.' (2.1.95-113)

After the bargain the play becomes a mess of books and papers. Books escape the library and Lucifer gives Faustus volumes from Hell to read. In ways similar to how the manuscript of the play itself survives from the Renaissance to the present, Faustus is himself constituted out of the very same materials dispersed by catastrophe only to be recollected. While writing in the ordinary sense is something inscribed onto material, Faustus writes in blood onto paper for instance, material is also caught up in systems of difference. For Faustus, books on stage along with the several stage properties and costumes, are themselves part of an endless play of sign and signification. The signature is ironic, of course, because at the same time that Faustus is proving that he is a unique signatory present at the time of signing, the whole is being acted out in a play. Plus, the moment is itself of a citation of the *Faustbook*. The signature suggests that material, three-dimensional things have iterative potential. The human at the center of the Anthropocene is rather more than human in this instance, as the very material of Faustus's body writes itself into his authorizing of the

destruction of the earth. Further, because the signature exists in the absence of the signatory, it takes on a kind-of organic potential.

The initial scene of reading in which Faustus confronts the fantasy of containment emblematized by the books in his library is an "effect of the signature, which, once introduced, induces a series of separations. For deconstruction, "the production of a signature is at once a common-place but impossible thing" (*Signature, Event, Context* 29). What do signatures do? What does Faustus's signature do? How do Faustus's citational practices relate to his to his signature? His signature provides assurance that "I, John Faustus" was present at the signing and when he signs his name to the "deed of gift of body and soul" (5.96). Like finger prints, a signature is a mark unique to the individual who makes it, and unlike the other letters that Faustus sets down in the deed that he writes in his own blood, if a signature is replicated it's called a forgery. While Faustus's signature and the blood he writes it in belongs to him alone, his signature is not so idiosyncratic as to render it illegible. Quite the opposite is true because once he has finished signing the deed, Faustus reads the whole of deed, including his signature, aloud. He promises to trade his body and soul to Lucifer if he "may be a spirit in form and substance" (2.1.97) and if Mephistopheles will attend to his every need and in the "form and shape soever he pleases" (2.1.105). If the signature was as unique as expected, then Faustus would not be able to read it out loud or reproduce it, because any reproduction would be a forgery. And yet, as Derrida reminds readers in *Signature, Event, Context*, "In order to function, that is to be readable, a signature must have a repeatable, iterable, imitable form; it must be able to be

detached from the present and singular intention of its production" (20).[41] So here's this instance in which Faustus reads a text that he wrote himself, in his own blood, so there should be no possibility of mistaken attribution but the material circumstances of the signing, its place in a play, makes it so that even the signature is a citation whose attribution is always impossible. The material and linguistic fragments that Faustus salvages and reconstitutes to conjure Mephistopheles are taken from books that are already hoards of decontextualized citations. Because conjuring is represented as a reconstitution of material and textual fragments that characters salvage from books that are themselves compilations of decontextualized citations, the ecologies of the play, like nature itself, is produced through constellations of recycled materials so persistent that they cannot ever really be thrown away.

Part III. Dismembering Faustus

Marlowe's collaborators, likely at Henslowe's request, add a final scene to the 1616 edition of the play. This final, additional scene depicts the morning after Faustus's last night on Earth. When Faustus's colleagues enter into his study in place of their friend, they find a gruesome site:

> *Second Scholar*.
>
> Oh, help us, heaven! See, here are Faustus' limbs
>
> All torn asunder by the hand of death.
>
> *Third Scholar*.
>
> The devils whim Faustus served have torn him thus.
>
> For, twixt the hours of twelve and one, methought

[41] Jacques Derrida, "Signature, Event, Context." *Limited Inc*. Trans. Samuel Weber and Jeffrey Mehlman. (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1977). 1-20.

I heard him shriek and call aloud for help,

At which self time the house seemed all on fire

With dreadful horror of these damned fiends. (B 5.3.6-12)

Here the play ends where it began, with Faustus in his study in what at first glance seems like undisputable conclusion that looks back at the fantasy of ends with which the play opens. And yet, to the extent that the play dramatizes "writing" with body parts, what seems like Faustus's inevitable conclusion is really a beginning. Here he is, "torn asunder" (B 5.3.7) and dispersed among the books in his study. The stage properties that depict the limbs and books sit side by side on stage, suggest ways in which Faustus is a assemblage of objects. From the very first, Faustus is an exemplary figure of accumulation: he is "swoll'n" (Prologue 20) and later "glutted" (1.1.80) by a fantasy of accumulation that includes, but is not limited to, pearl, gold, silk, fruits, all the secrets of foreign kings, war machines, and Germany. The things he keeps and stores up, the texts and objects that have survived previous contexts only to accumulate in his study, form an ecosystem into which he is literally incorporated in the finale. Because Faustus both represents the dreams of world-conquering humans, and is always a network of material across which agency is diffuse, he offers some insight into the complexities of the 'Anthro' of the Anthropocene.

Chapter Two

Surviving *The Tempest*: Ecologies of Salvage on the Early Modern Stage

The opening catastrophe of Shakespeare's *The Tempest* is not simply a providentially ordained storm and shipwreck, but neither is it the singular expression of Prospero's will. Beginning with the reading of the storm and shipwreck, this article argues that the play produces and reproduces itself through salvage. The actors, costumes, properties, and language that the act one catastrophe disperses, continually persist and recollect forming the larger ecology of the play. This ecology of salvage extends from the fiction of *The Tempest* to its stage materials, as garments, hand properties, and set pieces, which were recycled from prior early modern contexts into theater storehouses, found their way onto the stage. What is emphasized by the constant recycling of the wreckage that the man-made storm leaves in its wake is that the past continues to exist in the present despite being transformed by human catastrophe. Ultimately, because the remainders made by the storm survive the very devastation they constitute, the play may be said to speak to a contemporary ecocritical desire to envision ways that people and things already endure man-made disaster.

The tempest is a man-made disaster that imitates meteorological weather events so convincingly the characters aboard the ship never have any reason to suspect otherwise. Of course the stage storm is not the atmospheric phenomena that it pretends to be, but neither is it a singular expression of Prospero's will.

Instead, the first act transports audiences to the deck of a ship just moments before it breaks apart and sinks through a miscellany of offstage sounds, wet costumes, nautical parlance, ropes dangling from the balcony, and rhetorical figures.[42] The sounds of the storm come from offstage even before the Shipmaster and the Boatswain enter, as described by the first stage direction in Shakespeare's First Folio, "*A tempestuous noise of thunder and lightning heard*" (SD 1.1).[43] Andrew Gurr explains that these riotous storm sounds may have been produced by stage machines such as the "roul'd bullet' (a metal ball trundled down a metal trough) and [a] 'tempestuous drumme'" (95).[44] The Master's whistle, blown at intervals from offstage, and the Mariners' several entrances and exits, combine with the sounds made by the stage machines to create the impression that the audience is witnessing a boat caught in a storm. To suggest that shipwreck is imminent, the Mariners exit to fulfill the Boatswain's command "Lay her a-hold, a-hold! Set her two courses. Off to sea again! Lay her off" (1.1.45), and then reenter immediately afterwards in wet costumes. Though the Folio only indicates the condition of the Mariners' costumes in its famous stage direction, "*Enter Mariners wet*" (SD 1.1.45), the nobles probably also enter in wet costumes midway through the scene. Gonzalo likely remarks on the act one staging choice— the multiple actors entering in wet costumes—

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[42] While ropes may not have been used when *The Tempest* was staged at the Blackfriars, the 2011 production of *The Tempest* at the American Shakespeare Center's Blackfriars Playhouse hung ropes from the balcony to stage the storm. For a discussion of the how the rope drops created continuity between the first and second acts in the ASC production, see Ray, 123-135.

[43] Quotations from *The Tempest* follow Wells and Taylor (editors) *William Shakespeare: The Complete Works*. 2nd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon, 2005).

[44] For a further description of ways *The Tempest* was likely performed on the crowded Blackfriars stage, see Bruster, 257-77.

when later in the play he notes that his newly dry clothes are, "rather new-dyed than stained with salt water" (2.1.64). And it is this accrual of theatrical effects, the multiple entrances and exits, blaring offstage sounds, and the wet costumes, which produce the impression of a ship at sea, beset by a storm, seconds before total ruin. Significantly, while Prospero will eventually take credit for conjuring the catastrophe, the play actually represents the storm as both caused and sustained by a network of material and linguistic effects.

The man-made storm provides an occasion to consider, in Timothy Morton's words, "frameworks for coping with a catastrophe that, from the evidence of the hysterical announcements of its imminent arrival, has already occurred" (17). In other words, Morton's suggestion that any impending catastrophe, any storm on the horizon, has likely occurred already, may help us to see that *The Tempest* stages an unfolding series of disasters in which nothing is ever fully destroyed. Indeed, the play produces and reproduces itself through salvage, as the actors, costumes, properties, and language that the catastrophes disperse survive disaster and recollect again, forming the larger ecology of the play. As I will show, this ecology of salvage extends from the fiction of *The Tempest* to the stage materials, garments, hand properties, and set pieces, which were recycled from prior early modern contexts into theater storehouses and then onto the stage. Throughout the play the detritus produced by shipwreck survives, and this emphasis on the recycling and reuse of materials that the man-made storm creates motivates many ecocritical readings of the play. Steve Mentz, for example, notes that the "poetics of shipwreck" (3) in *The Tempest* invites readers to see how "The bright light of catastrophe can be endured, even valued for the stark vision it provides" (178).

To Mentz's poetics of shipwreck, I add the future-facing, ecocritical potential that critics from Leo Marx to Vin Nardizzi read in *The Tempest*. While Marx argues that the play prefigures a canon of American literature that "gives rise to…the dissident movements adhered to by discontented Americans" (385), Nardizzi, who attends to the play's traces of sixteenth and early seventeenth-century natural events, considers the ways in which the text can also speak to environmental predicaments of his present. Specifically, Nardizzi contends that the clusters of lumber and logs on stage bear the traces of the sixteenth century lumber shortage crisis and are, simultaneously, "the vital matter of *The Tempest*'s eco-fantasies of colonial extraction and theatrical production" (112). He argues that the wooden assemblages that are recycled throughout productions over time—especially the wood reused from The Theater to rebuild the Globe—anticipate "our age of inconvenient truth, in which fossil fuels supply our energy needs and in which environmental activists warn against the diminishment of the planet's forests" (138). Building on this insight, I argue that the wreckage the man-made storm leaves in its wake shows how the past continues to exist in the present despite being transformed by human catastrophe. And because the remainders made by the storm survive devastation, the play speaks to the ways that contemporary people and things already endure all sorts of man-made disasters caused by post-catastrophic debris that persist in the ecosystem forever.

The salvage ecologies that the play stages show that while sudden disasters threaten the lives of the characters and the longevity of their objects with dispersing winds and rain, things and actors in *The Tempest* always survive because they are the very stuff out of which the catastrophe is composed to begin with. While the Boatswain reinforces the conceptual line between the ship and the storm first

established by the sounds and wet men coming in from offstage, the distinction between the men onstage and the storm just off it collapse over the course of the scene. After ordering the Mariners to "Take in the topsail!" (1.1.6), the Boatswain addresses the storm directly, saying, "Blow till thou burst thy wind, if room enough" (1.1.6-7). This exclamation, or the rhetorical figure apostrophe, personifies the storm as a force beyond the ship, puffing wind down onto the distressed vessel. The Boatswain attempts to divide the storm from the ship a second time during his first exchange with the noble passengers:

> ALONSO Good Boatswain, have care, where's the Master? Play the men!
>
> BOATSWAIN I pray now, keep below.
>
> ANTONIO Where is the Master, Boatswain?
>
> BOATSWAIN Do you not hear him? You mar our labor. Keep your cabins; you do assist the storm.
>
> GONZALO Nay, good, be patient.
>
> BOATSWAIN When the sea is. Hence! What cares these roarers for the name of king? To cabin! Silence; trouble us not.
>
> GONZALO Good, yet remember whom thou hast aboard. (1.1.8-17)

When the nobles enter onto the already crowded stage, they look foolish as they attempt to assert their power over the Boatswain and the Mariners.[45] The scene aboard the ship upends social hierarchies, in part, because the storm overwhelms the basis for sovereign authority, or as Dan Brayton explains, "the surly Boatswain temporarily

[45] For more on ways the storm upends the illusion of control see Jones, 125-51, and Publicover, 138-57.

becomes a revolutionary voice when he articulates a meteorological basis for his own primacy in the gale" (174). Though their authority cannot stop the ship from sinking, the nobles try to gain mastery over the storm through reference to hierarchical rank, such as when Alonso demands of the Boatswain, "Where's the Master?" (1.1.9). When the Boatswain does not respond to the King, Antonio repeats Alonso's question. When in response to the question asked by Antonio, "Where is the Master, Boatswain?" (1.1.11), the Boatswain asks, "Do you not hear him?" (1.1.13), the play emphasizes the sound of the "Master's whistle" (1.1.6-7), which is being blown from somewhere offstage. But because the meaning of the question depends on the circumstances in which it is uttered, the "him" (1.1.13) in the Boatswain's question can also refer to the storm itself. The Boatswain upends hierarchical divisions once more when he asks, "What cares these roarers for the name of King?" (1.1.16-17). As critics note, the Boatswain's famous question, which may have been leveled squarely at King James I during the 1611 and 1612-13 productions of the play at court, suggests that sovereign power does not extend to the natural world.[46] Similar to the "him" (1.1.13) of the Boatswain's first question, the "roarers" (1.1.16) of his second question likely refers to the tempest as well. Through his series of apostrophes, the Boatswain suggests that while great men might command him, he is bound to follow the even greater commands of the sea and the storm.

The divisions between the storm and the ship, between nature and humans, that the Boatswain maintains through his rhetoric collapse over the course of the scene. On a metatheatrical level, the storm sounds and the lines the actors shout and repeat

[46] For more on the politics of "roarers" (1.1.16) see Norbrook, 167-90. For more on *The Tempest* at court see Bevington, 218-243, and Law, 150-173.

become increasingly hard to differentiate. The repetition of sounds begins when the Boatswain translates several of the Master's terms into the first set of orders that he bellows at the Mariners:

> Master Boatswain!
>
> Boatswain Here, Master. What cheer?
>
> Master Good, speak to th'mariners. Fall to't yarely, or we run ourselves aground. Bestir, bestir! *Exit*
>
> *Enter Mariners*
>
> Boatswain Heigh, my hearts! Cheerly, cheerly, my hearts! Yare, yare! Take in the topsail! Tend to the Master's whistle! —Blow till thou burst thy wind, if room enough. (1.1.1-7)

Like the Master's thumping "Bestir, bestir!" (1.1.4), the Boatswain also uses repetitions to spur the Mariners into action: "Heigh, my hearts! Cheerly, cheerly, my hearts! Yare, yare!" (1.1.5). In his orders to the men to lower the sail as quickly, or "yarely"(1.1.3) as possible, the Boatswain translates the Master's order, "Fall to't yarely" (1.1.3) into "Yare, yare!" (1.1.5). Though designed to provoke a quick response to the storm, the Boatswain's repetitions have another effect. The repetition and alliteration of the guttural sounds uncouples the words from their meaning. As the words stretch out into "argh" sounds, they become indecipherable from the roar of the storm. When the Boatswain turns from the mariners to address the storm, daring it to blow itself out, the difference between the storm and the people it effects becomes unclear. Not only does the Boatswain produce the storm in the minds of the audience through his personification of it, but also through the repetition of sounds like "Yarely, yarely!" (1.1.6). When his lines comingle with sounds produced by the Master's

whistle and the "*tempestuous noise of thunder and lightening*" (SD 1.1) he, in effect, constitutes and sustains the storm. As a result of this collapse, the total destruction of actors and objects aboard the ship is never really possible. Instead, the network of sounds, costumes, hand properties, and rhetorical figures through which the storm is rendered persist in a variety of new combinations throughout the play.

As is well known, Prospero takes credit for making the storm.[47] But given the ways in which the storm is mutually constituted, it may be more accurate to assert that Prospero *re*makes the storm. The first lines Prospero speaks in the play are in response to Miranda's command, "If by your art, my dearest father, you have/Put the wild waters in this roar, allay them" (1.1.1-2). A command to which he replies, "Be collected./No more amazement. Tell your piteous heart/There's no harm done" (1.2.14-16). In his reply, Prospero orders Miranda to compose herself because he knows that no one was harmed when the ship was "Dashed all to pieces!" (1.2.8). Prospero's reply to Miranda suggests the limits of his powers: he can control the elements, but not his own daughter. And while he clearly addresses the phrase "Be collected!" (1.2.14) to Miranda, his command may also be read as an incantation, which is directed at the wreckage that survives the catastrophe of the opening act. Even when he takes more explicit credit for the storm, Prospero still seems to be composing it *post hoc*:

> The direful spectacle of the wreck, which touched
>
> The very virtue of compassion in thee,
>
> I have with such provision in mine art

[47] Among its many achievements, the rich tradition of Post-Colonial *Tempest* criticism holds open a space between Prospero's art and the wholly separate factors motivating other action in the play. For more on ways in which Post-Colonial scholars complicate notions that the action of the play is a result of Prospero's singular will see, Brown, 48-71; Hulme, 115-34; Brotton, 23-42; and Goldberg, 1-39.

> So safely ordered that there is no soul—
> No, not so much perdition as an hair
> Betid to any creature in the vessel
> Which thou heard'st cry, which thou saw'st sink. (1.2.26-32)

Prospero explains that what Miranda thought was a meteorological storm and shipwreck was actually a man-made imitation that he orchestrated with Ariel's help. Under his orders, Ariel made Miranda and all the men on the ship mad with fear when he "flamed amazement" and imitated "The fire and cracks/of sulfurous roaring" (1.2.199 & 204-205). Prospero may well be admitting that the effects of the "spectacle of the wreck" (1.2.26) are more than he expected and beyond his control. Prospero issued commands to Ariel that make the storm, just as much as he "safely ordered" (1.2.29) him to arrange the wreckage around the island. The multiple connotations of "order" (1.2.29) in Prospero's first line, suggests that nothing in the ship has been lost even though all of the people and things aboard are transformed into wreckage. When Ariel has "dispersed them 'bout the isle" (1.2.221), in accord with Prospero's bidding, the salvage from the wreck continues to have the potential to make meaning and communicate beyond the sorts of distinctions guaranteed by the sovereignty that the storm upends.[48] The storm's remainders are able to continue to make meaning because they bear the traces of the disastrous conditions that initially produced them, even as they signify in unexpected ways overtime.

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[48] For more on ways in which *The Tempest* is marked by the material circumstances of its initial production, and also able to take on meaning in new contexts as it signifies over time see Berensmeyer, 515-538, and Burt and Yates, 75-111.

Part I. The Recycling Hypothesis

While the fifth act of *The Tempest* opens with one of the most famous examples on the early modern stage of a man attempting to take out the trash, Prospero cannot consign his magical objects to oblivion because the things he is trying to throw away have survived the storm already. Nevertheless he vows:

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

There is no reason to assume that Prospero fails to make good on his promise to abjure his magical implements once he becomes Duke of Milan again.[49] In fact, during the Epilogue Prospero asserts that he has given up his magic when he tells the audience, "Now my charms are all o'erthrown/And what strength I have's mine own" (1-2). While these lines seem to confirm Prospero's promise to bury his staff and drown his book, the play-text does not provide any explicit stage directions for the destruction of the magical implements. Instead of disposing of the objects as he promises, Prospero simply drops the book and staff without further comment before revealing himself to Alonso in the antique "hat and rapier" (5.1.84) he wore when he was "sometime Milan" (5.1.86). When Prospero lets the objects go, the book and staff take their places among the many things and people assembled on stage for the final act. The remarkably crowded stage holds all of the abandoned magical implements, as well as the castaways; Prospero's discarded magical cloak; Miranda and Ferdinand's

[49] For more on the question of whether or not Prospero follows through on his threat see Mowat, 1-33.

chessboard; and the "*glistening apparel*" (SD 4.1.193) in which Trinculo, Caliban, and Stephano are ensnared. When Prospero addresses the audience in his Epilogue, he does so against this backdrop of leftovers that are strewn across the stage. I take the disjuncture between the resilient objects of the final act and Prospero's valediction as a moment of insight into the ways in which the salvage materials that produce *The Tempest* are marked by their prior contexts as they signify over time.

Because the play's final tableau is composed through ecologies of salvage, the castaways, magical objects, garments, and weapons are already acting in capacities different from the ones for which they were initially designed. The already different, refused status of the collection on stage at the end of the play gives audiences insight into the prior lives of these objects, while also revealing how objects live on despite human disavowal of them. The final tableau helps the audience to recognize ways in which the cluster of things and people are, in Jane Bennett's suggestive phrase, "vivid entities" (5) and not mute, inert obstacles that impede human action and spoil aesthetic vistas. The magical implements, weapons, and garments have the potential to make meaning and communicate well beyond their original contexts. Not only do the objects that make up the cluster demonstrate persistence not usually accorded them, they also suggest ways in which agency is dispersed amid chance clusters of things and people. The final tableau allows readers to consider alternatives to exclusively human action, which may help to redress the harm that the exceptional status of human agency, a status that Prospero embodies, causes the environment. When Prospero assumes that he is the only being on the island capable of effecting change by fabricating raw materials into commodities, he ignores the ways in which the book, staff, chessboard, garments, and weapons are more than merely human tools. Further, because Prospero

continues to assume that he is at the ontological center, he blunders on insensible to the lives of people and things at play all around him, while remaining unaware of his own status as a salvaged object amid cluster of wreckage. And yet, the final moment of disjuncture suggests a way Prospero can regard himself as one constitutive element amid the ecology of reuse. The materials in the tableau suggest that when salvage collects, the tableau they form communicates in unexpected ways that sweeps people up into their slow moving accumulation.

The contrast between Prospero's repudiation of his magical objects and the ways in which the objects remain can be explained, in part, by the historical circumstances of early modern stage business: the Renaissance recycled. Even though the status of small, early modern stage properties remains something of a mystery, theater historians provide an account of early modern stage objects, such as books, weapons, and cloth, from a synthesis of documentary evidence found in Philip Henslowe's *Diary* (1598-1609), contemporaneous eyewitness accounts, and stage directions in play manuscripts.[50] In the absence of documentary evidence that suggests that early modern theater companies manufactured new costumes and properties each time they mounted a production, scholars hypothesize that stage objects circulated into theatrical contexts from households and pawn stores. Natasha Korda develops this recycling hypothesis when she explains that small properties were regularly furnished for the stage from the stores of pawned objects that were never reclaimed by their owners. While no theatrical inventory of small properties has been recovered, the receipts of pawned objects recorded in Henslowe's *Diary* show that Londoners regularly pledged household items such as "jewelry, expensive tableware, fine linens,

[50] For more on small stage properties see Dutton, 560-574, and Orlin, 99-129.

and such superfluous trinkets as a silver whistle" (189). Pawnbrokers like Henslowe were entitled to this property if their owners did not reclaim the pawned goods within a year and a day. Korda argues that the receipts of pawned objects recorded in the *Diary* may very well be the missing inventories of small stage properties. Henslowe may have supplied the Admiral's Men, who performed at his Rose and Fortune Theaters during the years he operated his pawn business, with the "unredeemed linens and tableware in the pawn accounts" (194). In the absence of more evidence, historians are left to assume that Shakespeare's companies obtained stage properties and costumes in ways similar to Henslowe and the Admiral's Men. Not only are Prospero's magical implements, as well as the garments, recycled from other contexts within the fiction of the play, but also *The Tempest* itself comments on common theatrical processes of recycling stage materials.

Salvage from shipwrecks constitutes the very terms of the play itself, as its catastrophes are composed out of materials—the books, garments, and hand properties—that have survived catastrophe already.[51] Indeed, Anne Rosalind Jones and Peter Stallybrass's insights into how Renaissance garments, especially the livery of aristocratic households, worked to constitute pre-modern subjectivity as assemblage, help us to see that *The Tempest* dramatizes other sixteenth and seventeenth century processes of reuse. While tracing the ecology of early modern cloth, Jones and Stallybrass describe the processes through which it survived:

> Renaissance clothes were piecemeal assemblages of parts, every part exchangeable for cash until completely worn out. (Even when worn out,

[51] For more on the ways "multiple traces of time…play an active role in the present object" (9), see Harris, 1-27.

> linen provided the valuable rags used to make paper). Livery as a memorializing system can be set against both the circulation of clothes outside structures of court, household, and guild and the translations of materials from one garment to another, from overgarments to undergraments, from gold to gold thread back to gold again. Inventories, wills, and pawnbroking records constantly remind us not only that clothes were transmitted, but that they could be disassembled into their parts. (22-23)

According to their hypothesis, the piecemeal garments, which were transformed from uncut bolts of fabric into a network of clothes, never really fell out of circulation. Even when the constituent pieces of early modern garments were too worn out for wearing, the cloth was not shipped off to a rubbish heap; instead, fabric rags were milled into paper. Through this process of reuse, the cloth that once functioned to reify the power of noble households was made to signify as paper in wholly new contexts. As Joshua Calhoun explains, Shakespeare's First Folio, where *The Tempest* was published for the first time, was printed on paper made, in part, out of recycled linen rags.[52] It is important to note that the processes of reuse, which dislodge humans from ontological primacy in *The Tempest*, imitate the material conditions that make the play text available to audiences.

The theater companies, I would underscore, did not build, sew, or make all new costumes and properties for each new production. Instead they recycled material salvaged from prior contexts onto the stage. And, as Stephen Greenblatt has observed, the recycling of costumes influenced performance: when a garment was recycled from

[52] For more on the "'natural history of the book'" (328) see Calhoun, 327-344.

the pulpit to the stage, he suggests, it likely retained its "symbolic value, however attenuated" (112). *The Tempest* demonstrates the validity of Greenblatt's claims, as several costumes in the play may have cycled in from a prior context, and in so doing retained the marks of their previous conditions. For example, as Gabriel Egan reminds readers, "Michael Baird Saenger has claimed that the costumes of Caliban and Ariel-as-sea-nymph were first used in a sea-pageant on the Thames in celebrating the investiture of Prince Henry as Prince of Wales, described in a pamphlet by Anthony Munday" (62). Though Caliban is dressed in his water-nymph costume when attempts to convince Ferdinand that his father is dead, the reused costume may have comforted the audience with an image of survival following Prince Henry's death in 1612. The water-nymph costume is not the only garment that retains the marks of its prior contexts even as it signifies in new ways over the run of the play. Prospero's cloak and Ariel's lute may have been re-cycled from *The Alchemist* to *The Tempest* and back again. Since the two plays may have been in repertory at the same time between 1608 and 1610, Richard Dutton posits, "Ariel's unnamed solo instrument in i.ii, usually glossed as a lute, may be the same cittern played by Doll in *The Alchemist* (and by the same player). It is also conceivable that Subtle's alchemical robes doubled as Prospero's magic robes" (11). If Prospero's robes and Caliban's lute were indeed marked by their performance in *The Alchemist*, then they provided another moment of insight into the ways in which networks of things and people constitute *The Tempest*. That the same objects are made to signify in different contexts, both recalling those contexts and also rewriting them, suggests more general practices of theatrical reuse. And it is this ecology of salvage, the process that constitutes the play, which explains Prospero's inability to let go of his magical implements.

Part II. Life After Life

Pre-modern texts can provoke in the present a reanimation of premodern expectations about the relationship between human and nonhuman objects. Or, as Jeffrey Cohen argues in his introduction to *Elemental Ecocriticism*:

> To counteract the flattening force of this collective amnesia, we need more and better models of inhuman challenge, an environmental agentism. Call it re-activism, where the "re-" is not a simple repetition of a previous form, but a renewal of non/human ethical enmeshment, a transhistorical call to attention, in which lessons from the past are reactivated for better futures. (5)

Cohen argues that premodern authors show ways in which humans are a part, and not the center, of the universe. Though anthropocentricity often overrides readings of Shakespeare's enmeshed cosmology, Cohen argues work by authors such as Shakespeare "offers a storehouse of imaginings" (5) through which human-nonhuman relations may be reimagined to help redress modern environmental devastation. I take Shakespeare's imaginative storehouse quite literally here by reading the ways in which the strange clusters of objects in *The Tempest* imitate the practices of early modern cabinets of curiosity. [53] Cabinets of curiosity, as well the representation of the mind of man as a cornucopia of rhetorical figures, are cultural trends specific to the late 16th

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[53] See, Stephen J. Campbell, *The Cabinet of Eros: early modern Mythological Painting and the Studiolo.* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004; Lorraine Daston and Katharine Park, *Wonders and the Order of Nature, 1150-1750.* (New York: Zone Books, 1998). 255-303; and Horst Bredekamp. *The Lure of Antiquity and the Cult of the Machine: The Kunstkammer and the Evolution of Nature, Art, and Technology.* (Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers, 1995).

and early 17th century.[54] Exhibitors and the viewing public of the later Renaissance prized exhibitions of irregularities that collected marvels from regions both local and global in a single space. In general, early modern curiosity cabinets acted as repositories for new world artifacts that had been shipped back to Europe; they captured the literal excesses of the first flush of capital commodity markets; and they improvised protocols established by medieval reliquaries, encyclopedias, and Liturgical Drama. Wonder cabinets featured hybrid animals, such as the phoenix in his tree or unicorns, and alongside stuffed and refashioned animals, collectors regularly displayed artifacts, gems, minerals, automata, miniatures, dried plants, and books. While the cabinets that are staged throughout *The Tempest* belong to a different and irrecoverable past, all subsequent reproductions of *The Tempest* encode the traces of ways in which wonderful assemblages confuse the distinction between human and nonhuman agency.

[54] Cave, Terence. "Copia and Cornucopia." *French Renaissance Studies, 1540-70: Humanism and the Encyclopedia*. Ed. Peter Sharatt. (Edinburgh: Edinburgh UP, 1976): 52-69.

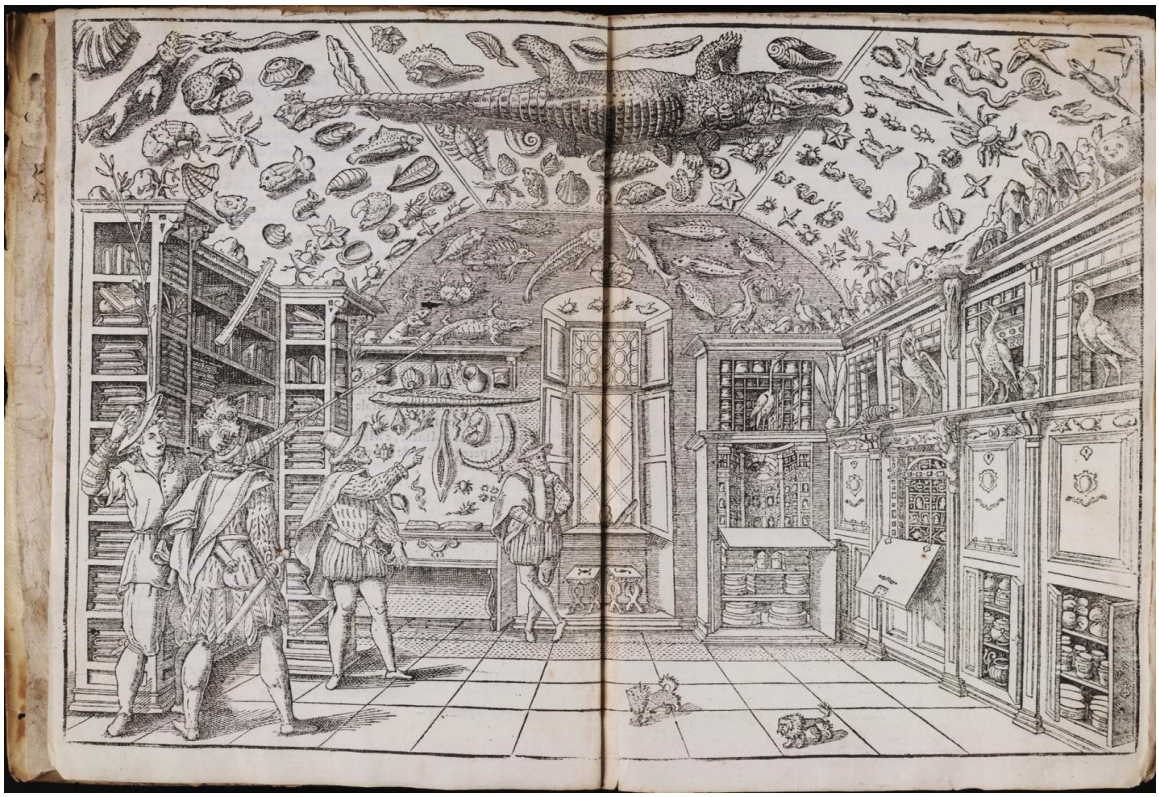

Fig. I: Double Plate Showing the Interior of Imperato's Museum and Library. Ferrante Imperato, *Ritratto Del Museo Di Ferrante Imperato.* (Napoli: C. Vitale, 1599), Yale University, Beinecke Digital Collections.

As is well known, *The Tempest* stages conventions and procedures commonly associated with the curiosity cabinet. Stephano and Antonio want to display Caliban in London as an exotic artifact (2.2.26-32 & 5.1.265-66); Prospero's "library"(1.2.167) in Milan and his "full poor cell" (1.2.20) on the island recall the Studiolo of Italian Renaissance nobility; and Gonzalo explains that the fabulous has become a commonplace in his lifetime (3.3.47-49). From these examples, as well as Miranda's status as a register of all things wonderful, Max Cohen identifies similarities between *The Tempest* and the curiosity cabinet. He draws the analogy between the theater and the cabinet to argue that both spectacles supply early modern audiences with the sort

of institutionalized wonder it lacks after the Reformation (92).[55] Cary DiPietro also describes correspondences between the stage and the cabinet. DiPietro is more invested in the immediate future than the immediate past. He shows how authors such as John Dryden and Thomas Shadwell adapt the analogy between the space of the theater and the space of the wonderful collection into the "Baroque excess[es]" (178) of their Restoration adaptations of *The Tempest*.[56] Specifically, DiPietro argues that the aesthetic values the stage shares with the cabinet, which Restoration adaptations of *The Tempest* render, exceeds "socially or historically specific sites of subjectivity" to represent, instead, "what Adorno calls constitutive subjectivity" (184). Traces of "constitutive subjectivity" can be found in Andreas Hoffle's study *Stage, Stake, and Scaffold*. Hofele demonstrates that the correlation between the curiosity cabinet and Shakespeare's stage is just one instance of the "vast system of analogical relationships," in which human and nonhumans in and around Shakespeare's theater are enmeshed (14).[57] He argues that the vast similitudes undermine the notion of human exceptionalism in *The Tempest* because the play "…also shares the analogical and topological habits of thought that read these enclosed spaces as emblems of the spatially conceived human mind encased in the cell-like cavity of the skull" (238). The affinity that all three scholars describe between the stage and the cabinet helps conceptualize human and nonhuman relations in *The Tempest* as assemblage. In other words for Prospero to recognize his cell and study as an emblem of his mind is not a

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[55] Adam Max Cohen. *Wonder in Shakespeare*. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012).
[56] Cary Di Pietro,"Seeing Places: *The Tempest* and the Baroque Spectacle of the Restoration Theater." *Shakespeare* 9.2 (2013)
[57] Andreas Hofele, "Revel's End: *The Tempest* and After." *Stage, Stake, and Scaffold: Humans and Animals in Shakespeare's Theater*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011): 229-278.

pathetic fallacy, but rather an affordance of the knowledge producing protocols in which he is already enmeshed. Similarly, Alonso and Stephano locate in Caliban traces of their own aquatic affinity, as well as their permanent "sea change" (1.2.399). [58]

One of the earliest visual representations of a curiosity cabinet, The *Ritratto del Museo di Ferrante Imperato* (Fig. 1), models the imaginative strategies of which *The Tempest* is an analogue (strategies that I will go on to argue can help modern people figure with waste). The *Museo* is crammed floor to ceiling with a hodge-podge array of objects, and the doors on the built-ins can be opened to reveal still more things inside. The closing and opening of doors, as well as the way in which readers have to open to the engraving in Ferrante's book to reveal the room, guides the way in which audiences experience the collection. Revealing previously unknown or secret information persuades audiences of their value, and stacking objects from floor to ceiling persuades them they are witnessing marvelous spectacles. Furthermore, just as the men in the foreground of the engraving seem overcome with wonders they experience, so too are the readers of Ferranti's book overcome. The arrangement strategies in Ferrante's illustration obscure both the hand of the collectors, as well as the ways in which the things are repurposed refuse. For instance, in a previous life all of the shells mounted to the walls were the outer casings left behind by the animals who lived in them. Similarly, all of the animals used to be alive before winding up as stuffed carcasses mounted to the walls; posed on shelves; or transformed into the vellum pages in the books. Even the branch in the left foreground performs second life in the cabinet after being literally cut off from its first.

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[58] Alaimo, Stacy. "States of Suspension: Trans-Corporeality at Sea." *ISLE* 19.3 (2012): 476-93.

Because it shows how artifacts and people survive a catastrophe that is tantamount to the end of the world by means of the knowledge producing protocols of the cabinet, *The Tempest* provides contemporary readers with a blueprint for thinking life after the end of nature. Until now, much of the critical work linking Shakespeare with cabinets articulates the ways in which the excesses of strange things organized according to mishmash principles satisfied an early modern cultural desire for the experience of wonder. For instance, Steven Mullaney famously argued that curiosity cabinets are repositories of strange artifacts, or "things on holiday...displaced from any proper context" intended to hold audiences in thrall (42). Similarly, Jonathan Gil Harris has maintained that the curiosity cabinet is a perfect emblem for both the successes and foibles of the new materialist turn away from the subject and toward the object as, "...the wonder--the allure--of the *Wunderkammer's* strange objects depends in large part on taking them out of history"(116). The experience of strangeness requires a suspension of rationality on the part of the observer. Cabinets do not categorize the objects crammed into drawers or mounted to the ceilings; instead the objects seem wonderful precisely because they lack rigid categorical distribution. While much scholarship on curiosity cabinets foregrounds the ways in which displays produced strangeness in order to stupefy audiences, we might detect within such work latent themes of survival. That is, even though critics often focus on the strange and wonderful, they also articulate ways in which cabinets are networks of objects that have survived being consigned to graves or garbage bins.

Is it possible that survival is a necessary quality of the strange and wonderful? Just as Harris cautions materialist scholars against the fetishization of antiquities, he also calls the strange objects of scholarly fascination "positive residua" (116). The

objects that escape history to arrest scholarly attention stand outside of time and, to Harris's dismay, are then made into totalizing examples of more complex processes. In a similar fashion, Mullaney suggests that despite arguments in the affirmative, curiosity cabinets do not give rise to the modern day museum. Not only does Mullaney reject the hypothesis that the curiosity cabinet generated the museum, he suggests instead that the modern museum is built on the ruins of the "brief historical career" of the *Wunderkammer* (40). He explains that any traces of the cabinet in the modern museum persist in spite of their destruction:

> The museum as an institution rises from the ruins of such collections, like country houses built from the dismantled stonework of dissolved monasteries: it organizes the wonder cabinet by breaking it down—that is to say, by analyzing it, regrouping the random and strange into recognized categories that are systematic, discrete, and explanatory. (41)

All the random objects, from the feathers of new world birds to noses broken off of classical statues, have to survive the destruction of their original contexts to be displayed in the cabinets. Then, as Mullaney shows, some artifacts survive a double refusal as modernity unfolds. So while Mullaney's main goal is to show how cabinets are repositories for strangeness, and as such different from any other form of collecting, the survival of artifacts underlies those claims. *The Tempest* suggests that wonderful artifacts in cabinets and on stage motivate their own survival.

The dumb show, with which Prospero teases the wandering nobles midway through *The Tempest,* illustrates the decentering hodge-podge procedures associated with cabinets, as well as Mullaney's articulation of the double refusal that the artifact

in the *Wunderkammer* experience over time. Just after "Alonso, Sebastian, Antonio, Gonzalo, Adrian, Francisco, [and] *etc*." wander onto the stage at the end of act three, Prospero's spirit minions present them with a *"banquet"* (3.3.1 & 19). While the stage directions do not specify the items put on display for the nobles, the spirits and objects elicit the following responses from the men onstage:

> Alonso Give us kind keepers, heavens! What are these?
>
> Sebastian A living drollery! Now I will believe
>
> That there are unicorns; that in Arabia
>
> There is one tree, the phoenix's throne, one phoenix
>
> At this hour reigning there.
>
> Antonio I'll believe both
>
> And what else does want credit
>
> And I'll be sworn 'tis true. Travelers ne'er did lie,
>
> Though fools at home condemn 'em. (3.3.20-28)

When Alonso sees the scene laid out before him, he cannot quite process what he is looking at, so he asks Sebastian to interpret the dumb show for him. Instead of providing an inventory of the things on the table that the spirits leave behind, the objects and actors that compose the dumb show banquet recede behind Sebastian's reply. In his response to Antonio's frightened plea and astonished question, Sebastian replaces the *"several strange shapes"*(3.3.19) that the stage direction specifies with the phrase, "A living drollery!" (3.3.21).[59] Sebastian interprets the scene laid out in front

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[59]For more on the critical response excited by the term "drollery," see Ben Jonson, "Induction" *Bartholomew Fair*. Norton Anthology of Elizabethan Drama. (New York: WW Norton & Co., 2002). Under Jonson's influence editors such as George Steevens

of him as a painting or puppet show that has come to life. In lieu of simply verifying the existence of the island spirits, their dancing, or the objects they lay out as a mirror of their internal emotional states, Sebastian infers from the scene he witnesses the vibrant potential of fabricated objects. In many ways the spirits are the "kind keepers"(3.3.20) Alonso appeals to the heavens for, as well as the outward sign of his inward desire. And yet, Sebastian's description recognizes the extent to which the spirit courtiers, and their magical food, are more than just the reflection of human desire.

Not only does Sebastian attest to the liveliness of the scene before him, the dumb show affirms for him the collective agency of other chance clusters of artifacts such as those that populated the shelves of wonder cabinets. In this scene, as in the rhetoric of wonder cabinets more generally, the potential of things to move and have feelings despite humans is not censured. In Sebastian's estimation the scene that moves before his eyes proves the longevity of unicorns, the phoenix, and other fabulous things that travelers bring back home. The inanimate objects that make up the dumb show banquet verify the liveliness of curiosities because they seem to move and "sound" (3.3.37) of their own volition. Just as Alonso reaches out to "stand to and feed," (3.3.49) all of the objects on the table seem to disappear of their own accord when, Ariel, dressed in his harpy costume, *"claps his wings upon the table, and, with a quaint device, the banquet vanishes"*(3.3.53).[60] The harpy, a bird-woman hybrid that

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(1766), Alexander Dyce (1857), and Virginia and Mason Vaughan (2011) gloss 'drollery' as 'puppet show." See M.A. Shaarber "'A Living Drollery' (*Tempest*, III, iii, 21)" *Modern Language Notes* 60.6 (1945): 387-391, for a persuasive argument against the strict interpretation of drollery as a synonym for puppet show.

[60] For a plausible explanation of early modern staging of this scene see the Norton Editors' gloss of the Folio stage direction, "The simplest effective staging is by means

appears just as the food disappears from the mouths of the starving men, is the sort of object that would be a showpiece in a cabinet of curiosity. But Ariel is more than just a static, stuffed artifact or the personification of the nobles' emotions: he's a "living drollery" (3.3.21). In his costume, Ariel is a living adaptation of classical mythology who flies, appears out of nowhere, makes a racket, and disappears into nothing.

All the action during the anti-masque, banquet scene suggest that inanimate objects and magical creatures are alive, and that those objects survive space and time to collect and write themselves into the drama. Like artifacts that fill the shelves and drawers of curiosity cabinets, Ariel marks the nobles as just so many objects that wash up on shore:

> You are three men of sin, whom destiny—
> That hath to instrument this lower world
> And what is in't—the never-surfeited sea
> Hath caused to belch up you, and on this island
> Where man doth not inhabit, you 'mongst men
> Being most unfit to live. (3.3.53-8)

Ariel, in his harpy disguise, may be interpreted as instrument of Prospero's will, who pronounces his master's righteous revenge against Antonio, Sebastian, and Alonso. The nobles are "unfit to live" (3.3.51) because they are responsible for Prospero's overthrow and banishment. While Prospero seems to affect the outcome of the action,

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of a rotating tabletop with the vessels of the banquet fixed to its surface. Leg-to-leg plants supporting the tabletop or a hanging clothe would conceal the vanished banquet. The harpy's wings would hide the mechanics from the audience, and clapping them would provide a visual distraction" (gloss 8, SD 3.3.53, 408). See also, Gabriel Egan, "Ariel's Costume in the Original Staging of *The Tempest*" *Theater Notebook* 51.2 (1997): 63-72, and Ibid Gurr 95.

Ariel suggests other forces are at work on the nobles. Forces such as "the never-surfeited sea" (3.3.55) that "belch[es]" (3.3.56) the nobles out onto an island that humans do not inhabit may supersede Prospero's power. The nobles' status is indistinct because they wash up out of the ocean like so much wreckage, which suggests that Sebastian and his companions are as much a part of the living curiosity cabinet as the object they witness.

Agency is indistinct in both the engraving of Ferrante's cabinet and *The Tempest* because cabinets depend on enmeshed networks that Jane Bennett might call "a congregational understanding of agency" (20). The engraving suggests ways in which intent is dispersed amid the accidental assemblages that organize compositions, and not concentrated in either audiences, i.e. Sebastian, Alonso, Antonio, etc., or virtuosos such as Ferrante or Prospero. In the engraving, as well as in the play, the human figures are as much a part of the collection as the fabulous animals and automata. They are objects that bridge the gap between the floor and the ceiling, the earth and the heavens. Yet unlike the crocodile, birds, seashells, books, boxes, cabinets, and twigs, the figures are represented as having the ability to move, think, and speak. In Ferrante's engraving the figure near the window quietly observes the right hand wall; the two figures in the foreground discuss their observations; and the figure in the middle points to the wall. Despite the mobility with which they are represented, the human figures do not affect the displays around them. Similar to the wandering nobles in *The Tempest*, the human figures register awe and amazement in response to the displays. The human figures provide a helpful way into the complicated representation of life, and life after life, in cabinet exhibitions. After all, all of the objects in the cabinet had to be killed and removed from their ecosystems in order to be represented in the

collections. Animals have been stuffed and mounted; flora and fauna have been plucked and dried; trees have been cut down and fabricated, and dead animal hide has been transformed into vellum for the books. Are we to assume that what is true of the crocodile is also true of the human figures? Have the humans also been killed, stuffed, and mounted?

The human figures in the Ferrante's illustration, as well as the nobles who wander around the "desolate isle" (3.3.80), are, as Ariel claims, "unfit to live" (3.3.58). Though they may well be unsuitable for the island "Where man doth not inhabit" (3.3.56), they are only alive in the same way as the rest of the objects the sea returns can said to be alive. Critics have long pointed to ways in which Prospero literally objectifies the nobles. For instance, Nardizzi explains that "Prospero's naughty foes have thus had their bodies cast into the shape of knotty wood: with arms folded ('knit'), the monarch and courtiers are puppets in a drollery or, better still, are temporarily transformed into wooden chess pieces" (129).[61] Similarly, Shannon Kelley interprets Alonso's "sea change" (1.2.399) as a literal process in which his "skeleton becomes coral" (134).[62] While I am not the first to note the implications of their literal objectification, we have yet to realize that just as everything on the island that has "Received a second life" (5.1.195), the nobles are very nearly fabricated into the sorts of objects that line the walls and ceilings of curiosity cabinets. Immediately prior to his valediction, Prospero asks Ariel, "How fares the King and's followers?" (5.1.6), and Ariel replies,

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[61] Ibid Nardizzi 129

[62] Shannon Kelley, "The King's Coral Body: A Natural History of Coral and the Post-Tragic Ecology of *The Tempest*." *JEMCS* 14.1 (2104): 115-142.

Confined together

In the same fashion as you gave in charged,

Just as you left them; all prisoners, sire,

In the line-grove which weather-fends your cell.

They cannot budge till your release. (5.1.8-10)

In his report to Prospero, Ariel describes how he has confined the nobles within the grove of trees that protects Prospero's cell from the wind and weather. Ariel holds the men captive in an orchard of *"Line"* (F_1 4.1.2025), lime, or linden trees, till Prospero is ready to pass judgment on them for usurping his dukedom.[63] Ariel likely refers not to citrus trees, but "limes" or "lindens," a species of the genus *Tilia* that is native to England. While the term certainly refers to the species of trees where Ariel holds the prisoners, the term "lime" also recalls for the listener the "viscous sticky substance prepared from the bark of the holly and used for catching small birds" ("lime, n.1." *OED Online*). That is to say that just as a hunter traps wild birds with a sticky substance, so Ariel ensures that the nobles "cannot budge" (5.1.11) until Prospero releases them. Yet, Ariel's comment "they cannot budge" (5.1.10) takes on more sinister connotations when a third meaning of the term "lime" is taken into account. Perhaps Ariel explains that he has begun the job of "liming" the nobles, or processing their hides into vellum. To make mammal hides fit for writing, the skin was soaked in an alkali solution of which lime was a key ingredient. The nobles are freed from the "lime-grove" (5.1.10), after their brains have been "boiled within [their] skull[s]"

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[63] William Shakespeare. *The Tempest* (*F1 Facsimile*) *Internet Shakespeare Editions*. Brandeis University. (London: William Jaggard, Edward Blount, L. Smithweeke, and W. Aspley, 1623). <http://internetshakespeare.uvic.ca/Library/facsimile/overview/book/F1.html.>

(5.1.60). While they are never converted into paper, there is no reason to expect that after their ordeal they are alive in any ordinary sense. That is to say they are a part of the assemblage that is *The Tempest*. An assemblage that functions according to the protocols of the curiosity cabinet in which the scope of what constitutes life is greater than just ambulatory and animate. Like Prospero's magical implements, the nobles persist night after night in performance after performance to write and be written on.

Shakespeare encodes Trinculo's first encounter with Caliban in language that approximates both early naturalist empiricism, and a salesman announcing his wares at a stall at St. Paul's. Unlike Gonzalo or Prospero who force their visions onto the island, Trinculo's initial series of questions, likely coupled with the gestures of active inquiry, make it seem as if he is responding in real time to the tableau before him. When Trinculo wanders on stage, after waking from his charmed sleep, he responds to the half hidden body of Caliban as a collector might advertise a set of marvelous specimens:

> "What have we here? A man or a fish? Dead or Alive? A fish: He smells like a fish; a very ancient fishlike smell: a kind-of-not-of the newest poor-John. A strange fish. Were I in England now (as once I was) and had but this fish painted, not a holiday fool there but would give a piece of silver. There would this monster make a man; any strange beast there makes a man." (2.2.24-30)

Trinculo is the perfect virtuoso in this scene that brings a cabinet of curiosity to life on stage, as he is able to pull together so many discursive threads to affect a sense of wonder. First, he interprets the tableau laid out on stage without seeming to do so. Next, he asks those three questions as if he does not already know the answers. Lastly,

he acts as if it is his very first encounter with the costumed body of the actor who plays Caliban. Yet his questions provoke in us the wonder of a first time that is unrecoverable. Trinculo fakes his wonder to infuse the nightly encounter with a sense of strangeness. Even though he wishes that he could earn money, in the future and in England, by displaying the body of a monster, he is actually doing in the present the thing he says he wishes he could do in the future.

This scene depends on the creation of a sense of an impossible singularity to work. Caliban and Trinculo have to be strangers in order to meet for the first time, but since the play demands that this scene be repeated over and over, they are actually intimates. Despite his pretense to a state of wonder, the actor playing Trinculo and the actor playing Caliban encounter one another over and over again during any given run of the play. Trinculo already knows the answer to his questions, and to some extent the audience does as well. Yet his questions provoke the pretense of a singular encounter. Trinculo falsifies wonder in this scene, and infuses the familiar encounter with a sense of strangeness, in part because no one pulls off the cloak to reveal Caliban. Instead, Trinculo "creeps under [Caliban's] gabardine," or rather covers his head up with cloak, so that both his legs and Caliban's remain visible to the audience (2.2.36).[64] When the drunken Stephano happens upon the scene and declares, "This is some monster of the isle of isle with four legs," the audience is in on the joke (2.2.62). The constituent parts of each body are reassembled to produce meaning in the scene.[65]

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[64] For a discussion of Caliban's cloak as a synecdoche for English imperialism in Ireland see, Barbara Fuchs, "Conquering Islands: Contextualizing *The Tempest*." *Shakespeare Quarterly* 48.1 (1997): 45-62.

[65] See Monique Allewaert, "Introduction: Tempest in the Plantation Zone." *Ariel's Ecologies: Plantations, Personhood, and Colonialism*. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2013). 1-27. Allewaert argues that in the song he sings about Alonso's "sea-

Trinculo, Stephano, and the bottle of sack Stephano salvaged from the floating barrels. Caliban is also washed up, and accidental occupant of the island if Prospero's account of Sycorax is to be believed. His mother landed on the island after she was banished and then Caliban has no other choice but remain a part of the assemblage of the play. What is Caliban if not a mess of fish names? Though Caliban's fishlike qualities are often rightly read as a process by which the other characters objectify and demean him, I wonder if in each time he is called *fish-like*, characters also declare their affinity with him. After all, all the characters come from the sea.

The sea obscures the line diving life and matter when it washes human and nonhuman things that have been thrown into it back onto the shore. The seemingly dead flotsam comes back to life via their *The Tempest's* artificial ecosystems, and Trinculo's first encounter with Caliban is a further example of the way that the play stages survival and eternal return. Trinculo doesn't encounter Caliban so much as he encounters an assemblage of which he and Caliban both form a part. Caliban, who lies half covered under his cloak, beneath threatening weather betokens for Trinculo an indistinct clump of material made up of water or the sea itself. Though it may seems as if Trinculo seeks to divide himself from Caliban by marking him off as an object or example of otherness, he actually records an affinity when he asks, "What have we here? A man or a fish? Dead or alive? A fish: he smells like a fish; a very ancient and

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change," (1.2.399), "Any potential for human agency seems to vanish in the passive tense of Ariel's song, which breaks men's bodies into parts so as to make men and other creatures into media through which a mysterious sea change effects its inexorable difference. However, what Ariel describes is not the disappearance of human agency but an emerging minoritarian colonial conception of agency by which humans beings are made richer and stranger through their entwinement with the operations of corals, and over the course of the play other colonial climatological forces as well as animal and plant bodies" (1).

fishlike smell: a kind of not-of-the-newest poor-John. A strange fish"(2.2.24-26). Trinculo, who himself just washed up on shore, encounters what he perceives to be a clump of flotsam on the shoreline. Trinculo expresses his affinity when "[*He crawls under* Caliban's *cloak*](SD 2.2.39). Trinculo, Stephano, and later Sebastian, recognize an affinity between themselves and Caliban when they figure him as half man, fish-like, and covered in scales. Not only are they bonded to the same assemblage, but they are all half-men as well. There is no shortage of recent readings that show how the nobles transform from people into thing people. By his own admission, Stephano is duke-like; Ferdinand is a wooden slave and log-man; the nobles and their garments, which are more "new-dyed than stained with salt water" (2.1.63), emerge from the ocean after the storm, as does Stephano, who "escaped upon a butt of sack which the sailors heaved o'erboard" (2.2.115-16) before the shipwreck; and Even Caliban was "left by th'sailors" (1.2.271) in Sycorax's womb when she was banished to the island from Algiers. It is this enmeshment that can help redress ecological crisis because to injure one part is to injure the whole. Furthermore, throughout *The Tempest* the figure of the pathetic fallacy offers a window into ways that nonhuman objects in *The Tempest* care so deeply about humans that when the humans try to throw out their "necessaries" (1.2.165) the objects both refuse and return.

In the curiosity cabinet, humans have no greater claim to life than the rest of the objects. Furthermore, none of the objects in a cabinet are dead in a final sense of term, even though their connection with their origins has been severed. Instead, they persist over time and transmit meaning in their accidental combinations. Similar to the scene depicted in Ferrante's engraving, *The Tempest* performs an afterlife in which humans and objects are almost indistinct. For instance, the ways in which humans are

just part of the flotsam that survives to be put on display is explicitly staged in the dumb show sequence because Prospero watches the dumb show banquet unfold from *"…the top (invisible)"* (SD 3.3.19). Throughout the entire banquet scene, the actor playing Prospero stands on the upper stage gallery. While the other actors cannot see him from the main stage, the audience can. On the one hand, Prospero seems to be presiding over the rest of the stage, and directing the scene that unfolds beneath. That is to say that even though the nobles think the banquet is magic, Prospero's presence on stage, directing Ariel back and forth, suggests he is in control. But on the other hand, Prospero's own status as the most active agent who is responsible for organizing the action in the play space is upended. Like the people in the center of Ferrante's engraving, Prospero is just another object amid a crowded tableau of objects on stage that washed up on shore only to be repurposed amid a tableau of strange artifacts that is framed out by the galleries and tiring areas upstage.

Sebastian's description of the dumb show announces the strange definition of what counts as 'life' on which *The Tempest* as a whole operates amid networks of print, speech, and fabricated objects. Shakespeare does not characterize any of the spectacles that the castaways witness as acts of nature. Instead, the dumb show banquet, Trinculo's first encounter with Caliban, and even the tempest with which the play opens, all perform a version of nature assembled from people, properties, and rhetoric. It is, of course, impossible for "A living drollery!," (3.3.21) or a "grotesque representation of nature" (Shaaber 391) to come to life because pristine, ideal nature has to be killed to produce any representations. Any representation of nature is contingent on its ruin. The things assembled to convey meaning in the shape of a painting or a play can only ever be dead, or as Jonathan Bate laments,

> The price of art is the destruction of a living tree. You can't have music without dead wood. You can sing a poem to a local audience, but you cannot disseminate it more widely—or hope that it will endure beyond your death or the death of you most committed listeners who have learnt your words—without paper, papyrus, an electronic reproduction device or some other medium, which has required the working-over of raw materials. (92)

And yet, what seems like death looks an awful lot like life. After all, things on stage repeat over time. The "Linens, stuff, and necessaries," (1.2.165) and all the nobles drown until the sea "belches" them "up" again (3.3.56). Prospero rejects his magical implements at the end of each show only to pick them up again during the next performance. The very impossibility of the scene, a painting or puppet show come to life, verifies all sorts of other impossibilities that the play stages. Sebastian's testimony is not about truth in an ordinary sense, but rather a truth that relies on Shakespeare's definition of the potential life cycles of fabricated objects. Sebastian's formulation is also radical here in so far as he does not confine the 'life' of "living drollery" (3.3.21) to the human characters. In fact he does not even mention human characters; instead, the life that living artifact confirms is the life of a tree, a deathless, self-regenerating bird, and a mythical horse.

Part III. Put to Wrack and Ruin

The magical implements that Prospero cannot seem to discard share a common trait with the other objects and actors in *The Tempest*: all the stuff that collects on stage at the end of the play persists despite having been rejected and thrown into the ocean. Even Prospero is

> that very Duke
> Which was thrust forth of Milan, who most strangely,
> Upon this shore where you were wrecked, was landed
> To be lord on't. (5.1.161-164

My point, then, is that Prospero is just one example of how objects and actors survive disaster in *The Tempest*, where the themes of survival begin even before the play does. During the act one flashback, for instance, Prospero forces Miranda to remember that the magical book he threatens to murder at the end of the play has escaped death once already when he explains that Gonzalo, "furnished me/From mine own library with the volumes that/I prize above my dukedom" (1.2.167-9). Prospero frames Gonzalo's act—furnishing him with the books from his library just as they escape Milan—as a gesture of kindness intended to comfort him and possibly sustain his life. And while there is no reason to doubt his narrative of the books, or to challenge the notion that Gonzalo was motivated by something other than good intentions, there are some countervailing factors in Prospero's act one report. While Gonzalo supports Prospero and does not want Antonio to murder him, the whole scene of escape also has the effect of ridding Milan of unwanted people and things. The act one flashback suggests, for instance, that Gonzalo and the others discarded Prospero, Miranda, and the books because they were worthless. By his own account, Prospero neglected his duties as Duke of Milan by remaining in his library, "rapt in secret studies" (1.2.76), and Antonio overthrows Prospero because he pays more attention to his books than he does to governing. When Gonzalo hoists Prospero and the books into the sea in the "rotten carcass of a butt" (1.2.146), he also conveniently disposes of the things and people who precipitated Milan's fall. Even though this drive to take out the trash is only latent in

Prospero's narrative of his escape and subsequent exile from Milan, it also marks the first occasion in which the people and objects that cause a catastrophe also survive one.

The books are not the only objects that survive the shipwreck that landed father and daughter on the island. According to Prospero's narrative of their escape, Gonzalo also stocked their lifeboat with "Rich garments, linens, stuffs, and necessaries/Which since have steaded much" (1.2.165-66).[66] Throughout the course of the play, Prospero recycles the books, clothes, and "necessaries" (1.2.165) salvaged from the shipwreck to enact his revenge against Antonio and recover his dukedom. Even Prospero's metaphors are material. Consider the way he weaves material images into his famous speech in which he registers the dissolution of the marriage masque that forms the "baseless fabric" (4.1.151) of the play he mounts for Miranda and Ferdinand:

> And like the baseless fabric of this vision
> The cloud-capped towers, the gorgeous palaces,
> The solemn temples, the great globe itself,
> Yea all which it inherit, shall dissolve:
> And, like this insubstantial pageant faded,
> Leave not a rack behind. (4.1.151-56)

Through the series of material metaphors Prospero explains that the fantasy of the marriage masque—the play inside the larger play in which Juno descends in a chariot to bless Miranda and Ferdinand's union—has ended unexpectedly. To evoke the end of the world, Prospero envisions a horizontal cityscape that collapses from the heights

[66] For more on the life-sustaining objects in their new world context see, Bryant, 91-111.

of the "cloud capped towers" (4.1.152) to the lows of the "great globe itself" (4.1.53). The line structure reinforces the dissolution of the cityscape: the city of Prospero's vision descends as the lines descend. Through this image of urban collapse, Prospero warns that catastrophe will strike at the moment of man's greatest achievement and when least expected. Prospero renders the final, total annihilation of earth in the closing line of the speech, "Leave not a rack behind" (4.1.156). He imagines the second before the total collapse of civilization as a *rack*, or a wisp of mist that dissolves into nothing. Like the coup that deposed Prospero as Duke of Milan, and the shipwreck that lands the nobles on the island, the abrupt conclusion of the masque is an overturning, a catastrophe in the formal sense.

From the masque's sudden ending, Prospero reasons that the larger play will also end, and its dissolution will show that the story the audience has been watching is just an idea that has neither antecedent nor descendent. Prospero finds in the termination of the marriage masque, and the inevitable end of *The Tempest* that he anticipates, an allegory for the end of the world. An end in which not only the monuments of civilization, but the earth, "the great globe itself" (4.1.153), will just disappear without a trace. In his soliloquy Prospero reads the inevitable end of all things in the sudden dissolution of the masque, and yet the vehicle of his lines—the material metaphors, "fabric," (4.1.151), the connotation of the "globe" (4.1.53) as the theater in which *The Tempest* may also have been played, and "rack" (4.1.156)—trouble his apocalyptic vision with an ecology of salvage. Prospero's reference to "the great globe itself" (4.1.153), calls to mind persistent, material remainders. After all, the Globe is a conspicuously recycled object, rebuilt as it was out of the timber from James Burbage's dismantled Theater. The total dissolution evoked by the word *rack*

builds on the persistence of the reference to the g/Globe, even as it contains countervailing possibilities. In fact, the word *rack* may go so far as to challenge the notion that the total dissolution Prospero expresses in his prognostication is even possible, for the older word *wrack* suggests the "Remnants of, or goods from, a wrecked vessel, esp. as driven or cast ashore" (*OED* "wrack, n.2"). When heard as synonym for salvage washed up on shore, *rack* thus contradicts Prospero's prediction that there will be no remnants left behind after the end of the world. In short, at the precise moment in Prospero's vision when everything is supposed to disappear into oblivion, at the very vanishing point of the whole earth, there is also a remnant.

Significantly, Prospero's evocation of the *rack* also echoes one of Shakespeare's most famous source materials. William Strachey's "A True Reportory of the Wracke", recounts his experience as a passenger on the *Sea Venture*. The *Sea Venture* was one of three ships sent to resupply the English Colony of Virginia in 1609, which wrecked off the coast of what is now Bermuda during a hurricane. The story of the *Sea Venture* would have been lost to history except that the survivors, under the direction of Sir Thomas Gates, built the two pinnacles the *Patience* and the *Deliverance* "out of Bermuda Cedar and rigging salvaged from the wreck" (Mentz 55). The two ships, recycled from the salvage of the wreck, landed in Jamestown in time to rescue the few remaining survivors. While all of the latent potential rattling around the term *rack* that Prospero uses to figure a final catastrophe suggests the very impossibility of his claims, the implications of the endlessness that *The Tempest* posits take on multiple valences. The remainders that persist beyond the final dissolution suggest that man-made catastrophe has inexhaustible potential. And yet, this everlasting, post-catastrophic residue also has more sinister qualities, which may even call to mind the phenomena to which Morton

directs our attention: the persistence of contemporary microplastics and synthesized chemicals produced by human catastrophe and stored-up in the whole of the Earth's ecology.

Despite the assertion of total extinction suggested by "leave not a rack behind" (4.1.156), just after the marriage masque ends, Ariel enters "*loaden with glistering apparel, etc*" (SD 4.1.193). The visual tableau of Ariel weighed down with all sorts of garments suggests that a *rack* is, quite literally, left behind after the abrupt dissolution of the marriage masque. Through the persistence of its ecology of salvage, the play posits a theory of survival as a counter point to Prospero's apocalyptic vision. Per Prospero's instruction, Ariel "*hangs up the clothing*" (SD 4.1.194) with which he enters "*laden*" (SD 4.1.193), and the two characters stand out of view as Caliban, Stephano, and Trinculo enter into the scene. Just as the conspirators are about to sneak into Prospero's cell to "do that mischief which may make this island/[Stephano's] own forever" (1.4.117-18), they are arrested by the site of "*glistering apparel*" (SD 1.4.193) hanging on a tree.[67] When Trinculo and Stephano encounter the clothing, Caliban urges them to resist, but despite his warnings Trinculo and Stephano load themselves down with the garments.

> Trinculo (*seeing the apparel*) O King Stephano, O peer! O
>
> worthy Stephano, look what a wardrobe is here for thee.
>
> Caliban Let it alone, thou fool. It is but trash.

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[67] The frippery sequence in Thomas Middleton's *Your Five Gallants* (1606-7) stages a similar dramatization of the way that garments and small objects passed from houses, to pawnshops, and to the stage. In the play's opening scene, the broker Frip reads the following entry from his pawn receipts: "'Lent privately to my lady Newcut, upon her gilt casting-bottle and her silver lye-pot: fifty-five shillings—'" (1.1.11-13). In Middleton's comedy, as in *The Tempest*, purveyors of second hand items are regarded with suspicion, but the second hand items have an almost unlimited potential to signify in new contexts.

> Trinculo (*putting on a gown*) O ho, monster! We know
>
> what
>
> belongs to a frippery. O King Stephano! (4.1.221-25)

This sequence presents itself as a contest over what counts as trash and what counts as treasure, with both men contending that their judgment is sound. On the one hand, Caliban recognizes the clothes as Prospero's salvage, so he judges them to be worn out litter or rubbish. On the other hand, Trinculo silences his assertion by saying that he can discern trash from treasure just as well as Caliban. Or rather, Trinculo insists that he knows what sorts of clothes belong in a "frippery," that is, a secondhand shop, and these are not those sorts of clothes.[68] In addition to the familiar provocation over the ways in which things can take on, in Ferdinand's suggestive phrase a "second life" (5.1.198), the scene in the frippery returns to the play's opening focus on ways things and people constitute the catastrophes they survive. Prospero instructs Ariel to "Come, hang [the clothes] on this *lime*" (1.4.193) emphasis mine. While some editors substitute *line* for *lime,* the Norton Editors and Virginia Mason and Alden Vaughan agree that through his direction, Prospero indicates a stage tree. One implication of the uncertainty in Prospero's directions to Ariel is that the apparel that arrests the men seems to grow on trees. Through the act of harvesting the clothes from the trees and then dressing in them, Stephano is transformed from a drunken butler into "King

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[68] In his gloss of the line, Hulme defines *frippery* as a "secondhand-clothing shop" and then adds in a parenthetical "(that is, this is not 'trash')"(pg. 63, gloss to 4.1.224). Similarly, the Arden editors explain, "frippery old-clothing shop; Trinculo denies that the garments before them are, as Caliban claims contends, *trash*" (pg.281, gloss to 4.1.224).

Stephano!" (4.1.225). And yet, the very garments that make kings eventually undo Stephano and Trinculo.

The many connotations of *rack* in the masque sequence may suggest a less optimistic future when we consider the way it signifies in the promise Prospero makes Caliban early in the play. If Caliban does not do as he commands, Prospero threatens, "I'll rack thee with old cramps" (1.2.372). Andreas Hofele reads the *rack* in Prospero's interruption of the masque as a reference to Prospero's earlier threat and to the popular Renaissance torture device. He argues that the threat of torture persists throughout the play, despite Prospero's assertion to the contrary, saying, "A trace of the island's penal practices lingers in the very denial of traces" (241). To some extent, Prospero's earlier threat comes to pass in this final sequence. The way in which Caliban is encumbered with the glistering apparel is tantamount to torture, even though Prospero does not clamp him in irons or stretch him out on a rack.[69]

In the parting image of this scene, the very things he denounces as trash encumber Caliban. Given the way that ecologies of salvage produce the play, the difference between trash and treasure is not readily discernable, and yet Caliban is not wrong. The stuff in the trees is by any definition trash. The garments have been thrown into the ocean and recycled again and again. But because the things retain the trace of their original, courtly, sovereign characteristics they can still ensnare the conspirators. The very things that Prospero argues will dissolve, never can. In that parting shot of Caliban weighed down with material excesses the play suggests the process by which things from the past exceed their origins to take on new meaning in different contexts overtime. Here the play encodes well-established practices of

[69] See also Borlk, 21-51.

recycling goods and clothing from house to stage and back again in early modern culture. Not only may the frippery sequence be read as a dramatization of the process by which small properties were supplied for the stage, but also as the ways in which *The Tempest* writes into itself the very practices through which it is constituted. Practices, which suggest ways that the stubborn persistence of the wreckage threatens to produces new disasters even as it constructs the reality the characters, inhabit.

What comes after *The Tempest*? John Heminges and Henry Condell, who position *The Tempest* at the very beginning of the Folio, seem to suggest that everything comes after *The Tempest*. The last play can come first because the actors, costumes, properties, and language that the act one catastrophe disperses, suggest ways that the larger ecology of Shakespeare's theater is constituted through recycling. Although Prospero dissolves the fiction of the play during his Epilogue, the Norton editors insist there is some confusion over what or who remains on stage at the close of the play. Prospero orders Caliban, "Go to, away!" (5.1.303). While the Norton editors include the direction, "[*Exit* Caliban]" (SD 5.1.303) after Prospero's order, they also note: "The Folio does not explicitly say that Caliban leaves the stage in response to Prospero's command" (ft. note 5.1.303). Similarly, Alonso orders the contrite Trinculo and Stefano to go to Prospero's cell: "Hence, and bestow your luggage where you found it" (5.1.304), but Ralph Crane is also silent on whether or not the two comply. That this final scene, composed as it is out of shipwrecked materials, could be made to suggest the total decimation of all the things on earth and even the earth itself seems improbable when we consider that the materials from which Prospero constructs his prognostication have already survived ruin. What I have tried to show instead, is that all such crowded scenes are produced through an ecology of salvage in which the

objects and actors that have survived shipwreck gesture at a notion of survival in which resilient ecosystems are permanently altered.

Chapter Three

Betting on the Future: *Cymbeline* and the Promise of Sustainability

At first glance *The Tempest* and *Cymbeline* seem like very different plays: *The Tempest* is foreign and *Cymbeline* is domestic. That is, *The Tempest* stages ways the familiar intrudes upon the strange, and *Cymbeline* stages ways the strange intrudes upon the familiar. In *Cymbeline* treasure becomes trash, and in *The Tempest* trash becomes treasure. And the fact that the two plays bookend the first folio (1623) may be a further indication of their differences. And yet for all their seeming distinctions, the plays have a great deal in common. They have very similar print and production histories: external sources verify that both plays were played in 1611;[70] neither play shows up in print until the 1623 first folio; and both plays received lavish Restoration adaptations.[71] Besides their literary historical affinities, both plays stage dense tableaux of objects, as well as an abundance of hand properties that cycle onto the stage from previous contexts and help propel the plays' plots. In *The Tempest*, things and people, despite being tossed overboard throughout the play, gather into ecologies of salvage, which suggests that agency is diffuse across collections of tableaux and not concentrated in a single actor. *Cymbeline* also stages agency as diffuse across networks of human and nonhuman things, but through a single tableau, whose description

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[70] For more on Simon Foreman's 1611 review of *Cymbeline* see, Stephanie Mercier, "First-Time Stage to Page: Simon Forman's Review of Shakespeare's 15 May 1611 Production of *The Winter's Tale*." *English* 63.242 (2014): 185-197. On the Whitehall Palace performance of *The Tempest* on Hallowmas Night 1611 see Patrick Murphy, "Shakespeare's *Tempest* as Originally Produced at Court." *The Tempest: Critical Essays*. (New York: Routledge, 2001). 150-172.

[71] See Cary Di Pietro, "Seeing Places: *The Tempest* and the Baroque Spectacle of the Restoration Theater." *Shakespeare* 9.2 (2013): 168-186, and George Winchester Stone, "A Century of *Cymbeline*; or Garrick's Magic Touch." *Philological Quarterly* 54 (1975): 310-322.

repeats three times over the course of the play. And it is this tableau of objects, and the subsequent narratives of it that are told over and over, which eventually preserves the pre-Roman past against the catastrophe that looms on the play's horizon. In this way, *Cymbeline*, like *The Tempest*, is an important artifact for environmental studies—that is, it too, emphasizes the reuse and reconfiguration of objects and actors as an act of survival. What distinguishes *Cymbeline* from Shakespeare's last romance is equally significant: *Cymbeline* shows how the cataloging of repudiated objects helps ecologies persist past catastrophe and into the future.

Cymbeline takes place just years before the start of the Roman conquest, which means that the final scene of the play is a last gasp of pre-Roman civilization. While the knowledge that the civilization that King Cymbeline and his court represent will be permanently decimated by Roman invasions infuses the play with dramatic irony, *Cymbeline* concludes with a show of abundance in the face of the looming historical catastrophe. Along with Pisanio and the other unnamed attendants and Lords, who make up King Cymbeline's court, for example, the fifth-act-stage is filled with nearly all of the cast members: Belarius, Guiderius, and Arviragus; the physician, Cornelius, and the ladies who testify to the matter of the Queen's death; Lucius and the unnamed Roman prisoners; the Soothsayer; Iachimo, and the two disguised principle characters, Imogen and Posthumus. Even in *Cymbeline*'s earliest staging, an array of banners and a large drop, likely amplified the sense of copiousness in the last act. The inclusion of a drop representing "*Cymbeline's Tent*" (SD 5.3 pp. 2829), a direction added by Nicholas Rowe to his *Works of William Shakespear* (1709), coupled with the rows of banners possibly carried by the British and Roman soldiers, supports Granville Barker's assessment that *Cymbeline* concludes "in elaborate procession, the play dissolving into

pageantry" (qtd. *Cymbeline* pp.187).[72] In addition to the crowd of actors and clusters of cloth that provide a dense visual horizon, the final assemblage impresses audiences with the bounty of King Cymbeline's court through the sheer number of resolutions that happen over the course of the scene: Iachimo returns the ring and bracelet he swindled to Posthumus; Belarius restores Arviragus and Guiderius, King Cymbeline's lost sons, to the king; Posthumus is welcomed back into the court once he reveals that he is still alive; and Imogen returns herself to her father and brothers.

For generations, critics have maligned this finale, in part, because it seems too coincidental for all that is lost over the course of the play to be found again and restored neatly to its proper place. When Dr. Johnson complained that *Cymbeline* depicts the "impossibility of the events in any system of life," (qtd. Norton 273), he may have had the final scene, at least partly, in mind. Barrett Wendell draws attention to the impossible excesses of the final scene in his *William Shakespeare, a study in Elizabethan literature* (1894), by tallying up the separate resolutions. By Wendell's count there are twenty-four separate dénouements, a sum, which in his opinion, "o'ervalues it something." (qtd. Arden Shakespeare 164). Similarly, George Bernard Shaw argued that *Cymbeline* is "stagey trash of the lowest melodramatic order," and that the play "goes to pieces in the last act" (133). To redress the play's perceived faults, Shaw later offered an alternative in his *Cymbeline Refinished: A Variation on Shakespeare's Ending*.[73] Though the final scene, which communicates superabundance through an excess of lost objects found, has drawn negative reaction from generations of critics, I argue the

[72] Nicholas Rowe, *Works of William Shakespear* (1709). Harley Granville-Barker. *Prefaces to Shakespeare*. Vol 4. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963.
[73] For more on how "Shaw's revision offers an efficient extension of Shakespeare's attempt to gather up loose ends," see J.K. Barret, "The Crowd in Imogen's Bedroom: Allusion and Ethics in *Cymbeline*." *Shakespeare Quarterly* 66.4 (2015): 440-62.

accidents are not an aesthetic failure. Instead, the chance collection of people and objects that accrue in the final scene explains how elements of pre-Roman civilization survive the catastrophe to come. All the accidents in the conclusion show that agency is diffuse amid chance clusters of objects and people, and not concentrated in single characters. If the ring had not caught Imogen's eye at just the right moment, for instance, then she and Posthumus would never have revealed themselves to the rest of the court. And since people and things in *Cymbeline* survive every attempt to lose and destroy them, the play suggests that nothing can ever be permanently ruined or made extinct. Indeed *Cymbeline* is an environmentalist artifact precisely because it stages a theory of survival by recycling old stories of lost civilizations, as well as stage properties such as garments, tapestries, and jewelry, into a story where characters face catastrophe with a show of abundance.[74]

Cymbeline, with its lively matter, its dense clusters of fabricated objects and its compulsion for repetition, gets at some of the problems of commodification of nature, which underwrite the current environmental crisis. In the first section of this chapter, I blend material cultural feminist criticism with environmental and geographic scholarship on *Cymbeline* to argue the play stages a vibrant materiality in the face of resource exploitation. I take up Imogen's lost bracelet to, in Timothy Morton's words, "Look beyond artificial boundaries" that are imposed on it by the characters' narrow

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[74] For more on *Cymbeline*, source material, and context see Lisa Hopkins, "*Cymbeline*, The Translatio Imperii, and the Matter of Brittain." *Shakespeare and Wales: From the Marches to the Assembly.* Ed. et. al. Willy Maley. Farnham: Ashgate, 2010: 143-155, and Robert S. Miola. "Past the Size of Dreaming? Shakespeare's Rome." *ShS* 69 (2016): 1-16.

concepts of agency (80).[75] Instead, I suggest that objects in *Cymbeline* defy exploitation because they are enmeshed in larger networks. In the second section, I argue that the wager, which precipitates the exchange of objects and motivates the play's larger plot, can be read as a metaphor for the sorts of dangerous speculation that has caused environmental catastrophe of our own era. That is to say, the characters at Florio's house in Rome accept a gain in the present despite future risks. In place of the limits the characters perceive around their own lives and the lives of the women they objectify, the people and things the wager itself assembles go on to live long lives. In the third section, I turn to the cluster of objects in Imogen's bedchamber to argue that the items in the room efface Iachimo's identity even as he relies on them to win the wager against Posthumus. I conclude with an examination of the images of horizons throughout the course of the play to argue that in its conclusion, the play prophesies a future in which the "peace and plenty"(5.6.458) the Soothsayer claims that Posthumus's dream vision promises will be accomplished is the seventeenth century in which the play premiered. Despite the fact that the play is staged in Britain just years before the Roman invasion, the abundance figured through the clusters of objects sustains itself from the pre-Roman past to arrive in the future.

Part I. Resource Loss and Found

Imogen's bracelet and Posthumus's ring survive from loss and destruction to eventually prompt the series of chance reconciliations that gives all the characters a potential future. In the final scene, when Imogen, dressed as Fidele, spots the ring she

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[75] Timothy Morton. "Everything We Need: Scarcity, Scale, Hyper-Objects." *Architectural Design* 82.4 (2012): 78-81, and Morton. *Hyperobjects: Philosophy and Ecology After the End of the World*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2013.

gave Posthumus and the bracelet he gave her on the villain, Iachimo's hand, she asks King Cymbeline to demand of Iachimo, "That ring upon your finger, say,/How came it yours?" (5.5.138-9). In response, Iachimo tells King Cymbeline the story of how he tricked Posthumus into giving him the ring. When Posthumus was in Rome, Iachimo explains, the two men made a wager: Posthumus bet the ring Imogen gave him that she was the most beautiful and chaste woman in the world, and Iachimo bet Posthumus half of his estate that he could seduce Imogen. Iachimo could not seduce Imogen, so instead he broke into her room, wrote down a catalogue of her furnishings and the mole on her breast, and stole the bracelet that Posthumus had given her to offer as fraudulent proof of his sexual assault. The testimony he gives in King Cymbeline's outdoor, wartime court is the third and final time the audience hears Iachimo's index of the objects in Imogen's room:

> That I returned with similar proof enough
> To make the noble Leonatus mad
> By wounding his belief in her renown
> With tokens thus and thus; averring notes
> Of chamber-hanging, pictures, this her bracelet—
> O cunning, how I got it!—nay, some marks
> Of secret upon her person, that he could not
> But think her bond of chastity quite cracked,
> I having ta'en the forfeit. (5.5.199-208)[76]

[76] Quotations from *Cymbeline* follow J.M. Nosworthy's edition for the Arden Shakespeare (1955). (London: Cengage Learning, 2007). Additional citations will be made in the text by act, scene, and line number. All spelling of character names follows the Arden edition.

In this final narrative of the action of the play, which the audience has just watched, Iachimo argues that he is responsible for all the trouble that fell out because of the wager. To exonerate Posthumus, Iachimo explains the circumstances of the wager as if this is the only possible interpretation. In this this telling of the wager, Posthumus is the only good man in a room full of bad ones, so he should not be held responsible for commodifying Imogen and risking the future of the kingdom to win a bet. Posthumus was helpless, Iachimo explains, in the face of "tokens thus and thus" (5.5.202). The cluster of tokens that Iachimo records in his written index of the room—the tapestry, paintings, bracelet, and the mole on Imogen's breast—provides material proof of Imogen's betrayal. Iachimo offers the bracelet and a catalogue of objects in Imogen's room because he did not have sex with her. Though the play is not reproductive in the ordinary sense, i.e. children reproduced through sex, Iachimo's attempted assault results in a form of reproduction. The ring and bracelet, along with Iachimo's constant representation of his inventory of the these items, suggest that the future gets reproduced, like the theater itself, through the constant recycling of constellations of materials and language.[77]

Because of its emphasis on objects and abundance, *Cymbeline* has long been an exemplary text for material cultural studies. Valerie Wayne, for instance, argues that the bracelet is not a reliable signifier since it takes on new meaning every time it changes context. When Posthumus first gives Imogen the bracelet it is a "manacle of love" (1.1.122), and she gives him the ring in return, the jewelry function as an

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[77] Gabriel Egan, "Foucault's Epistemic Shift and Verbatim Repetition in Shakespeare." *Shakespeare's Book: Essays in Reading, Writing, and Reception*. Eds. Richard Meek et. al. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2008. 123-139.

outward sign of their inward commitment.[78] At the same time the bracelet also functions as a restraint that binds Imogen to Posthumus even in his absence. Later, when Iachimo introduces the bracelet as proof of his sexual conquest, the stage object confirms Imogen's lost chastity. Because the bracelet is the one hand property that is clearly visible to the audience each time it is on stage, Wayne suggests

> Only in *Cymbeline* does a bracelet actually appear onstage, but its size is even more appropriate than a ring as a sign of the woman's part, the visible presence of women's lack and a mark of the their commodification, containment, circulation, and devaluation through exchange, as well as a materialization of their exclusion in early modern theatrical representation. (303)

The bracelet and ring may take on different connotations in each new context. Since Imogen does not lack chastity as Iachimo claims, the bracelet has to stand-in for proof of her faithlessness. Similarly, Posthumus's ring plays the part of all the women missing from the party in Rome, and, by extension, from the early modern stage in general. In all the instances in which the ring and bracelet are on stage, the stage properties also function as bawdy signs of women's genitalia, that is, the imperfectly formed or inverted counterpoints of masculine genitalia described in early modern medical discourse.[79] The ring and bracelet have so much potential significance that they always exceed the purposes to which they are put in any given context. It is

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[78] Valerie Wayne, "The Woman's Parts of *Cymbeline*." Staged Properties in Early English Drama. Eds. Jonathan Gil Harris and Natasha Korda. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002. 288-315.

[79] For more on emblems of femininity and medical discourse on the early modern stage see Sujata Iyengar. "Why Ganymede Faints and the Duke of York Weeps: Passion Plays in Shakespeare." *ShS 67* (2014): 265-78.

through this excess and seeming inexhaustible store of meaning, this ability to exceed commodification or conscription that enable networks of objects and people in *Cymbeline* to survive.

Katherine Gillen, like Wayne, reads the exchange of tokens plot in *Cymbeline* as an emblem of commodification and exchange of women. She also argues that the exchange of objects plot remembers Shakespeare's earlier poem, *The Rape of Lucrece*, which is, itself, an adaptation of Ovid's *Book of Days* and Livy's history of Rome.[80] The abundance of objects and actors staged in the final scene is possible, Gillen argues, precisely because the male characters exchange the objects that stand-in for Imogen. Since the characters cannot value chastity above all else and continue to exist, they solve one of the central problems of the text through objectification and exchange:

> In *Cymbeline*, Imogen is able privately to retain her bodily chastity, which presumably will soon be shared by Posthumus, while other men collectively benefit from her chastity in its reified forms: the bracelet and the ring (which are returned to their owners) and all of the jewels and coins of Brittain. (28)

Gillen rightly points out how characters such as Posthumus and Iachimo process notions of the ideal or untouched into commodities and then exchange them. Though the characters convert the raw materials of nature (Imogen's idealized body) into cultural objects they can exchange as rings and bracelets, there is no evidence in the text to suggest that Imogen ever gets the bracelet back. There are no stage directions indicating that Posthumus returns the bracelet to Imogen after Iachimo gives him back

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[80] Gillen, Katherine. "Chaste Treasure: Protestant Chastity and the Creation of a National Economic Sphere in *The Rape of Lucrece* and *Cymbeline*." *ELH* 4 (2011). 1-38.

the lost jewelry. Instead, Iachimo "[*Kneels*]" (SD 5.5.413), offers Posthumus his life, the ring, and the bracelet:

> Take that life, beseech you,
> Which I so often owe: but your ring first,
> And here the bracelet of the truest princess
> That ever swore her faith" (5.5.415-418)

Posthumus responds ordering Iachimo, "Kneel not to me" (5.5.418), and then sparing his life.[81] Since a society that values sexual abstinence above all can only reproduce itself symbolically it does not matter that Posthumus never returns the bracelet to Imogen and keeps both pieces of jewelry. The bracelet and ring may very well connote lack and absence, while being, simultaneously, wildly productive. If the ring and bracelet, as well as the other set pieces in the play—the tapestries, books, food, garments, or tapestries—had a fixed meaning, then the characters would not spend the entire play trying to control the meaning of the objects on stage by reading and writing about them.

The symbolic translation of Imogen from a character into objects like the ring and bracelet that can be exchanged is analogous to the process by which nature, the raw material of culture, is extracted and commoditized. A great deal of environmental criticism on *Cymbeline* has been devoted to the portions of *Cymbelin*e that take place out of doors or in the caves of rural Wales. For instance, Patrick Crapanzano argues *Cymbeline* dramatizes the detrimental effects that exploitation in the form of enclosure

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[81] For more on ways the objects and exchanges in *Cymbeline* produce relationships between men see, Tracey Miller-Tomlinson, "Queer History in *Cymbeline*." *Shakespeare* 12.3 (2016): 225-240.

had on early modern environment.[82] He explains that the play rejects enclosure and the dispossession of people from the land and, "embraces an ethic of moderate resource consumption and concern for the global good…*Cymbeline* highly values an ethic for living well that prefigures prospects for the good life today" (225). In addition to critical insight into ways *Cymbeline* represents enclosure and the detrimental effects of dispossession, scholars also argue that the second half of *Cymbeline* stages pastoral landscapes. Michael Taylor, for instance, argues that Imogen's trip into the wilds of Wales is in keeping with other of Shakespeare's late plays "in its stress on the therapeutic function of a benign environment" (104).[83] Imogen seeks refuge in a pastoral landscape, depicted here as harsh and unforgiving, and her time outdoors benefits her in ways similar to Rosaline and Miranda. Though benign in its representation of landscape, nature remains something that humans make use of, which is potentially harmful.

Since the landscape of *Cymbeline*'s Wales is much more austere than Shakespeare's other, more idyllic forests, such as Arden in *As You Like It*, Imogen, Belarius, Arviragus, and Guiderius perform, in Crapanzano's words, "an ethic of moderate resource consumption" (225). For instance, when Arviragus imagines he will shower the seemingly dead Fidele's grave with an abundance of flowers:

> Whilst summer lasts and I live here, Fidele,
>
> I'll sweeten thy sad grave. Thou shalt not lack

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[82] Crapanzano, Patrick, "Making the Good Life: Cultivating Household and Green Citizenship in Shakespeare's *Cymbeline*." The Good Life and the Greater Good in a Global Context. Ed. Laura Sarvu Walker. Lanham: Lexington Books: 225-245.
[83] On the Pastoral see also Maurice Hunt. "Belarus and Prospero: Two Pastoral School Masters." *LJHum* 15.2 (1989): 29-41 and Michael Taylor. "The Pastoral Reckoning in *Cymbeline*." *Shakespeare Survey* 36 (1983): 97-106.

> The flower that's like thy face, pale primrose, nor
> The azured harebell, like thy veins; no, nor
> The leaf of eglantine whom not to slander
> Outsweetened not thy breath. The ruddock would
> With charitable bill—O bill sore shaming
> Those rich-left heir that let their fathers lie
> Without a monument!—bring thee all this,
> Yea, and furred moss besides, when flowers are none,
> To winter-gown thy corpse. (4.2.220-229)

Arviragus celebrates nature's bounty through the rich description of flowers and birds. The nature that he depicts is one in which plenty is readily available; he does not have to rend the earth to deck to the grave with an abundance of flowers. That Arviragus can reap nature's bounty without exploiting the earth is in keeping with an idealized land use, and ideal that is further stressed by that fact that he will only shower Fidele's grave with flowers that are in season. Arviragus discloses his ideal land ethic when he explains that he will only pick summer flowers while "summer lasts" (4.2.220), and he will dress the grave in moss "when flowers are none" (4.2.219). Despite the ways the pastoral modes in the play stress ideal land use, the play also depicts how ways the annexation of Wales destroyed families and wilderness alike. As Garret Sullivan explains, by "reducing the Welsh landscape to the stage across which the drama of a distant kingship is performed… For [Belarius, Arviragus, and Guiderius], the landscape is brought into knowledge and representation in terms of the cultural

centrality of the court" (par. 20).[84] That is to say, that even if they moderate their land use, the characters come from the court to settle Milford Haven. Plus the court of King Cymbeline that Belarius left behind ultimately follows them into the wilderness. The characters, who make up the court, transform nature into culture in much the same way that Posthumus and Iachimo commodify the bodies of women. These twin processes of exploitation would have dire consequences—Imogen would die because the bracelet offered unimpeachable proof of her attemptability and England would be totally decimated by invading forces—except for the fact of the potential of the material in the play to exceed meaning assigned to it.

The bracelet Posthumus gave Imogen both exceeds the meaning assigned to it and resists being thrown away from the very beginning. When Imogen wakes up and discovers that her bracelet has gone missing sometime during the night, the audience already knows it has been stolen. The bracelet, or rather the "manacle of love" (1.1.123), was a given to her by her husband Posthumus just before he escaped, under pain of death, from ancient Britain to Italy. When she realizes that the bracelet is no longer on her arm, Imogen orders that her room be searched. She instructs her servant Pisano to

> Go bid my woman
>
> Search for a jewel that too casually
>
> Hath left mine arm. It was thy master's. 'Shrew me

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[84] On Geography see Garret A. Sullivan. "Civilizing Wales: *Cymbeline*, Roads, and the Landscapes of Early Modern Britain." *EMLS* 4.2 (1998), Huw Griffiths, "The Geographies of Shakespeare's *Cymbeline*." *ELR* 34.3 (2004): 339-358, and Clark, Glenn. "The 'Strange' Geographies of *Cymbeline*." *Playing the Globe: Genre and Geography in English Renaissance Drama.* Eds. John Gilles and Virginia Mason Vaughan. Madison: Farleigh Dickenson Press, 1998. 230-59.

> If I would lose it for a revenue
> Of any king's in Europe! I do think
> I saw it this morning; confident I am
> Last night 'twas on my arm; I kissed it.
> I hope it be not gone to tell my lord
> That I kiss aught but he. (2.3.136-43)

She retraces her steps; curses her bad luck; deliberates the bracelet's relative worth; and speculates on its whereabouts. Since she does not yet know that Iachimo stole the bracelet from her arm while she slept, she does not ponder the likelihood that someone else might have stolen the bracelet. Even though they are on hand, she does not accuse Pisanio or her maid of the theft. While Imogen realizes the bracelet that Posthumus gave her has gone missing, she never even entertains the possibility that she might have lost it. Since she kissed it before falling asleep the night before, Imogen considers herself blameless in its disappearance. From Imogen's perspective the loss of the bracelet is strange to the point of being unthinkable. Though the audience knows what happened to the bracelet, its loss embodies some of the central mysteries of the play: lost items always return.

In lieu of assigning blame to one of the characters onstage, Imogen offers an exceptional alternative account of the lost bracelet: the bracelet must have absconded of its own accord to travel to Italy and spread lies about her virtue. In other words, though she could easily treat the missing bracelet as an index of human action, she imbues it with agency instead. The potential to read this passage as an instance of nonhuman agency first arises from the Imogen's personification of the bracelet: "a jewel that too casually/Hath left mine arm" (2.3.136-37). Since the bracelet is the agent

that does the leave taking, the potential of human action is overwhelmed in this instance. The lost jewel becomes an even more formidable agent in the last two lines of Imogen's orders: "I hope it be not gone to tell my lord/That I kiss aught but he" (3.2.141-42). On one level she worries that the bracelet might be misinterpreted as a symbol of her infidelity. She worries that if Posthumus were presented with the bracelet as evidence, he would be forced to conclude that she lost or gave away the love token he gave to her. Either way, the lost bracelet figures Imogen as either casual or, worse, unfaithful. It is surprising that a thing once called a "manacle of love" (1.1.123) could have any meaning outside of the context of the woman it is imprisoning. And yet, through Imogen's description of the bracelet, we see how it has the potential to signify even when she is not wearing it.

The agency of the bracelet is exceptional. Not only does the inanimate object have the power to resist exploitation, in Imogen's rendering it has the power to signify in unexpected ways. Through the figuration of the bracelet as a vibrant matter, Imogen looks forward to a future disaster from a place of present ruin. On the one hand, Imogen's bracelet accomplishes what she fears: Posthumus reads the bracelet as proof of her attemptability. Though Imogen remains the least attemptable woman in the world of the play, the animate bracelet complicates the contest over her virtue. While she does not step outside the bounds her of marriage contract, Imogen kisses the bracelet before she goes to sleep, which is itself a kind-of infidelity. On the other hand, the bracelet brings the whole of the court together in the finale. As I explain above, if Imogen had not seen the bracelet on Iachimo's arm at exactly the right moment, she may never have disclosed her identity. Similarly, Posthumus may have remained disguised as a Roman solider. While the translation of Imogen into an object threatens

to end her life, the bracelet, goes on to act in ways that are just as unexpected as Imogen herself. The bracelet that accidently accrues with all the other objects in the final act suggests that when fabricated objects act in ways for which they were not designed they challenge the notion that agency is concentrated in humans.

Part II. The Wager

The wager that motivates the main plot of *Cymbeline* puts the characters' future at risk and in so doing anticipates the contemporary phenomena of resource explanation that threatens the contemporary water we drink and air we breath. The wager begins when Posthumus Leonatus enters into a banquet scene at Florio's house in Rome and exchanges apologies with a Frenchman, who some years earlier, restored the peace between him and an unnamed lord just before they fought a duel. Iachimo, another guest at the party, asks the two men to elaborate on the cause of the prior disagreement, and the Frenchman explains, "It was much like an argument that fell out last night, where each of us fell in praise of our country mistresses, this gentleman at that time vouching…his to be more fair, virtuous, wise, chaste, constant, qualified, and less attemptable" (1.4.49-52) than all the other women in the world. Iachimo renews the contest over the relative quality of "country mistresses" (1.4.49) because he sees an opportunity to win Posthumus's diamond wedding ring and ruin his reputation in the process. In order to trap him in the wager, Iachimo provokes Posthumus into making increasingly bold pronouncements about the peerless beauty and virtue of his wife. When Posthumus claims that his wife Imogen is more beautiful and virtuous than all the "rarest" (1.4.52) women in France and Italy, Iachimo bets half of his estate that he can persuade Posthumus that Imogen is a woman who yields to sexual advances. Posthumus accepts the bet, but dismisses the possibility of Iachimo's success saying,

"You are a great deal abused in too bold a persuasion, and I doubt not you sustain what you're worthy of by your attempt" (1.4.99-101). Posthumus does not worry that he will loose the bet, his ring, or his wife because he thinks Iachimo is deluded by his exaggerated sense of self worth.

As is well known, the contest that aims to prove Imogen is the most constant woman alive signifies within the ubiquitous misogynistic trope in which women are objectified and valued in the same terms as nonhuman objects. As Georgiana Ziegler explains, during the wager sequence Posthumus figures his "wife as a possession, whose greatest worth is the jewel of her chastity within the setting of her beauty" (78).[85] The comparison is, of course, to Imogen's detriment and in effect authorizes the series of violent acts that will be committed against her. In addition to foregrounding tropes of female objectification, however, this wager episode also exposes the limits within which these men perceive nature. That is to say the urgency, with which the contest is renewed, as well as the fact that the debate seems to be ongoing, betrays their anxieties over the sustainability of objectification. When Posthumus claims that his wife Imogen is more beautiful and virtuous than all the "rarest" (1.4.52) women in France and Italy, Iachimo dismisses his claim by pointing out the flaws in his judgment:

> As fair and as good—a kind of hand-in-hand comparison—had been something too fair and too good for any lady in Britain. If she went before others I have seen—as that diamond of yours outlusters many I

[85] For more on chastity in *Cymbeline* and Shakespeare's source material see Katherine Bamford, "Imogen's Wounded Chastity." *Studies in Theater* 12.1(1993): 51-61 and Ellen Spolsky, "Women's Work is Chastity: Lucretia, *Cymbeline*, and Cognitive Impenetrability." *The Work of Fiction: Cognition, Culture, and Complexity*. Ed. Alan Richardson and Ellen Spolsky. (Burlington: Ashgate, 2004). 51-84.

> have beheld—I could not but believe she excelled many; but I have not seen the most precious diamond that is, nor you the lady. (1.4.60-65)

Iachimo draws on the image of the hand fast or two clasped hands that represent the marital bond to persuade Posthumus his claims about Imogen's virtue are misguided. Not only could a married woman be as good as Posthumus claims, but also Iachimo accepts that Imogen might be great, but he cannot accept that she is the greatest because the most precious lady, and diamond for that matter, is still to come. Iachimo figures certainty in the same forward-looking formulation as the wager itself. Further if the "country mistresses" (1.4.49) were as vital and productive as each man claims, then they would be living flourishing lives in their home countries, instead of waxing nostalgic for their losses while in exile. That Iachimo insists that only a dead woman can be as "constant" (1.4.52) as Posthumus claims provides further evidence of an anxiety over scarcity. As he explains in his theory of conservation to Posthumus: "If you buy ladies' flesh at a million a dram, you cannot preserve it from tainting" (1.4.118-119). It is as if the very act of preservation, that is the transformation of people into objects, has the opposite effect of what was intended. Iachimo's response suggests he has been risking his future for years and that he is without resources in his present.

One irony of the scene in which the men convert women into objects, and also contend with one another over those objects, is that the characters at the party, are, in many ways already objects. The first scene set at Philario's House in Rome begins with a stage direction that has puzzled editors for centuries: "Enter Philario, Iachimo, a

Frenchman, a *Dutchman*, and a *Spaniard*" (SD 1.4.1).[86] While they are listed in the stage directions, and regularly make an appearance in the Dramatis Personae of modern editions of *Cymbeline*, the Dutchman and Spaniard are not assigned any lines. In the introduction to his 1955 edition of *Cymbeline*, J.M. Nosworthy considers the two characters named in the stage directions to be superfluous and an argument against any theory that suggests that the folio text of *Cymbeline* was set from a theatrical promptbook. In support of the argument that the play was set from a scribal transcript of Shakespeare's foul papers, Nosworthy argues,

> A bookkeeper would normally have eliminated the superfluous and, apparently, discarded Dutchman and Spaniard in I.v and would have added reminders of properties, flourishes for royal entries, and the customary alarums, etc. for the battle scenes. (xii)

Despite Nosworthy's conjecture that the two characters should be eliminated because they are holdovers from an earlier draft, they persist in both contemporary printed editions and performances of the play. In an effort to make sense of the stage direction in his explanatory note, Nosworthy defers to Granville-Barker (1927), who "observes that the most effective way of presenting the scene would be with the inner stage revealed, the Dutchman and Spaniard remaining, throughout, seated and in the background" (ft.nt. SD 1.4.1 p.18). What should we make of these silent auditors, who likely escaped being cut in revision and who continue to populate the background of this scene? Though these background actors utter no lines during the wager sequence,

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[86] Quotations from *Cymbeline* follow J.M. Nosworthy's edition for the Arden Shakespeare (1955). (London: Cengage Learning, 2007). Additional citations will be made in the text by act, scene, and line number.

I argue they are not as superfluous as Nosworthy suggests when considered in comparison to the conversation that unfolds before them.

From his first line, Iachimo expresses a lack of clear distinction between people and objects, which the Dutchman and Spaniard reinforce from their position in the background. Speaking of his initial assessment of Posthumus Leonatus when he met him for the first time some years earlier in Britain, Iachimo tells the other men in attendance,

> Believe it, sir, I have seen him in Britain. He was then of crescent note, expected to prove so worthy as since he hath been allowed the name of. But I could then have looked on him without the help of admiration, though the catalogue of his endowments had been tabled by his side and I to peruse him by the items (1.4.3-6).

When the two men met, Posthumus had not yet grown to full potential, and yet Iachimo was almost persuaded to speculate on Posthumus as if he was an investment that would yield greater worth in the future. In fact, Posthumus's qualities are so self-evidently worthy of praise that Iachimo does not need any assistance to recognize his greatness and be roused to "admiration" (1.4.4). Here *admiration* functions as a synonym for "wonder," which is the gloss the Norton editors provide (gloss 1.4.4. p.291).[87] *Admiration* also signifies within the discourse of curiosity cabinets and collections of wonderful artifacts. In a definition that the *OED* lists as obsolete, the term "admiration" denotes a "marvelous or astonishing thing" ("admiration," n.3).[88]

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[87] The Norton Shakespeare. 2nd ed. Ed. Stanley Wells and Gary Taylor. (New York: WW Norton & Co., 2008).

[88] The *OED* points readers to Shakespeare's use of the "admiration" as a noun in *All's Well that Ends Well*. The King of France refers to Helen, when he orders Lafeu to as

Iachimo continues to evoke the tradition of the wonder cabinet when he figures Posthumus as an item on display beside a list of his qualities. Iachimo speaks here as a sort of virtuoso, who can stage wonderful scenes because he can recognize the worth of a diamond in the rough like Posthumus. Far from superfluous, the silent Dutchman and the Spaniard form a part of the scene's tableau, which works to establish Philario's house as a sort-of cabinet in which banished people and objects randomly accumulate. As Iachimo gives his brief monologue, he does so against the backdrop of the silent human figures. As he confuses people and objects, he does so as a curiosity in the larger tableau.

The wager at the heart of *Cymbeline* mimics contemporary conversations on ecology and a lack of sustainable practices. With its networks of people and objects and its forward-looking formulation, *Cymbeline* stages denotes a willingness on the part of its adherents to hazard a loss in the future in anticipation of present gain. Like modern day energy speculators, the men at the party risk everyone's future. As characters experience exile from their homes, they "look to the future, because it is in the future that the present will be inhabited as…home" (264).[89] Despite a potential desire for home, Iachimo risks half of his estate, "I dare thereupon pawn the moiety of my estate" (1.5.105-6), and Posthumus risks the ring Imogen gave him. ring that marks his marriage into her family, which is the only home he has ever known. I have shown how their own status as collection of objects, undercuts the way in which they are able to objectify others. Still, the wager has life threatening implications. By

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"Bring in the admiration, that we with thee/May spend out wonder too, or take off thine/By wond'ring how though took'st" (2.1.86-189).

[89] Jeremy Davies. "Sustainable Nostalgia." *Memory Studies* 3.3 (2010): 262-268.

agreeing to bet, Posthumus makes Imogen available to assault and if was not for the actors and objects who defy Posthumus, Imogen would be killed.

Part III. Peep Show

To win the wager even after Imogen rejects his advances, Iachimo conceals himself in her room by hiding in a trunk that supposedly contains valuable jewels and plate. In the scene, there is an interval between when Imogen *"sleeps"* and when *"Iachimo comes from the trunk"* (SD 2.2.10) in which no deliberate human action transpires on the stage. There is an uncanny potential during the interval between when the actor playing Imogen shuts her eyes and lies back on the bed, and when the actor playing Iachimo pushes open the lid of the trunk, stands up, and then steps out of it onto the stage. In that stretch of time, in the breath between sleeping and emerging, the things on the stage are left all alone with the audience. The body of the actor playing Imogen, a bed, the trunk, various lengths of fabric, the book lying open with a leaf folded down, a candle or two, and perhaps even a clock just have to wait there on the stage. Furthermore, Iachimo is a sort of object himself, for he poses as a valuable object inside the trunk and after he emerges.

During the indeterminate interval, the objects assembled on the stage face the audience who has assembled to watch them. Like the actor who plays the part of Imogen sleeping, the objects peep out from behind the identities that have been fixed to them by the uses to which they have been put. In other words, while onstage a book plays the part of the book, and a taper the part of the taper. In this instant we are left to think about how, through their coming together, these things conspire to communicate the affective and thematic goals of what constitutes *Cymbeline*. And since there is nothing on stage in that instant to delimit the extent of the assemblage, or

explain the right relationship between the objects, we are free to make sense of the tableau in ways the author cannot dictate.

The strangeness of the interlude that follows "Sleeps," (SD 2.2.10) in which the objects and the audience can take a moment to contemplate one another, lingers even after Iachimo emerges from the trunk. Iachimo believes that winning the bet hinges on demonstrating precise knowledge of Imogen's private chamber; this is why he finds himself, pen in hand and about to inventory the room, when the candle flame on Imogen's beside table interrupts his writing:

> Rubies unparagon'ed
> How dearly they do't: 'tis her breathing that
> Perfumes the chamber thus: the flame o'th'taper
> Bows toward her, and would under-peep her lids,
> To see th'enclosed lights, now canopied
> Under these windows, white and azure lac'd
> With blue of heaven's own tinct. But my design.
> To note the chamber: I will write all down: (2.2.17-24).

Iachimo attempts to make the familiar strange by describing the objects on stage to the audience. There is dramatic irony in Iachimo's inventory of the stage tableau. Because the audience has had time to study the tableau of objects, we are free to come to our own conclusions.

As is well known, Iachimo composes a blazon of the sleeping Imogen when he codes her lips as rubies; her breath as perfume; and her eyelids as curtains.[90] His

[90] Personification, or more specifically in this scene, prosopopoeia, was a standard feature in early modern poetry and drama, as the following entry in George

blazon is interrupted by the "flame o'th'taper/Bows toward her" (2.2.19-20). The flame bows over Imogen to try to get inside, just as Iachimo bows over her to do the same. Shakespeare casts Iachimo as the sole author of Imogen's bedchamber, yet it is not entirely clear why Iachimo would include the unflattering, spectral image. The taper that bows as he does reflects his lurid behavior back at him. Furthermore, the flame is a dubious metaphor to include in a blazon of a chaste woman. After all, the whole reason he has to write the blazon in the first place is that Imogen lacks the sort of ardor on which Iachimo wagered half of his estate. The flame is not a metaphor for her passion, but for his. What account can be given of the way in which the candle seems to first distract him from his purpose, and then contend against him by encoding Iachimo according to the same rhetorical strategies that he encodes Imogen? Furthermore, if Shakespeare has not cast Iachimo as the author of these lines, then whom does he suggest writes them?

The candle flame has been startling editors for at least a hundred years. The critical responses to the line fall into two camps: literal and figurative. For instance in his edition of *Cymbeline* (1903), Edward Dowden responds to the line with the following question in his gloss, "Is Shakespeare varying the vulgar error, discussed by Sir T. Browne (B.v.c.xxi.), 'that smoke doth follow the fairest'?' (note 2.2.20 53). What Dowden means by his gloss is that any attribution of agency to the flame derives

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Puttenham's *The Art of English Poesy* (1569) attests: "But if ye wil faine any person with such features, qualities & conditions, or if ye wil attribute any humane quality, as reason or speech to dombe creatures or other insensible things, & do study (as one may say) to giue them a humane person, it is not *Prosopographia*, but *Prosopopeia*, because it is by way of fiction" (200). See also, Nancy Simpson-Younger, "The Garments of Posthumus': Identifying the Non-Responsive Body in *Cymbeline*." *Staging the Blazon in Early Modern English Theater*. Ed. Deborah Uman and Sara Morrison. (England: Ashgate, 2013). 177-188.

from a colloquial saying, and not from the observable properties of a fire itself. Dowden cites Browne to suggest Shakespeare's usage is idiomatic to disabuse readers of the notion that Shakespeare invests a nonhuman object with agency.[91] That said, neither Browne, nor Dowden, precisely specifies the error. To what exactly does the phrase "vulgar error" refer? Does he err in believing that a candle flame bends and twists toward good and pretty people? Or, does the phrase err in its attribution of affect to elements? That Browne and Dowden strain against the possibility that elements in *Cymbeline* are part of larger way in which stage objects strain against easy interpretation.

The candle that seems to intrude on Iachimo's inventory is part of the larger tableau in Imogen's room, which includes an arras that depicts the first time Anthony saw Cleopatra as she sailed down the Nile in her river barge. Iachimo does not note the particulars of the tapestry while in Imogen's room, but he embellishes the scene when gives his account of the room to Posthumus in order to win the bet. To persuade Posthumus he has had sex with Imogen, Iachimo recalls

> First, her bedchamber,
> (Where I confess I slept not, but profess
> Had that was well worth watching) it was hang'd
> With tapestry of silk and silver, the story
> Proud Cleopatra, when she met her Roman,
> And Cydnus swell'd above the banks, or for

[91] Perhaps the error is double. In *Pseudodoxia Epidemica, or Vulgar Errors* (1646), Browne seeks to set his readers' false assumptions about fire by suggesting that the idiom is classical in origin and not an observable fact. To this end, he cites a translation of a short verse from *The Deipnosophistea* by Athenaeus.

> The press of boats, or pride. A piece of work
> So bravely done, so rich, that it did strive
> In workmanship and value; which I wonder'd
> Could be so rarely and exactly wrought,
> Since the true life on't was— (2.4.66-76)

With the exclamation, "This is true" (2.4.66), Posthumus cuts Iachimo off, so the audience is left to guess how he would have finished his sentence. Perhaps he is amazed that the rendering of long dead historical figures could be so life-like. Or maybe, given the slight disdain he shows toward "Proud Cleopatra" (2.2.70), Iachimo is surprised these famous lovers can be represented so splendidly. Regardless, this moment provides another instance in which a space opens up between the object on stage and Iachimo's reading of that object. Of course the interpretation is inflected by his desire to persuade Posthumus of his success, but at the same time his description of the river Cydnus is a bit ambiguous. Iachimo cannot say for sure that the river depicted in the tapestry rises because the boats displace it, that it is, like Cleopatra, swollen with self-regard. Cleopatra and the river are not the only things in the constellation of these scene filled with conceit. In many ways his description is the outward manifestation of his own feelings, so how can Posthumus trust Iachimo's description of the tapestry at all?

Rebecca Olsen argues that Iachimo's description of the tapestry in Imogen's room is second only to "the description of the Trojan wall pictures that Lucrece 'reads' and reacts to in the long poem *The Rape of Lucrece* (1594)" (45). In both *The Rape of Lucrece* and Shakespeare's rewriting of the same moment in *Cymbeline*, the analysis of the arras helps establish relationships between men. Olsen argues the relationship

between the play and poem is analogous: just as the Collatine's blazon motivates Tarquin's rape of Lucrece, so the string of boastful adjectives that Posthumus attaches to Imogen motivates Iachimo. Olsen goes on to argue that the contest in words, the figurative contest, results in the literal death of the women. She explains, "in calling attention to Imogen's tapestry, Iachimo also calls attention to an alternate narrative tradition associated with women's bodies and women's voices. Ultimately *Cymbeline*'s tapestry underscores the way that Imogen composes herself via textiles to defeat the male ekphrasis that would silence her" (48). Like the rest of the objects assembled in her room, the arras resists total classification or interpretation. And to the extent that Imogen's things are treasure hoard, they can and do assert a claim over Iachimo that he has to strive against. On reason he struggles to control the narrative he is part of Imogen's collection as well. After all he enters the room not as some conquering Tarquin, but in a trunk pretending to be "plate of rare device, and jewels/Of rich and exquisite form" (1.2.189-190).

While Iachimo persuades Posthumus that he has won the wager by describing, in exacting detail, the array of decorative items inside Imogen's chamber, because Iachimo could have learned of the tapestry from sources other than his own eyes, Posthumus dismisses the first article of proof. Iachimo presents the chimney and chimneypieces as his second piece of evidence. First he provides the exact location of the chimney, and then explains that the piece depicts "Chaste Dian bathing" (2.4.82). The scene of Diane that the piece portrayed is so cunning that, according to Iachimo, it threatens to come to life. Iachimo describes the vibrancy of the chimneypiece: "Never saw I figures/ So likely to report themselves; the cutter/Was another nature; dumb, outwent her,/ Motion and breath left out" (2.4.82-5). He continues by describing the

"golden cherubims" that fretted the roof, and the "two winking Cupids" attached, like dowels, to handles of the andirons near the fireplace (2.4.87-89). Iachimo description is thorough so as to overwhelm Posthumus and force him to agree he lost the wager. At the mention of the Cupid-topped andirons, Posthumous almost capitulates, but it is not until Iachimo does not persuade Posthumus of his successes until he reveals the ring.

The ring is more persuasive than the description, because of the way that Iachimo mobilizes it. He says "Then, if you can/ Be pale, I beg but leave to air this jewel. See!" (2.4.94-5). Iachimo only lets Posthumus see the bracelet for a split second before putting it away to encourage his jealous response. Iachimo's maneuver with the bracelet accomplishes what the descriptions cannot because Posthumus has to fill in the blank space the bracelet leaves behind with the same mistrust he has harbored for Imogen all along. Iachimo persuades Posthumus by putting the bracelet under erasure. Philario tries to reign-in Posthumus' imagination by suggesting problems with taking the bracelet as proof of Imogen's infidelity. He explains the bracelet might have be lost or stolen, but Posthumus refuses to agree. As critics have noted, the bracelet alone is not enough to convince Posthumus that Iachimo is telling the truth. He capitulates fully and finally at the description of a mole on Imogen's breast that he kissed. Posthumous responds, "Ay, and it doth confirm/Another stain as big as hell can hold,/Were there no more but it" (2.4.139-41). The ring and the bracelet are the lovers here, and they pressure the human actors into bringing them together.

Part IV. Horizons

The surprisingly animate objects that *Cymbeline* stages circulate in a lost world. Not only is the play set in a lost and unrecoverable past, but also by the end all of the things and all of the characters find themselves in the wilderness. Though it does not

stage the catastrophes that precipitate the loss of home as spectacularly as *The Tempest*'s shipwrecks, the whole of *Cymbeline* is an investigation into life after banishment, abduction, and repudiation. Because the collections of human and nonhuman objects live long lives after their initial rejection, *Cymbeline*, like *The Tempest*, provides an occasion to predict, in Timothy Morton's words, "frameworks for coping with a catastrophe that, from the evidence of the hysterical announcements of its imminent arrival, has already occurred" (17). On one level the audience watching the play at its premier in 1611 attest to the survival of the Britons forced into exile in the early part of the middle ages. On another level, while Posthumus and Belarius's banishment, Guiderius and Arviragus's abduction, and Imogen and Iachimo's defection are all instances of a double loss, they make the future from which Shakespeare's audience watches the play possible. *Cymbeline* emphasizes sustainability by both staging prophecy and showing how the past has been preserved for the future that the audience inhabits while watching the play.

Despite being the only Shakespearean play set in England's pre-Roman past, the characters in *Cymbeline* constantly aim to see beyond the visible horizon in which they are bound. For example, just after Posthumus sails away from Britain to exile in Italy, Imogen asks Pisanio to relate to her the circumstances of Posthumus's departure. Pisanio reports that the last words Posthumus spoke were about "his queen, his queen" (1.3.5) and that he kissed his handkerchief and waved goodbye. Imogen remarks that she is a bit jealous of the "Senseless linen, happier therein than I!" (1.3.8). Following Imogen's personification of the handkerchief, the two characters engage in a sort of contest over how best to express their love for Posthumus by straining their eyes to see beyond the horizon. He explains that he watched Posthumus wave from the deck of

the ship till it was so far away that Pisanio could not make out what sort of object he waved with. Instead, all he could see at such great distance was a hazy sort of movement that Pisanio interprets as a simile of Posthumus's last resistance to being forced into exile: "Still waving, as the fits and stirs of's mind/Could best express how slow his soul sailed on" (1.3.13-14). Imogen responds by admonishing Pisanio for not having watched long enough. If she had been able to watch Posthumus's ship sail into the distance, she would have watched until he was "As little as a crow, or less" (1.3.15). In its conclusion, the play prophesies a future in which the "peace and plenty"(5.6.458) the Soothsayer claims that Posthumus's dream vision promises will be accomplished. The Soothsayer interprets the tree graft metaphor as sign of bountiful futures. One future the play forecasts is sixteenth century London in which Shakespeare wrote and produced the play.

Coda

Radical Recycling: Saving the Environment in Middleton's *A Trick to Catch the Old One*

A scam to regain lost wealth motivates the plot of Thomas Middleton's *A Trick to Catch the Old One.* His fortune spent, the profligate gentlemen, Witgood, hatches a plan to "be a gallant again" (2.2.56) by marrying Joyce Hoard, Walkadine Hoard's wealthy niece, thereby recouping the money lost when he signed over his land to his uncle, the usurer, Pecunius Lucre.[92] Witgood's friend and courtesan, Jane is at the center of his con: she disguises herself as a wealth widow, so that Witgood can pretend to court her. Because he expects a greater return on his investment, Witgood's uncle Lucre provides him with the money and moveable commodities—the jewels and plate that fill his densely appointed house—to court the disguised Jane. Not only does Witgood succeed in secretly marrying Joyce Hoard by the end of play, but he also fools Walkadine Hoard, his uncle's fiercest rival and fellow usurer, into marrying Jane disguised as "that rich widow!" (2.1.170). On one level the play is motivated by the accumulation and consolidation of wealth on the marriage market, but, on another level, *A Trick to Catch the Old One* stages ways in which human excesses leads to pollution and the diminishment of natural resources. Somewhat paradoxically, hoarding, the excessive accumulation or stockpiling of wealth, is both the cause of environmental decline and also offered as a potential solution. Despite Whitgood's being a "brotheller, a waste-thrift, a common surfeiter, and, to conclude, a beggar" (2.1.4-5), for example, his trick relies on the reuse of himself and others. He recycles

[92] All quotations follow *Thomas Middleton: The Collected Works*. Eds. Gary Taylor and John Lavagnino.

himself and Jane, from their prior contexts as wastrels in order to reclaim what he has lost. Furthermore, the play shows that while Lucre's usury business is, in part, to blame for destroying an idyllic, pre-capital land ethic, he also preserves the land and objects that Witgood wastes in his excess.

That he and Jane cycle in from other contexts to play their parts in Witgood's scheme is just one example of how characters are repurposed for reuse. In addition to the repurposing of people and objects, all the anxieties around usury suggest characters worry that commodities in the play accumulate and reproduce of their own accord. Despite the anxiety surrounding accumulation and nonstandard modes of reproduction, *A Trick to Catch the Old One* stages the unexpected longevity of things and people. In other words, nonhuman objects continue to have unexpected reproductive potential even after they have been extracted from the natural world and fabricated into commodities. And it is this emphasis on the productive potential of the accumulation of waste and commodities that I argue shows how *A Trick to Catch the Old One* is attune to the detrimental effects that excessive extraction of natural resources has on the ecologies of city life. Because characters hoard commodities in response to detrimental effects that pre-capital industrialization has on the natural world, the play's emphasis on extreme recycling offers an early response to the sort of environmental degradation endemic to the modern world.

Scholars have long recognized that Middleton's plays register the detrimental effects that seventeenth century resource exploitation had on the inhabitants of London. According to Hristomir A. Stanev, "the massive growth of urban life in the early years of James I's reign led to the discharge of more waste than before and influenced the popular imagination" (425). Middleton adapts the shared cultural

experience with waste that "'did not reach the fluvial currents,'" (425) but collected instead in ditches and cesspools in his plays and pageants. Given the noxious context in which it was produced, Stanev reads the moral deviancy of the characters as a symptom of the detrimental effects of environmental toxicity. Ceri Sullivan also reads figures in Middleton's pageants and comedies as a response to the water and waste problems that beset the inhabitants of early seventeenth century London. For instance, Sullivan points out that the Nymph in Middleton's *The Honorable Entertainments*, which are a cycle of civic pageants performed in celebration of the marriage of the Lord Mayor of London's daughter in 1620, draws attention to ways that problems with waste disposal lead to the lack of clean drinking water in early modern London. Not only does the Nymph force the pageant audience to look directly at London's polluted water, but she also invites the audience to chide actual city officials for their misuse of civic and natural resources in real time.

Bruce Boehrer reads Middleton's pageants as an indictment of the sort of excessive greed and misuse of resources that results in dangerous environmental conditions. Like Sullivan, he argues that Middleton's *Honorable Entertainments* criticize ways in which the city utilizes nature as if it were a limitless bounty of raw materials. Sullivan and Boehrer both point out that the allegorical civic pageants encode the environmental problems that London faced. The water Nymph in Middleton's civic pageant, who leads the Lord Mayor and Alderman to the source of the city's water supply, figures renewal and revitalization on both a symbolic and literal level. On the one hand, by visiting the "Tyburn conduit at Oxford Street" (2) the two civic leaders renew their commitment to the public at the fountainhead of the city, which reifies their own status as source of order over civic establishments. On the other hand, the

tableau that the Major and Alderman, the pageant actors, and London's water works form, suggests the complexities involved with extracting clean water from the country to satisfy the needs of the city. That is, inhabitants were not able to drink from Thames due to pollution, and the New River, the series of artificial waterways that supplied London with fresh drinking water from Lea River and Chadwell Springs, was a boondoggle of a project. While Middleton is not an environmentalist in the contemporary sense, Boehrer recognizes that

> Middleton's concern with human souls far surpasses his combined interest in plants, animals, minerals, water, the air, the earth, and its climate. He does understand that the natural world is changing, and that the growth of London has something to do with that change. Moreover, he sees the change as a generally bad thing (10).

Middleton's pageants and plays do not explicitly advocate for sustainable resource use or the conservation of natural habitats, but scholars agree that they encode the environmental problems of the city they stage. Just as Marlowe references the exploitation proto-imperial exploitation and Shakespeare's plays are sustained through a process of literal recycling, so too do Middleton's plays respond to the environmental circumstances in which he wrote. While scholars have detailed the deleterious effects of waste and resource misuse in *Honorable Entertainments*, *A Chaste Maid in Cheapside*, *The Changeling*, and *The Puritan*, in *A Trick to Catch the Old One*, just as in the plays referenced above, Middleton criticizes the misuse of resources and the problem of waste. In addition to his criticism of the misuse, Middleton also explores solutions to waste and excess. Ironically, the solution is he proposes caused the some of the problems to begin with.

A Trick to Catch the Old One is set in the urban spaces of early seventeenth-century London, but from the very first scene the play invokes a nostalgia for lost green and rural spaces. Witgood figures his poverty, for example, as the loss of the self-sustaining, agricultural productivity of his estate:

> All's gone! Still thou'rt a gentleman, that's all; but a poor one, that's nothing. What milk brings thy meadows forth now? Where are thy goodly uplands and thy downlands? All sunk into that little pit, lechery. Why should a gallant pay but two shillings for his ordinary that nourishes him, and twenty times two for his brothel that consumes him? But where's Long-acre? (1.1.1-7)

By his own admission, Witgood is everything that is wrong with city life, and he levels against himself critiques of urbanization still heard today. He exemplifies the ways that the city wastes the resources of the country and contributes only pollution in return. He wasted the land he inherited on food, lodging, and companionship, until he was forced to sell what little remained to his uncle Lucre. He muses that he stands against a natural and social order by paying for what would otherwise be provided by the land. To be sure, Witgood's description of his lost estate takes on the contours of a woman's body to show how his excessive sexual appetite corrupted the land. Witgood is so luxurious that he cannot even imagine a landscape free of salacious overtone, which is why metaphors such as "All sunk into that little put, lechery" (1.1.5) cannot distinguish between his land and his own self. Furthermore, while he believes that his sexual excess has caused the landscape to collapse, Witgood is not regenerative in the normal sense. He does not occupy his estate and reproduce human heirs as "milk brings forth

meadows" (1.1.1). But just because Witgood, and characters more broadly in the play, do not reproduce in the ordinary sense does not mean they are not productive.

Witgood squanders the resources he exploits from his land and in so doing lays waste to women, such as Jane, who he would otherwise marry. In *A Trick to Catch the Old One*, Jane's destitution is not a foregone conclusion. Instead, the play collapses the general problem with waste, perhaps drawn from the historical context of disposal in land, with the trope of the ruined woman. When he attempts to blame Jane, for the "secret consumption of my purse" (1.1.31-2), she turns Witgood's accusation into a general lesson on value, saying:

> I have been true unto your pleasure, and all your lands, thrice racked,
> was never worth the jewel which I prodigally gave you: my Virginity.
> Lands mortgaged may return and more esteemed,
> But honesty once pawned, is ne'er redeemed (1.1.36-40).

Jane not only convinces Witgood to apologize and take responsibility for his own dissolution, but she also forces him to reflect on own state of uselessness. If mortgaged land can still produce a return on investment, then is anything really lost or totally devoid of value? In a way, the trick by which Witgood restores himself and Jane to wealth and status follows from her lesson. Even though they have both been ruined for the marriage market because of their relationship, Witgood recycles Jane and himself. Jane seduces Hoard, in part, because she pretends to be a "rich country widow, four hundred a year valiant, in woods, in bullocks, in barns, and in rye-stacks" (1.1.64-66). Jane becomes the rich, country widow with access to natural resources, and Witgood becomes a gentleman by recollecting what was his to begin with.

Just as Witgood's description of his estate collapses into tropes of fertile women, he also figures his plans to regain his wealth through biological, reproductive terms. When he first conceives of the idea to fleece Hoard, he tells Jane, "What trick is not an embryo at first,/Until a perfect shape come over it?" (1.1.57-8), a question to which she responds, "Come, I must help you…Though you beget, 'tis I must help to breed. Speak, what is't? I'd fain conceive it" (1.1.59-62). While they might not be able to bring forth meadows, Witgood and Jane can confuse the distinction between their money making trick and other, more "natural" forms of regeneration because the play refuses to accept the idea that waste is an end point. Even though the connection to natural world of resource extraction is already lost, Witgood simply recycles the people and objects that already exist. In way his trick transforms him from a wastrel to a usurer much like Lucre and Hoard.

As is well known, larger cultural approbation for usury resulted, at least in part, from the notion that making money from interest on money loaned was self-regeneration of nonhuman objects. Usury was censured for a variety of reason, but David Hawkes explains the following was chief among them:

> By making money reproduce, as if it were a living creature, the usurer appeared to engage in an active alienation of subjectivity into objective form. The moral scruples that have been abandoned by human subjects are projected onto the objects that they fetishistically value…(291)

The powers of unnatural regeneration, as well as his obsession to keep and store up objects, exemplify the "strange danger" that lurks inside the familiar world of domestic drama (Henderson 174). While early modern culture condemned usury on the basis of its unnatural regeneration, Witgood's trick strikes an ironic note: like God himself,

Witgood makes something from nothing. That no new commodities or people are produced in this play is a source of the comedy—why work so hard to marry and remarry if the all the goods and money just keep recycling around—and also an environmental ethic. The characters reuse good and services and one another instead of buying or making new things. Furthermore, Witgood's waste and dissipation is almost impossible. Instead, like all the other characters he hoards his resources and recoups what he lost by the end of the play.

A Trick to Catch the Old One concludes with a matched pair of renunciations. First the courtesan, Jane, who has just married to become Jane Hoard, kneels down to renounce what amounts to a catalogue of sexual assignations. After she finishes reciting her twenty-two-line list of sexual practices, her former lover, Witgood, swears off how own long list of roguish behavior. The two lists constitute hoards, because each is a hodge-podge of cavalier objects, words, and actions. While all the items on each list might classified as waste or wasting, many things in *A Trick to Catch the Old One* cannot be extinguished. For instance Witgood abjures some of the following:

> 'Pothecaries drugs, surgeon's glisters,
> Stabbing of arms for a common mistress,
> Ribboned favours, ribald speeches,
> Dear perfumed jackets, penniless breeches,
> Dutch flap-dragons, healths in urine,
> Drabs that keep a man too sure in—" (5.2.195-200)

Witgood's loss is also his gain. While he swears to give up the list of ribald objects and activities, the very same objects and activities that caused him to lose his fortune to begin with, he does not really lose anything Instead he recoups what he has lost.

Furthermore, Witgood may or may not swear to give up "Stabbing arms for a common mistress" (5.196). In the gloss, the Revels editors explain, "drawing blood and drinking it with wine in a health to one's mistress was a common practice" (fn. 196 302). Illicitly drawn blood is not the only bodily fluid that Witgood promises to no longer mix into wine before toasting. He also promises to stop toasting "…healths in urine" (5.1.99). Somewhat similar to the blood admixture, "healths in urine" (5.1.99) are "another of the 'offices of protested gallantry': mistresses were commonly toasted with a mixture of urine and wine" (fn. 199 302). That Witgood drinks his own waste is just one final, ironic example of extreme recycling that Middleton suggests as a response to environmental problems that beset early modern London. Middleton figures Witgood's boundless immorality, as well as dense tableaux of things new and old that clutters the stage in A *Trick to Catch the Old One*, as potential sources of renewal. The potential for renewal is reinforced by the fact that Witgood abjures his former life to marry into the Hoard family. Middleton's use of the term "hoard" as a label for a by character so blinded by his desire to accumulate wealth that he falls prey to money making scheme, suggests the way in which hoarding is signifies in contemporary usage. Similar to the contemporary examples, Middleton exposes Walkadine Hoard, along with most other members of the cast, to ridicule because they are hoarders. And yet, while he suggests their excesses are harmful, the accumulation and reuse that destroys the characters in this play also preserves them.

While *A Trick to Catch the Old One* is a very much a Jacobean comedy—likely played by the Children of Paul's, the boys company at the Blackfriars, and at court between 1606-08—Middleton's story of the young gentlemen getting over on social upstarts remained wildly popular on the English stage well into the eighteenth century.

In Middleton's lifetime, fellow playwright Philip Massinger wrote a version of the same trick plot called *A New Way to Pay Old Debts* (1625). During the Restoration Middleton's script was revived and played 1662 and 1665, and then the set of trick plays formed the basis for Aphra Behn's 1682 comedy, *The City Heiress*. Not only is *A Trick to Catch the Old One* a early comedy of manners, which introduces the sort of rakish character that would become into a stereotype by the time Behn's plays were performed at Covent Garden, the figure of the hoarding uncles and the anxiety over excessive accumulation speaks to our own period. In other words, hoarding, as the television shows and popular, lurid news clippings define it, is a direct inheritance of Middleton's play. Overall, the play highlights the ways in which hoarding preserves constellations of objects. The constellations of objects, which the characters amass over the duration of the play, inevitably elide the sort of human/non-human relationship in that authorizes the exploitation of natural resources. Middleton's play offers an alternative in which human and nonhuman objects are enmeshed in larger networks in place of the sort of exceptional human agency that authorizes the exploitation of nature.

Hoarding, or the dense tableaux of actors, properties, and set pieces, unites the plays under consideration here. Though *Doctor Faustus*, *The Tempest*, *Cymbeline*, and *A Trick to Catch the Old One* range across genre and publication and performance dates, the crowded stages, common to each of the plays in this dissertation, respond to the historical circumstances in which they were written. Faustus's signature and archive are one of many sedimentary layers in which the start of the Anthropocene is deposited, and *The Tempest*'s debris strewn shorelines recall the tremendous resource extraction that enabled the Renaissance theater. *Cymbeline*'s lost objects echo anxieties

around large-scale resource loss, and the constant emphasis on the wasting of nature in *A Trick to Catch the Old One* reminds audiences of the pollution urbanization causes. These plays crowd their stages with reused small properties, actors, garments, as well as fragments of classical and medieval texts, as a response to exploitation, loss, and scarcity. Beyond the radical recycling of properties and people, a reuse imposed by the material constraints of the early modern theater, I have attempted to show that Marlowe, Shakespeare, and Middleton suggest hoarding as a responses to dire environmental conditions in which they wrote. Though they offer an extreme example, the ecologies of salvage in which the hoarders are fixed offer an alternative to destructive ways of thinking. Hoarding, in both modern and early modern iterations, describes the process through which the expectation that subjects are prior to objects is undone. The idea of hoarding that I develop from a synthesis of medieval treasure houses, early modern economies, and Bennett's theory of vibrant matter, describes the model of enmeshment in place of paradigmatic subjectivity that Marlowe, Shakespeare, and Middleton stage. To recognize the interconnectivity between humans and nonhumans, and that agency is diffuse across networks, is to displace the priority of the subject, which authorizes exploitation of the natural world.

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