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Killing Time on the Early Modern Stage: Tempo, Judgment, and the Art of Defense

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Doctor of Philosophy

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Killing Time on the Early Modern Stage: Tempo, Judgment, and the Art of Defense

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An abstract of
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Abstract

Killing Time on the Early Modern Stage: Tempo, Judgment, and the Art of Defense
By Dorothea Coblentz

How can time be killed and why would someone want to kill it on stage? Though the expression "killing time" post-dates the English Renaissance, the metaphor captures a view of time as material and adversarial, which would have been familiar to Shakespeare and his contemporaries. More than an abstract unit of measurement, *time* for early moderns incorporated *timing* and, by extension, ethical questions of appropriateness and opportunity. In this project, I argue that that the emergence of secular drama in sixteenth-century England provided early moderns a robust new art form particularly suited to considering time as both an embodied and a conceptual activity. Dramatists drew extensively from existing discourse in music, athletics, and rhetoric to craft theatrical time. Of these, the "art and science of defense," what we today know as fencing, offered dramatists one of the most useful sources of inspiration because fencing time is generated interpersonally, across fencers, objects, and environments. Fencing masters taught time as combative rhythm of movement, and this conception of time is indispensable to understanding early modern drama. This dissertation examines, on the granular level, how common temporal tactics taught in fencing manuals made their way into dramatic structure. More broadly, it explores the wider questions of aesthetics and cognition opened by the view of time as embodied skill.

By illuminating the early modern theater's investment in time as an antagonistic rhythm of movement, my research takes part in conversations around embodiment, practice, and cognition in literary studies, historical phenomenology, and cognitive science. However, while much of this scholarship has focused on the theater as a forum for joint perception and extended cognition and identified the cooperative nature of theatrical interactions, I foreground interruptive timing in the interplay between audience, environment, and player. By attending to this aspect of dramatic time, my research reveals the influence of the temporal aspects of literary feigning in shaping genre and the theatrical experience. That is, pace and plot – the speed of exposition and the order of events – follow not only a smooth narrative arc but also participate in a recursive and amplifying temporality, the back and forth of a phrase of combat.

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David Coblentz, my husband and favorite fencing master, has worked with me for over a decade in bringing this project to fruition. Our stimulating discussions over lunchtime walks and on roadtrips motivated me to complete this dissertation when I most needed it. The depth of his expertise considerably enriched my analysis of fencing sources, and his support enabled the dissertation's completion.

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Introduction: Embodied Temporality in Early Modern England

Time is an almost impossibly capacious term. As Michael Herzfeld notes, the semantic field of the word contains both *kairos* (occasion or opportune moment) and *chronos* (time as linear passage). The word also signifies "the contrasted senses of Italian *tempo* as 'rhythm of action', 'weather', or 'time-as-passage'" as well as "duration" and "period" (108). With the added complexity of historical distance, *time* becomes an even more slippery concept. The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries saw major reconfigurations in how time was understood. John Florio, the compiler of the Italian-English dictionary, illustrates this trend in two editions of his *World of Words.* In the brief thirteen years between Florio's 1598 dictionary and his 1611 dictionary, his definition of tempo shifts tellingly. The earlier edition defines tempo as "time, season, leasure, opportunitie or occasion, the state of time, commodity or necessitie of the time present. Also weather foule or faire. *Bello tempo,* faire weather, *Cattivo tempo,* foule weather" (415). The 1611 edition glosses *tempo* as:

> Time, the space of time, measure of motion, season, leasure, while. Also occasion, opportunitie or necessitie of the time present. Also the weather be it foule or fair. Also weather foule or faire. *Bello tempo,* faire weather, *Cattivo tempo,* foule weather or ill weather. Also the monethly issues of women. (556)

Despite the addition of a euphemism for menstruation, the overall effect of the revised and expanded entry is not to underscore the corporeality of *tempo,* but rather to de-emphasize time as opportunity by introducing a more mathematized understanding of

time as measurement.[1] The story Florio's dictionary editions tell about changing conceptions of time takes place in an extraordinarily innovative period in the history of the English theater, as dramatists experimented with methods for representing time and space. As has been widely recognized, during the rise of the commercial theater a qualitative, corporeal, and intellectual understanding of time dominated the dramatic landscape.[2] From Hamlet's vividly embodied imagery of temporal dislocation in a time that is "out of joint" to the physical representation of Time as a character on stage in *Winter's Tale*, scholars have become accustomed to thinking of time's dramatic role in flexible and expansive terms. These understandings of theatrical time are incomplete, however, because they are drawn mostly from what drama says about itself, or from cooperative models of tempo such as those found in music and dance.

This dissertation completes the picture by bringing together drama and fencing discourse to argue for a view of time as embodied, antagonistic rhythm of movement. To do so, I establish that time was conceptualized as a skill-based bodily knowledge, and I explore how this conceptualization helps us understand the plotting of Elizabethan and Jacobean drama. My chapters each deal with plays which are somehow notorious for their plot structure. *Titus Andronicus* seems to derail itself mid-tragedy as the titular character takes time out to play with flies (as well as Tamora, Chiron, Demetrius, Aaron, and Saturninus); *As You Like It* is markedly aimless after the first act as the characters wander around the forest composing and consuming poetry; *Bartholomew Fair* follows

[1] This is not to say that measurement had no place in earlier temporal models - *chronos*, the linear and progressive model of time is ancient. However, in early modernity, a growing interest in incrementalization, optimization, and efficiency brings the measurement of time to new prominence and displaces kairotic time into a secondary, marginal realm of bodily timing.

[2] See Jonathan Gil Harris, *Untimely Matter in the Time of Shakespeare* and Matthew Wagner's *Shakespeare, Theatre, and Time* for two recent examples of critical engagement with embodiment and theatrical time.

multiple groupings of fairgoers and fairfolk through elaborate practical jokes, eating, and excreting to culminate in a raunchy puppet show; *Arden of Faversham* spends much of the play in the humorous details of each missed assassination attempt, then rushes through the actual murder and trial. I will argue that these examples of pacing spring not from imperfectly applied classical and medieval dramatic theory, but rather from an alternate organizational model for representing sequences of action.

To illuminate the plotting of these plays, I read selections of contemporary fencing instructional prose which detail less familiar (to us) understandings of arrangements of action. The written pedagogical legacy of fencing, which spans over 700 years from c. 1300 to today, preserves masters' approaches to problems of time. Salvator Fabris (1606) joins Ridolfo Capoferro (1610) in explicating tempo as opportunity and for teaching their readers and students how to set complex temporal traps via strategies and techniques such as contratempo and the feint. Angelo Viggiani (1575) muses about the nature of fencing as a hybrid art and science and suggests ways to think about the discipline's role in creating a type of temporal knowledge which subtly differs from philosophical understandings of time. Joachim Meyer (1570) describes tempo as an index of initiative and describes how time is created intersubjectively, mediated by the senses of touch or sight. George Silver (1599 and ca. 1605) lays out a system of fencing which posits judgment as an overarching proprioceptive faculty that mediates both time and place as kinesthetic forms of reasoning. Giacomo di Grassi (1570) and George Hale (1614) lament the shortcomings of the fencing pedagogy of their days in teaching judgment and offer new ideas about how to more effectively inculcate the ability in students.

Fencing manuals and dramatic playtexts need each other. As much as the plays of this study offer examples of embodied models of timing and pedagogy, the playwrights are naturally more interested in the representation of timing than in the particulars of its training. Conversely, while the discourse of English, Italian, and German-language fencing texts which I explore fills in some pedagogical gaps, these manuals lack the application of models of social timing that come from the early modern theater. While the difference between performance and pedagogy does not correlate directly with fencing and drama (sometimes drama is pedagogical and pedagogy is performative), the two fields' different emphases complement each other.

Tempo and Judgment

The emergence of secular, commercial drama in sixteenth-century England offered novel ways to think about time in relation to large-scale political and theological issues, as has been widely recognized. Ricardo Quinones, for instance, suggests that only three "basic conceptions of Time" come to the forefront in Shakespeare's oeuvre – augmentative, contracted, and extended ("Views of Time in Shakespeare" 328). Frederick Turner explores nine major aspects of time in Shakespeare's plays: historical, objective time; the experience of time; time as agent; time as realm or sphere; natural, cyclical time; time as medium of cause and effect; particular moments or periods of time ('right' or 'wrong' times to do something); time as revealer or unfolder; time as rhythm or timing. Both of these accounts, and, indeed, the bulk of work on time in Shakespeare, tends to give thematic readings or to historicize time in these plays. I will be drawing from these accounts but hope to provide something new as well with an emphasis on time as corporeal skill. Little has been done to consider the teaching of timing involved in

theatrical productions. If, however, as Evelyn Tribble suggests, studying theater requires a systems-level approach that incorporates "mechanisms of enskilment" alongside the physical environment and "writerly or managerial control," then instructional manuals detailing the performance of skilled activities are vital ("History of Skill" 4).

While Shakespeare and others used poetic meter to explore qualitative and quantitative time, the possibilities opened via interactive performance meant that dramatic productions could tap into a physicality unavailable to lyric, sonnets, or other popular forms of early modern poetic composition. By incorporating the positions of bodies in space in relation to platform, props, and audience, theater extends the temporal work of poetry.[3] Of the practices dramatists used to construct theatrical time, the "art and science of defense," or fencing, proved to be one of the most useful sources of inspiration because fencing time is generated interpersonally, across fencers (then known as "players"), objects, and environments. These texts consistently classify tempo and judgment as chief principles of fencing and contain detailed advice on how to train the skills. The theory of opportunity found in fencing manuals contextualize how time and motion inhere in processes of decision-making, thereby enabling a better understanding of the embodied aspects of early modern literary criticism.

Tempo and judgment are closely related. Both terms were commonly used to describe an opportunity-driven mode of temporality. However, they differ in terms of orientation. While judgment is present-focused and adaptive, tempo denotes a future-leaning and preparatory way of "knowing-when." Fencing discourse is far from monolithic: different regions evolved divergent philosophies and training methodologies, with subtly distinct ways of thinking about time as an embodied practice. The later school

[3] For a recent exploration of poetic temporality see Alison Chapman's "'Lucrece's Time."

of Italian rapier fencing tended to use tempo more than judgment as a key term for seizing an opportune moment. The terminology of tempo allows Italian authors to think with great precision about long sequences of action. For example, in Capoferro's *Gran simulacro dell'Arte e dell'Uso della Scherma* (1610), he narrates phrases of action, then posits the potential response of the *persona accorta*, or observant fencer. In one such scenario, the observant fencer predicts that the adversary is likely to counterattack. Acting on this assumption, the observant fencer can make a shallow attack to intentionally draw the counterattack, then defeat that counterattack with his own counter-counterattack or counter parry and riposte. Describing devices of combat in this way enables masters and students to have more detailed discussions about dissimulation and intention, with language that is less unwieldy than that of other systems, which value the description of action and reaction rather than building temporal traps through anticipation and planning.[4]

Tempo, for my purposes, is time as an embodied and potentially antagonistic rhythm of movement. This model of time was outlined by Italian fencing masters and imported to England near the end of Elizabeth I's reign. While scholars have thought about how individual and group movements inflect early modern theater-going and illuminate alternate understandings of selfhood, such studies are generally cast in terms of cooperation and joint perception.[5] By centering dissimulation and interruption, this study offers a different model of theatrical time in which players, playgoers, and even

[4] Such forward-looking methods also have their drawbacks – the famous fencing master and royal governor of Honduras, Jeronimo Sanchez de Carranza (1539-1600) contested that because fencing is unpredictable, it is simply too risky to prognosticate. Thus, one should react only to the stimulus immediately sensed.

[5] See Allison Hobgood's *Passionate Playgoing* or Evelyn Tribble's *Cognition in the Globe* for recent approaches to the early modern theater which stress emotional contagion and joint perception.

props are at odds with each other. Fencing, even more than disciplines such as music and dance, captures a range of intersubjective interactions which generate and transmit temporal knowledge. Further, though other endeavors such as wrestling, archery, juggling, and tumbling also teach and demand effective timing, fencing featured more frequently in the drama of the period than other competitive sports because of its capacity to represent nuances of class, nation, and masculinity through the practice's symbolic centrality in England's history.

Judgment is the governing term used in native English traditions of fencing and, earlier in the century, in Italian and German texts. If tempo yields itself to long-term planning, judgment excels at describing the skill of at-speed decision making. In the late sixteenth century, judgment was understood as a temporal skill as well as a punctual event or a conceptual process, and watching and engaging in fencing or other physical activities was an avenue used to train the ability. As Pamela Smith argues, during the Scientific Revolution, the distinction between theory and practice proposed by Aristotle came under scrutiny as artisans began casting themselves as knowledge-makers. Fencing, in troubling the distinction between theory and practice, shows how terms that might seem to be opposed – judgment as a conceptual activity (theory) and skill as an embodied one (practice) – actually converge. That fencing in England and Italy was alternately described as "art" or "science" or "art and science" further suggests the discipline's engagement in questions of theory and practice. From the Latin for knowledge, the word *science* was imported into English in the early fourteenth century. In contrast, *art* came into English via Anglo-Norman in the early eleventh century, referring to a technique or a

method to gain a certain result. In the fourteenth century it takes on the sense associated with the Italian *arte,* which referred to a guild or professional community.[6]

In broad strokes, Continental traditions were critiqued for being overly theoretical and English traditions for being too experience-based. Though the discipline produced a consensus around some major points such as the importance of time and distance in a bout, the pedagogical approaches of fencing masters are far from uniform. Camillo Agrippa (1553) uses conventions of architecture to break the body down and inserts it into a geometrical field, Vincentio Saviolo (1595) stresses the imitation of master and text, and Joseph Swetnam (1617) encourages readers to choose techniques for themselves. Both English and Continental traditions take as a central pedagogical issue the continuum between teaching from underlying principles and giving practical, on-the-ground fencing advice. Some authors, like Capoferro, make an explicit division between theory and practice, treating the two in separate sections of their books. Other authors, like Swetnam, blend and teach the theoretical and the practical together. This blending is especially evident in a handful of principles shared by rapier masters. For instance, regardless of mathematical sophistication, fencing masters agree that students should fully extend the arm to form a right angle with the body as they lunge so as to maximize their range. Agrippa provides an elaborate visual defense of this important principle to augment his verbal defense:

[6] (see "art, n.1". OED Online. Oxford University Press)

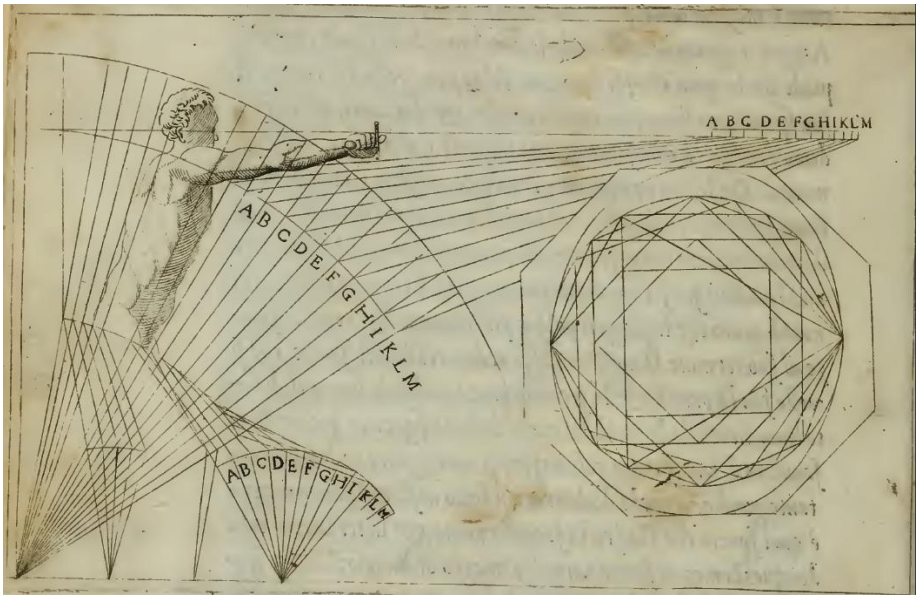

Figure 1. Agrippa, Camilla. The lunge, "D'un'altra figura di geometria," *Trattato di Sceintia d'Arme,* 1553. Engraving. The Internet Archive and the Getty Research Institute.

d'Arme, 1553.The figure above represents Agrippa's geometrical justification for the way that the sword should be held and the body positioned. The lettered lines arcing under the arm and where the leg would be if it were depicted are designed to show the reach the weapon has when the body assumes each of these positions. The space is broken into twelve increments for the arm and the leg, allowing for precise bodily placement.

While Cartesian dualism has been critiqued across disciplines of philosophy, cognitive science, and literature for decades, the heritage of the mind/body divide still informs and bounds our discussions of cognition. Thus, it is often difficult for today's readers and spectators to appreciate judgment in the time-oriented terms familiar to early moderns. Fencing manuals, as they deal extensively with theoretical concepts found in geometry or even theology and their application in combat, offer a window in to these structures of thought.

Playing

The affinities between fencing and drama are reflected by the etymology of *play*. When discussing a dramatic performance, one rarely needs to qualify that the production in question is a "stage play" and not some other sort of play. However, in Shakespeare's time, going to see "a play" was a more ambiguous undertaking. While the sense of play as theatrical performance dates back to the eleventh century, "swordplay" and similar exercises requiring "brisk and vigorous action" were, in fact, primary definitions of play for Shakespeare and his contemporaries.[7] Indeed, fencers and actors were known indiscriminately as "players." The etymology suggests that medieval and early modern people thought of the activities of the stage and the fencing school in the same terms. Like stage plays, formal fencing performances (and spontaneous brawls) were part of the city's civic life. Moreover, fencing terminology and performance feature prominently as displays of skill in stage plays, often in plot-crucial ways that are now overlooked.

Drama and fencing share goals and training methodologies as well as sites and audiences in early modern England. The extent of the crossover between dramatic performance and playing prizes is underexplored, but figures such as Richard Tarlton, as both a famous comic actor and fencing master, remind us that the cultures of stage and fencing school were not wholly distinct.[8] As Gurr records, "Swordplay was already a standard offering on the amphitheatre platforms of the 1580s in exhibition bouts and prize fights…[t]he duel which concludes *Hamlet* was conceived for the open-air stages

[7] The Oxford English Dictionary records as entry I.1.a of "play, n." as "Active bodily exercise or movement; brisk and vigorous action of the body or limbs, as in fighting, fencing, dancing leaping, etc." and I.1.b as "The action of lightly and briskly wielding or plying a weapon in fencing or combat." These usages date from circa 800 in the former instance to circa 1000 in the latter (*Beowulf*). OED entry III.16 records "A dramatic or theatrical performance, and related senses" from the eleventh century.

[8] Tarlton's master's prize fight is recorded in Sloane MS. 2530, transcribed by Harold Berry in *The Noble Science*. According to this account, "Mr tarlton was a lowed a mr the xxiijth of octobere vnder henrye nayllore mr – ordinary grome off her majvstes chamber" (53).

used for fencing displays" (Gurr 177-180, 162).[9] In more recent times, the nineteenth-century fencing master and author Luigi Barbasetti asserted that Shakespeare was friends with Salvator Fabris, a famous and influential fencing master for the King of Denmark. Barbasetti's (unfortunately unsubstantiated) claim is that Fabris helped Shakespeare choreograph the fencing match in *Hamlet.*[10] Were Shakespeare and Fabris indeed friends, they would have much in common in their professional lives to discuss, as fencing and drama share such concerns as how to most effectively surprise the audience or adversary and then capitalize on the ensuing disorientation.

I do not mean to suggest with these correspondences that the relationship between stage and fencing school was merely analogical – that is, I am not arguing simply that both teach and are grounded in certain models of time, though that is certainly true. Rather, the vocabulary and conceptual apparatus that fencing masters developed around the topic of time informed the ways in which dramatists crafted narrative and shaped the figurative landscapes of their plays. Conversely, the theater also informed the genre of the fencing instructional manual by setting expectations around masculinity and honor, and through the development of performance technologies that influenced the production of fencing spectacles.

The theater's debt to the grammar school has been more closely examined than the fencing school, though scholars have done extensive work on the history of the duel

[9] Tarlton's master's prize fight is recorded in Sloane MS. 2530, transcribed by Harold Berry in *The Noble Science*. According to this account, "Mr tarlton was a lowed a mr the xxiijth of octobere vnder henrye nayllore mr – ordinary grome off her majvstes chamber" (53).

[10] Barbasetti writes: that Fabris "was the fencing master of the King of Denmark and even, it would seem, of Shakespeare. He is supposed to have suggested the technique of the assault, which occurs in the fourth act of *Hamlet"* (248)

and personal combat. [11] Many of the insights gained from exploring the connections between the stage and the grammar school are also relevant to the fencing school, however.[12] Humanist pedagogy, particularly the teaching of rhetoric, had investments in how to properly teach temporal knowledge, meaning that fencing and rhetoric shared territory and had similar educational goals and pedagogical claims. Both disciplines deeply influenced how players and audiences engaged in the exchanges of theater. While rhetorical performances of identification and persuasion swayed audiences to horror, sympathy, or laughter, the interruptive and antagonistic timing of the fencing match enfolds layers of surprise and pleasurable suspense for audiences. In the following pages, I will add to our understanding of how rhetorical pedagogy influenced early modern drama with a reading of the ways in which the lessons of fencing pedagogy made its way onto the stage.

Organization and Parameters

Though I am more interested in kairotic time than chronological time, my dissertation engages with a delimited range of years and locations. My locations are primarily urban spaces in England and Italy: London, Bologna, Rome, Venice, Padua and Siena. Because my dissertation deals with the rise of the commercial theater, London is, of course, a necessary location. I chose the Italian cities based on their widespread

[11] Historians such as Markku Peltonen, Roger Manning, V. G. Kiernan, Steven Hughes, Ute Frevert, and Sydney Anglo explore the social history of the duel and its bearing on the construction of masculinity and national identity in the wake of Frederick Bryson's *The Sixteenth Century Italian Duel: A Study in Renaissance Social History* (1938). The relevance of this research for literary studies has been recognized by scholars such as Ira Clark and Jennifer Low. Literary interventions have fallen out primarily in terms of masculinity, national identity, and in relation to the duel. My questions do not constellate around gender, but rather follow Jennifer Feather's strategy of posing questions about subjectivity through the discipline of fencing. However, unlike Feather's study, my discussion will focus upon the pedagogical strategies of fencing masters as well as literary representations of combat.

[12] See Lynn Enterline's *Shakespeare's Schoolroom: Rhetoric, Discipline, Emotion* for a recent analysis of the relationship between the schoolroom and the commercial theater, particularly regarding gesture.

reputation as fencing centers. Sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Italy led England and the Continent in producing fencing manuals, with over 30 treatises written in Italian between 1510 and 1640. Because English fencing was undergoing an Italification during the period my dissertation covers, with masters explicitly modeling their systems on those of the Italian *maestri,* it is necessary to look to Italian texts to make sense of the fencing discourse circulating in England.[13]

I focus on the period between the 1553 publication Camillo Agrippa's *Trattato di Scientia d'Arme, con un Dialogo di Filosofia* and the 1640 publication of Francesco Alfieri's *La Scherma.* The performance dates of the plays I examine mirror the flurry of printed fencing manuals that emerged at the turn of the seventeenth century. The first quarto of *Titus Andronicus* was printed in 1594, the same year as the first fencing manual was printed in England. Since I explore the relationship between stage and fencing school, the overlapping "golden ages" of fencing and drama are of considerable interest. Further, 1553-1640 includes what Quinones has influentially termed a "discovery of time," a shift from a medieval, cyclical model of time to a modern, linear one. Quinones argues that the "growing commercial, capitalistic, and urban culture of the late Middle Ages and early Renaissance" gives rise to a sense of time as a rare and precious commodity (4). For Quinones, this shift takes place in literary terms in the form of a "heroic humanism" that seeks to conquer time as "antagonist" (3). This binary, adversarial model draws from the rhetoric of combat to posit time as enemy and the human as the hero. However, the ternary structure that Foucault invokes as a metaphor

[13] The printed texts of English fencing masters were mostly heavily influenced by earlier Italian works. For example, Swetnam bases his "True Guard" on Salvatore Fabris's plate XVII. Examining the Italian manuals also gives me a larger corpus, since only a handful of English texts on fencing survive from the Elizabethan and Jacobean periods.

for truth production adds useful complexity. Like the truth produced from the conflict of torturer and tortured or through the combatants in a trial by combat, the fencer and the antagonist are engaged in a game that produces time. The relational, dynamic time of the fencing phrase can only be captured through the activity of both fencers, each of whom strives to manufacture errors in timing on the part of the other.

This dissertation is comprised of two principle movements: the first two chapters are organized around tempo and the second two around judgment. My first and second chapters establish what early moderns considered to be "time" and how they went about learning and teaching it. To do so, I draw from the temporal tactics taught in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century fencing pedagogy, particularly contratempo and the feint. I explore the theme of dissimulation in both tragic and comic registers through a reading of Shakespeare's *Titus Andronicus* and *As You Like It.* The problematic of tempo guides my discussion of *poiesis,* fiction, and the device, all terms for generatively dissimulatory practices. In "Killing Time in *Titus Andronicus*" I argue that the encounters of Titus and Tamora, both military leaders, are grounded in the tempo (opportune time) of fencing. I find that Titus deploys contratempo, or the deliberate feigning of a weakness to draw an attack which the fencer is then prepared to counter. What might from the viewpoint of a continuously progressing narrative arc seem like digressive episodes in fact demonstrates a sophisticated grasp of temporal traps.

My second chapter, "Taking Time for Love in *As You Like It*," continues this study's interest in seemingly digressive dramatic episodes and the fluidity between verbal and non-verbal expression. Where Titus employed a contratempo strategy common to revenge drama, Rosalind uses the comic mode of feints and feigning to take Orlando's

time and leave him flat-footed. In contrast to contratempo, feigning relies not on pretended weakness to lure the adversary to attack but on distraction. Like the conditional, feints posit in their first movement a hypothetical. The subsequent movements hold in suspense many possibilities at one time until the action is concluded with a touch to the open line. The structure of the play reflects this movement in both in its nonverbal cues (the play's blocking) and in its verbal ones. The play's temporal themes – poor social timing, indifference to opportunity, and the conditional's pausing of time – are caught up with questions of disguise and misdirection.

My third chapter turns to questions of discrimination and categorization to explore the spatial inflections of embodied temporal knowledge in Jonson's *Every Man in His Humor* and *Bartholomew Fair.* I argue that literary judgment, or taste, is a jointly intellectual and corporeal capacity trained through linguistic and non-linguistic methods. In *Every Man In His Humor,* Jonson uses the imbroglios of English and Italian fencers to recommend "pure and neat" literary ideals. George Silver's *Paradoxes of Defence* joins *Every Man In* to explore this aesthetic of "downrightness," a term that Jonson adapts from fencing terminology of "downright blows" to name one of his central characters, George Downright. Armed with this more precise understanding of Jonson's embodied judgment, I turn to *Bartholomew Fair*. I argue that Jonson's structure draws from the adaptive, seemingly chaotic rhythms of the English and Germanic fencing phrase described in Joachim Meyer's *Thorough Descriptions of the Art of Combat* and Silver's *Brief Instructions upon my Paradoxes of Defense*. Similarly, the game of vapors spoofs the newly imported Italian dueling codes with their fine gradations of giving the lie. By using the governing paradigm of "vapors" rather than the "humors" he uses in other

comedies, Jonson evokes an antagonistic and intersubjective environment which showcases the easy fluidity between verbal and non-verbal attacks and defense. Where my first and second chapters considered the feint and contratempo, this chapter focuses on Jonson's favored technique, the counterattack. Squire Downright's "downright blow" represents a counterattack against Bobadill's half-hearted antagonism in *Every Man In,* while Lantern Leatherhead sets up Zeal-of-the-Land Busy and then converts him with a perfectly timed counter in *Bartholomew Fair*.

My final chapter, "Making Time for Murder in *Arden of Faversham,*" draws together the dissertation's approaches to embodied temporality in early modern drama by turning to the spatialized, opportunistic time presented by England's first domestic tragedy. The play, a series of comically botched attacks which culminate in a successful murder and its discovery, seems repetitive in its numerous scenes of failure. I find that the early tragedy is drawing from the sequencing of the fencing match as another performance of temporal cunning. The missed attempts represent probing actions, the inability to close distance, and the inability to take Arden's place (advantageous positioning). Reading these specific cues, Alice deploys what Silver called the "policy" of a second intention action – an attack deliberately held somewhat in reserve in order to draw the opponent's parry and riposte, which is then countered with the prepared counter-parry riposte. Adding the second intention action to the specific tactics and techniques of theatrical time this study explores, I turn to the material context of the play's time. I argue that the play's investment in different kinds of plots – graves, farmland, the stage itself, and the dissimulation of its characters – reveals a theatrical *kairos* at work on the level of the stage's material structure (the *platt*, or platform) as well

as the story's narrative structure. Through a reading of this anonymously authored play alongside the prose account in Holinshed's *Chronicles* on which it is based, I explore the temporal fluidity of the tragedy's genre in moments of dissimulation and slapstick to argue that these moments reflect the antagonistic environment of the Elizabethan theater.

This dissertation adds a new dimension to existing literature on temporality through its focus on the social, kairotic, personal, and optimization-driven articulation of timing. I find that early modern instruction on time and timing provides a model of embodied cognition that calculates intention, potentiality, and relative motion in complex ways rather than adhering to a linear temporal logic. My emphasis on the transmission of embodied knowledge chimes with recent work on the history of artisanal knowledge and the history of science. In contrast to these approaches, I focus on the space between master and apprentice more than the process of creating objects. I explore how masters teach students to manage the outcomes of a fight through the artful manipulation of time as part of how to, in Saviolo's terms, "make a scholler." These insights have implications for literary scholarship as well, as critics discuss and assess the methods used by playwrights to construct sequences of action. Pace and plot – the speed of exposition and the order of events – follow not only a smooth narrative arc but also participate in a recursive and amplifying temporality, the back and forth of a phrase of combat.

Chapter 1: Killing Time in Titus Andronicus

As you can see, this discipline relies in great part on the ability to subtly deceive your opponent (Salvator Fabris, *Lo Schermo, overo Scienza d'Arme* 18)

Now is a time to storm. Why art thou still?

(Marcus Andronicus, *Titus Andronicus* 204)

Introduction

Storming and stillness, movement and suspension, action and empty word: Marcus Andronicus, the politician and rhetorician, understands these activities as opposites in *Titus Andronicus.*[14] He urges his brother toward immediate and public mourning and revenge. In contrast, Titus, a military leader and expert at hand-to-hand combat, understands that stillness is an integral part of storming. Modern literary scholarship has a stronger inheritance from the pedagogy of rhetoric than from the pedagogy of combat, and so it has become something of a critical commonplace to see waiting as the opposite of acting in Shakespearean revenge dramas like *Hamlet* and *Titus Andronicus.* In fact, suspension in these plays can function to prompt mistakes in timing on the part of the avenger's adversary. My consideration of how timing is informed by the "art and science of defense," or fencing, will shed light on the tactics of inaction. Further, the ways in which early modern fencing masters teach timing provokes us to reconsider the role of time in the genre of revenge drama as a whole.

In Shakespeare's oeuvre, the timing of combat and its relationship to the timing of rhetoric is explored most deeply in *Titus Andronicus.* While *Hamlet* prominently features

[14] All references to *Titus Andronicus* are taken from the *Arden Shakespeare* edition, 3rd series. Other references to Shakespeare's plays are taken from *The Norton Shakespeare*, 2nd edition. Hereafter, Shakespeare quotations will be cited parenthetically by act, scene, and line numbers.

a fixed fencing match and *Romeo and Juliet* turns from comedy to tragedy through a duel, *Titus Andronicus* explicitly associates rhetoric with swordplay, articulating the two on a structural as well as a thematic level. Further, while it is certainly possible to find other plays in which duels feature more prominently, the representation of a duel does not teach us as much about how timing was understood and practiced as does the pedagogy that the duel is founded upon. Rather than scouring scanty stage directions to reconstruct the temporal logic of combat, I look to the underlying theory described in fencing texts – a theory that is then explored and enacted in the tragedy.

Titus Andronicus is famous for its rich interweaving of the thematic strands of writing and wounding, and this thematic pattern participates in the conventional debate between sword and pen. The rhythms of timing taught in fencing illuminate the complex pacing of the plot. Rhetoric and armed combat have a long history of competition.[15] This rivalry is due, in part, to their claims to the same domain of knowledge: the recognition and seizure of the opportune moment, *tempo.* Writing and fencing masters alike weigh in on the comparison. The Spanish writing master Juan Luis Vives urges his students to replace weapons with writing implements. In Vives's Latin dialogue, the master asks the students "have you come here armed?" and then clarifies that he speaks not "of the arms of blood-shedding, but of writing-weapons, which are necessary for our purpose" (70).[16] Pens trump arms in the humanist educational program of writing masters, but fencing masters tell a different story.

[15] I focus in this chapter on written rhetoric more than oral rhetoric because of the parallelism of the instruments of sword and pen used in fencing and writing discourses, but I do not mean to suggest that written and oral rhetoric can be easily conflated.

[16] Translations from Vives are taken from Foster Watson's *Tudor School-Boy Life, the Dialogues of Juan Luis Vives.*

On the Continent, the Italian fencing master Angelo Viggiani sees the competition between arms and letters as important enough to treat first (and at great length) in his three-volume *Lo Schermo* (1575). Disarming many common lines of reasoning used to denigrate his occupation, Viggiani argues that the science of defense is devoted to the most important kinds of knowledge, movement and time, which are fundamental to all natural things. War, more than any other art or faculty, requires skill in movement and time.[17] Viggiani capaciously classifies manipulations of time and motion, along with any other sort of deceit, as under the purview of arms: "I do not call war only that which one does with weapon in hand, but also that which is waged with cunning (*ingegno*)" (13r). Viggiani's use of *ingegno* in this context is grounded in a larger cultural movement. As Jessica Wolfe describes, attempts to translate terms such as *ingegno* and *engin* into English demonstrate the difficulty of navigating the relationship between two forms of power, force and fraud. Viggiani positions his *schermo*, or system of defense, to speak to obvious forms of physical domination as well as to the subtler exertion of power practiced through deceit. [18] Fencers and writers both lay claim to a mastery of the tactics of deception, but in doing so they appropriate one another's tools. Fencers like Viggiani defend their claim with words, and writers are frequently called upon to prove their own words through armed combat with the rise of the point-of-honor duel.

In modern parlance, the "pen is mightier than the sword" formula is often used to express the contrast of non-violent and violent means of resolving conflict. However, the

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[17] Facsimiles of all sixteenth- and seventeenth-century fencing manuals, including the 1575 manuscript of *Lo Schermo*, are taken from the Raymond J. Lord collection hosted by the Massachusetts Center for Renaissance Studies.
Viggiani argues, through the historical figure Aluigi Gonzaga, that "Il moto, e il tempo mi paiono due grandissimi fondamenti, e due basi di tutte le cose naturali. Quale è quella arte, o facultà, a cui facciano bisogno il tempo, e il moto, piu della Guerra?" (11r). Unless otherwise noted, Italian translations are my own.

[18] See Jessica Wolfe's *Humanism, Machinery, and Renaissance Literature* 10-11.

phrase, in its many permutations, acknowledges the violence inherent in both words and arms: the pen is "mightier," not "nicer." Writing tools and weapons exist on the same continuum because they are both instruments that exert power. Shakespeare, too, participates in this arms-versus-letters debate in many of his plays, but rarely with a simple hierarchy. Just as the pen and the sword contend and cooperate over their shared domain of knowledge, so are word and flesh held in generative interaction. To this end, Shakespeare continually muddies the division between the activities of wounding and writing.

A prominent strand of scholarship on *Titus Andronicus* explores the relationship of rhetorical tropes and dramatic violence. Often, these readings understand pen and sword as analogous to word and body and posit a trajectory from one to the other. Indeed, the narrative of the metaphor becoming violently real has become a received idea. That the figural-to-literal trajectory has become commonplace is made apparent by its inclusion in Marjorie Garber's *Shakespeare After All,* a book based on her undergraduate lectures. She argues that in "early points in the play words like 'headless' and 'unspeakable' are metaphors" but that later in the play "these dead or sleeping metaphors will come to grisly life" (76). Heather James describes *Titus Andronicus* as the Shakespeare play which "cites the most Latin yet hacks up the most bodies," arguing that the play's "perverse links between language and action, rhetoric and violence" (124) are part of its Ovidian poetics. Similarly, Albert Tricomi aligns the figurative with writing and the literal with wounding, contending that the way in which "figurative language imitates the literal events of the plot" (11) is what dignifies *Titus Andronicus.* Mary Fawcett also focuses on the play's investment in the roles of violence and language,

calling *Titus Andronicus* a "luminous, beautiful meditation on the relationship between language and the body" (272). She points to a trajectory in which as the Andronici "become words, they reduce their enemies to bodies" (272).Thomas Anderson, in his consideration of the play's "promissory language and violence," maintains that oaths are "virtually identified with the acts of violence that accompany them," (303) that violence follows promise and that oath and violence intermingle. These contentions that the play is structured around a shift from words to flesh presupposes the opposition of writing and wounding and align writing with *logos* and wounding with the body. These approaches importantly foreground the play's interest in rhetorical and dramatic violence, but I would like to add that these two realms of knowledge, fencing and writing, are not inevitably divided and opposed. In fact, these disciplines shared territory and had similar educational goals and pedagogical claims, especially around "timeliness."

In what follows, I will examine the teaching of tempo as it occurs in the educational contexts of late Elizabethan England. Ultimately, the ways in which fencing conceptualizes tempo are a necessary supplement to rhetorical pedagogy on generating and seizing opportunity: it is crucial to our understanding of timing in *Titus Andronicus* because the fencing phrase, or sequence of movements, is often more focused on disrupting the timing of the adversary than the rhetorical phrase. Though their influence has become less culturally legible to us, fighting disciplines figured importantly in the formation and interpretation of early modern plots. The pacing of the play follows the back-and-forth movement of the fencing match rather than a smooth narrative arc. In this model of timing, literal and figural need not form a trajectory, but rather coexist with the literal always already inhering in the figural.

There are several dominant paradigms for teaching tempo in the fencing discourse circulating during the Tudor and Stuart periods. While there are many different approaches to the pedagogy of fencing, one continuous theme that runs through all of them is how to disrupt the adversary's tempo and measure by finding the place and time at which the opponent may be struck with as little risk to the self as possible. Tempo in fencing has several technical dimensions, and the term was used capaciously to mean quite different things even in the context of a single manual (Capoferro's *Gran simulacro* ambitiously incorporates all of the following meanings).Tempo can refer to *kairos*, the opportune time to perform an action. The term can also be used as a synonym for "speed." Tempo often also denotes the amount of time it would take to hit someone: a *mezzo tempo* action, for Capoferro, is one that requires only a small movement to hit the adversary, but a full tempo action takes a little longer and requires a bigger movement. Tempo also refers to the motion that occurs between two points of stillness, so that a parry and riposte is two *tempi* because the action is comprised of a movement, a pause, and a change of direction. In contrast, a counterattack (in the more specifically defined modern fencing sense) is one tempo because it is one continuous movement.

In what follows, I will take some time to map out central concerns in fencing theory and praxis, exploring the cultural centrality of the "art and science of defense" and its historical context in early modern England. I will then turn to *Titus Andronicus* to examine the temporal logic of combat in relation to that of rhetoric. Ultimately, the play is one of many cultural productions informed by fencing pedagogy. I will conclude with some thoughts about how *tempo*, as conceived in fencing instruction, can enrich our

understanding of early modern dramatic plotting and conceptions of temporality in general.

Fencing Time: "An occasion to wound"

The first quarto of *Titus Andronicus* came out the same year as did England's first printed fencing manual, a treatise originally written in Italian that was "Englished" by the unidentified "I. G." in 1594. Until the waning years of Elizabeth's reign, England was largely isolated from the outpouring of fencing instructional texts that marked Continental fencing discourse, particularly in the Italian and German language traditions. Fencing in England had long followed a guild model, with the Company of the Royal Masters of Defense granted the right to train fencers and fencing teachers. Until the late sixteenth century, this largely oral method of instruction left few traces. However, the rise in Italian immigration in the late Tudor period and the heightened interest in Italian cultural productions of that time generated a development of fencing discourse in England and prompted English masters of defense to commit to writing the distinguishing characteristics of their system of fencing.[19] "I.G's" translation of Giacomo di Grassi's *True Arte of Defense* was popular enough to spur imitation. A year later in 1595, John Wolfe printed Vincentio Saviolo's fencing manual, *His Practice.* Saviolo, an Italian fencing master living in London, looked to the print marketplace in part to attract wealthy students to come train with him. By 1599, the Italianate fencing method had gained momentum, but also generated controversy. Most famously, the quarrel between English masters and the Italian master Rocco Bonetti made it into Mercutio's description of Tybalt in *Romeo and Juliet* as "the very butcher of a silk button" (2.4.23). This

[19] See Michael Wyatt for more on the cultural commerce between England and Italy and the immigration of Italian artists and artisans to England in the Tudor period.

description refers to the boast that the Italian master allegedly made that he could "hit anie English man with a thrust, just upon any button in his doublet" (Silver 16).[20] The quarrels of fencers and fencing masters may seem out of place in Shakespeare's theater because we have come to expect the separation of pen and sword. In fact, the intersection between these two disciplines was often blurry.

Fencing masters, adopting both artisanal and scholarly discourses for their instructional texts, leverage technical precision instilled in the body through iterative practice in the work of self-cultivation. For instance, Saviolo claims that the correct ward (position from which to launch an attack or defense) will "make a Scholler" in much the same way that Spenser promises Raleigh that his poetry will serve to "fashion a gentleman" (8r). Far from a marginal extra-curricular athletic activity, fencing was a politically and theologically charged mode of *askesis.* The art and science of defense was fraught with significance in terms of one's potential military service abroad and the capacity to preserve life and limb from robbers at home.

Fencing masters use drills to encode a sense of timing and distance within the body through repetition. For example, Saviolo cautions would-be fencers to practice his principles repeatedly "learning well the time and measure" in order to open one's "spirits in the knowledge of the secrets of arms" (3v). Joseph Swetnam similarly emphasizes practice and repetition in his 1617 manual: "[t]here is no way better to get the true observation of distance, but by often practice, either with thy friend, or else privately in a

[20] Silver, a member of the lower gentry rather than a fencing master, nonetheless conceived very strong opinions about proper swordplay. He wrote the polemical *Paradoxes of Defense,* which urged his countrymen to return to an older and better method of fencing and to shun the newfangled Italianate fencing system. He followed it up with a companion volume that was not printed until the nineteenth century, *Brief Instructions* (ca. 1605) collected in *The Works of George Silver,* ed. Cyril Mathey (London, 1898).

chamber against a wall, standing twelve foot off with thy hindermost foote" (83). Spanish, Italian, and German strains of fencing pedagogy produced influential writings that were becoming more accessible to the English as they took Continental grand tours or, like Swetnam, served abroad in the military.

As we will see, the provenance of the theories of timing that Shakespeare builds on is particularly important in *Titus Andronicus* where Titus and Tamora make use of strategies drawn from fencing such as the counterattack and countertime to interrupt and manage each other's time. I will develop contemporary fencing theory on timing at some length in what follows in order to make more legible to modern-day readers the importance of fencing in the cultural productions of early modern England and to clarify the connection between the science of defense and Shakespeare's narrative craft. Titus's timeliness illustrates both these literary and cultural aspects of temporality, but also points more broadly to the logic of becoming that fencing articulates which supplements the early modern theological understanding of how to exist between the "before" and "after." Fencing training focuses on developing reflexes and muscle memory to respond to multiple possible futures contingent upon the actions and reactions of the adversary.

Fencing pedagogies vary according to each fencing master's theory of knowledge. Those with a more Aristotelian bent favor modeling, abstracting, and theorizing ideal encounters that are mediated through the fencer's movement. Though the phrases of combat may not proceed according to plan, the assumption is that there is an ideal that should be as closely approximated as possible. The Spanish master Carranza emphasizes the important role of theory in guiding decisions and insists on his students understanding

primary causes.[21] For example, Carranza dismisses the guard positions of older traditions of Spanish fencing in favor of holding the blade straight out with no bend in the elbow at a right angle to the body with only a slight bend in the knees, since, geometrically speaking, this provides the shortest distance between two points. The German master Joachim Meyer, by contrast, quotes the proverb that "only the Market can instruct the Buyer" (44). He stresses "daily experience" to note pragmatically that "no technique, no matter how good it is, may be usefully carried out, if it is not used at its proper time" (69). Fencing occurs in context between two people, and so the best way to train oneself to recognize openings is to develop reflexes through repetition. This muscle memory allows the fencer to respond immediately to what the opponent does in each moment of combat. If Meyer taught rhetoric instead of fencing, he would fall on the Gorgian end of the spectrum rather than the Aristotelian end, valuing the contingent and situational more than the ideal.[22] Italian authors like Fabris and Capoferro fall somewhere in between these two tactical emphases: though *maestri* like Fabris give general, theoretical advice about how to put the opponent "into obedience," their abstract principles are firmly grounded in the contingencies of the fight.

Though student notes and lesson plans from the turn of the seventeenth century have yet to be unearthed, a generation later, as the students of famous seventeenth-century masters like Capoferro and Fabris become teachers themselves, these instructors

[21] Sydney Anglo writes "Carranza assumed that, in order to achieve mastery of the sword, it was necessary to understand primary causes. Unfortunately, since he considered almost every kind of knowledge (mathematic, perspective, anatomy, medicine, astronomy, and music) relevant to fencing, it was inevitable that his book should grow into a vast, rambling and, ultimately, rather crazy edifice" (67). This assessment is, perhaps, biased by Anglo's understanding of the role of fencing pedagogy. Where Carranza sees fencing as a vehicle to teach philosophy, Anglo privileges "all in" fighting and street smarts.

[22] For more on Gorgias and Aristotle's rival theoretical approaches to *kairos*, see White (13-43).

become more explicit about how the theoretical is applied in the context of a lesson.[23] The master communicates theoretical principles to students during lessons that focus on techniques. Practicing with other students allows for the students to apply the concepts they learn from the master in a practical context. In 1610, Capoferro urges those who would "become a perfect fencer" (literally a *giocatore*, or player) to "play daily with different fencers," (28) in addition to taking lessons from a master.

Individual lessons that develop technique and theoretical understanding of fencing followed by practice with other students to apply these lessons are still the favored methodology of Italian fencing pedagogy today.[24] To inculcate skills involving distance and timing, the two foundational aspects of fencing, the teacher gives a series of cues to determine which action a student takes: for example, as the master lowers the point of the sword, the student lunges, an attack "in tempo" (during the adversary's movement). Eventually, these cues develop into a complex system designed to help the student choose the correct action based on the cue: if the master lowers the sword, the student should lunge, but if the master attempts to engage the student's blade, the student should respond with a disengagement instead. By recognizing the situation and making the correct choice of technique, the student learns how to effectively employ tempo. As the student continually and correctly responds to increasingly complex cues, the master creates a tactical situation several actions deep to approximate more closely the complexities of a real bout.

According to conventional wisdom, masters asserted that the best moment to attack someone was during the tempo of the adversary's movement. For example, as

[23] Reinier van Noort's work on *Cod. Guelf. 264.23* contains the notes of a German student on his 1657 fencing lessons at the Ritterakademie Sorø. See at http://www.hroarr.com/some-fencing-rules/.

[24] See William Gaugler's *Science of Fencing* for the persistence of these pedagogical practices.

fencer A tries to engage the blade of fencer B, fencer B evades the attempted engagement and hits fencer A with a shorter, faster attack. In practice, this led to protracted encounters where neither fencer would initiate an action for fear they would be attacked in time. Such responses drew ridicule from contemporaries because of the naïve view of good timing: the strategy allows the opponent essentially to dictate the moment of attack through his or her movement or stillness. Unsurprisingly, the chauvinistic Silver attributes the common Italian practice of waiting for the opponent to give up a tempo to cowardice:

> For they verily thinke that he that first thrusteth is in great danger of his life, therefore with all speede do put themselves in ward, or Stocata, the surest gard of all other, as *Vincentio* [Saviolo] saith, and thereupon they stand sure, saying the one to the other, thrust and thou dare; and saith the other, thrust and thou dare, or strike or thrust and thou dare, saith the other: then saith the other, strike or thrust and thou dare for thy life. These two cunning gentlemen standing long time together, upon this worthie ward, they both depart in peace, according to the old proverbe: It is good sleeping in a whole skinne. (*Paradoxes* 7-8)

While waiting on guard might have certain advantages when facing the faint-hearted or unskillful, fencers cannot wait for opportunity to present itself when they face skilled opponents. Instead, they must be able to trick the opponent into a moment of vulnerability, often through a pretended weakness or mistake.

On a more sophisticated level, making tempo becomes an elaborate game played between two fencers. Fabris and Capoferro resist the conventional wisdom of waiting for an opponent to give up a tempo in measure, Capoferro by classifying stillness as well as

movement in measure as a tempo. He writes, "it is important to note that all of the adversary's movements and rests are tempi, if he is in measure" (33).[25] Fabris teaches how to generate errors in timing on the part of the opponent through one's own constant movement. His book, *Lo Schermo, overo Scienza d'Arme* (previously composed under the title *Scientia e prattica dell'arme*), contains a beginners' section that details what all reasonably competent masters should be teaching their students already and an advanced section that includes Fabris' more original contribution: creating promising tactical situations through one's own constant movement rather than waiting for the opponent to move.

Fabris outlines and clarifies what in fencing today we call *contratempo*, central to which is deceiving the opponent into overconfidence:

> [I]t is easier to take advantage of a tempo when the opponent makes it without realizing.…it is important to admonish you that there are some who astutely make tempo to lure you to attack, and as you do so, they will have parried and countered your blow. This is called wounding in contratempo.…as you can see, this discipline relies in great part on the ability to subtly deceive your opponent. (17-18)[26]

Fabris believes firmly in limiting the options of opponents, putting them "into obedience" so that they are always acting in response, whether they know it or not. At the most basic level, one waits for the opponent to make a tempo in measure, and then responds with an attack made in a shorter tempo, what we would today call a counterattack. However, once this baseline is established, there is room for extensive subtlety and trickiness. For

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[25] "si vuol sapere che tutti i movimenti e tutti i riposi dell'avversario sieno tempi, però a misura" (33).

[26] All subsequent Fabris quotations are drawn from Tommaso Leoni's translation.

example, knowing that the opponent wants to launch a counterattack, the attacker might tempt the opponent with giving up a tempo deliberately to draw the counterattack and defeat it with the fencer's own counter to that counterattack:

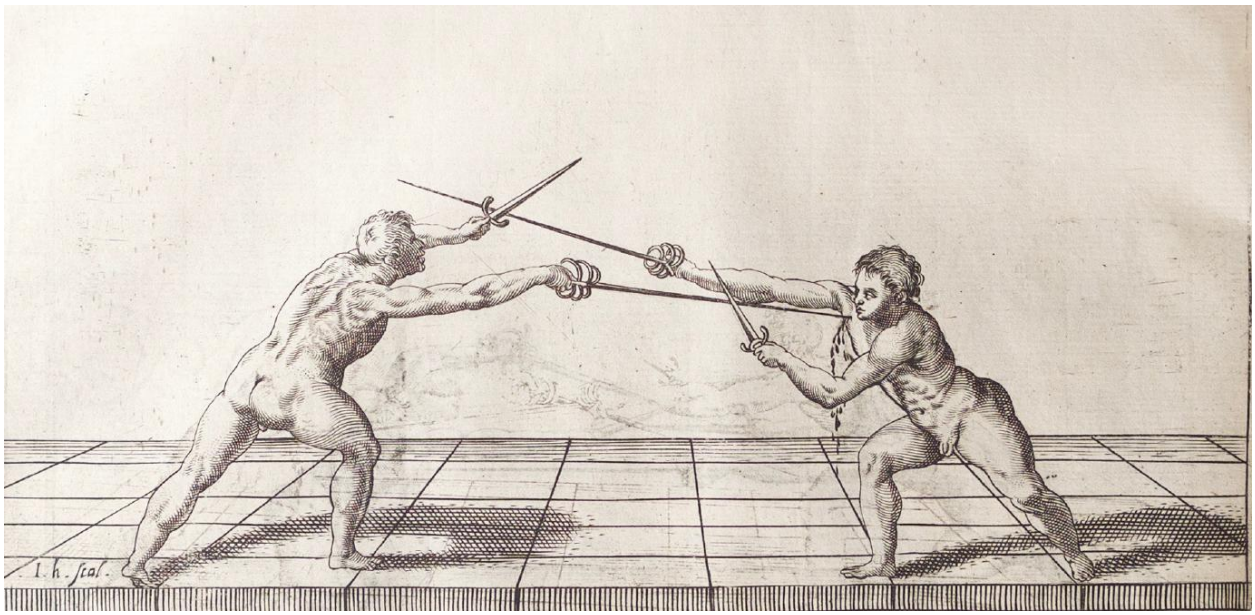

Figure 2. Fabris, Salvator. Contratempo, Plate 73," *Sienza e Pratica d'Arme di Salvator Fabris,* 1606. Engraving. Courtesy of Guy Windsor.

In the image above, Fabris describes how the fencer on the left could use his dagger to dominate his opponent's weapon, provoking a disengagement around the dagger. As the opponent disengages and "takes the tempo, with the design of attacking…above the dagger" the fencer on the left "parries and makes a wound in contratempo" (119).

Fabris writes that, in fencing, a tempo only counts as such when it is mated with opportunity:

> A tempo is a movement that the opponent makes within the measures. If he were to move outside the measures, it would not be a tempo but merely a movement or mutation, because in this discipline "tempo" also implies an occasion to wound or at least to take some advantage over the opponent. (17)

Distinctively, fencing time stops when distance dilates. Skillful fencers will play at the border of measure to lure their opponents into giving up a tempo or losing an advantage. Each fencer exists in his or her own temporal position and must interact with and disrupt the temporal position of the adversary through spatial manipulation. In what follows I will return to *Titus Andronicus* as an example of how narrative technique as well as single combat are influenced by strategies such as feinting an attack to gain the initiative of the fight by forcing the opponent into a reactive mode, or feigning weakness to draw an attack that one is prepared to counter.

Time for Revenge: "a day to massacre them all"

Given that Titus and Tamora are both military leaders, it should come as no surprise that their encounters are grounded in the *kairos* of fencing. Tamora and Titus exemplify good timing, the ability to grasp opportunity as well as generate vulnerability in the *duello* (war between two) that structures the play. I will explore a range of characters and their kairotic seizures in the first three acts of the play. In the end, however, Tamora and Titus's attacks, feints, and counterattacks are what illustrate that the play's pacing more closely resembles a duel than a narrative arc. The pedagogy of timing illuminates Titus's strategy and explains some of the characters' seemingly inexplicable decisions. Tamora and Titus's successful deployment of the "politics of timeliness" stems from fencing theories about how to create tempo. The play can be understood as three devices, or phrases of combat. Titus begins the play with the initiative when he returns from war to bury his dead sons and present Rome with treasure and captives. All that the chief captive, Tamora, can do is to fruitlessly beg Titus to spare her son's life from ritual sacrifice. However, Titus stumbles: he helps to put the weak and

corrupt Saturninus on the throne, whose favor he immediately loses. Tamora then seizes the initiative and puts Titus into obedience in a series of attacks that leave Lavinia injured and Titus without a hand and bereft of two more sons. In the third phrase, Titus regains the advantage but conceals it until the banquet scene. I will first consider Tamora's exploitation of tempo in Acts 1-3, before turning to Titus's strategies for re-seizing tempo in Acts 4-5.

Titus Andronicus begins with an argument over the temporal politics of succession: should the eldest son rule, or the man with superior merit? The play blurs the borders of rhetoric and combat from its opening moments. In his first words, Saturninus urges his constituents, "plead my successive title with your swords" (1.1.4). Saturninus rhetorically places swords, rather than plaintiffs, front and center in the courtroom. However, as Saturninus demonstrates when he believes Titus has supplanted him, his supporters' swords, unlike people seeking legal redress, are not bound by law. The substitution of weapons for words in a legal sense is a continuing theme in the play: weapons and wounds are also called to "witness" repeatedly. For example, Demetrius stabs Bassianus for Tamora, asserting "[t]his is a witness that I am thy son" (2.2.130). Echoing this legal language, in the final scene when Titus reveals that Chiron and Demetrius were baked into the pie fed to Tamora, he says, "'Tis true, 'tis true, witness my knife's sharp point" (5.3.58). The legal acts of pleading and witnessing still resonate with Elizabethans as shared domains of combat and speech due to England's legacy of the judicial duel (wager of battle) and trial by ordeal. In cases where truth cannot be determined through traditional channels of witness, accused and accuser face each other on the field of battle. Though fallen into disuse, the wager of battle was revived during

the reign of Elizabeth I for the last time in September of 1583. The trial by combat took place in Ireland between members of the O'Conor clan. Thomas Cooke and William Cooke wrote that "a dispute between two chiefs of the O'Conors of Offaley" was "decided at the castle of Dublin in September 1583, in a trial by single combat or wager of battle, before Sir Henry Wallop, and Adam Loftus Archbishop of Dublin, the Lords Justices" (254). Conor MacCormac O'Conor accused Teige MacGillpatrick O'Conor of killing men under his (Conor's) protection. Teige responded that they were rebels because they worked for a rebel. Teige offered to prove this assertion with combat and Conor accepted the challenge. They fought with sword and target (a small, light shield). Teige emerged victorious, and "he, with Conor's own sword, cut his head off, and presented it to the Lords Justices" (255). The combat took place only a decade or so before the first performances of *Titus Andronicus.*

Our introduction to Titus shows his anxiety about time, as his first lines concern timely burial and his self-beratement for not yet interring his dead sons: "Titus, unkind and careless of thine own, / Why suffer'st thou thy sons unburied yet / To hover on the dreadful shore of Styx?" (1.1.89-91). When Titus rejects the crown offered him by the people of Rome, it is for reasons of timing: his head is too old for Rome's body, a temporal mismatching inviting disaster. He refuses Marcus's invitation to "set a head on headless Rome," saying, "A better head her glorious body fits / Than his that shakes for age and feebleness" (1.1.189-91). Passing up the opportunity to become emperor in favor of a peaceful retirement, Titus loses both options.

Tamora exploits Titus' missed opportunity, showing her skill at generating and seizing tempo. When begging Titus to spare Alarbus's life does not change his mind, she

is silent until Saturninus unexpectedly places her in a position of political power as his wife. Then she cautions Saturninus to hide his fury at losing his claim on Lavinia and to wait for a better time to retaliate against the Andronici: "You are but newly planted in your throne" (1.1.449), she warns him, "Yield at entreats – and then let me alone: / I will find a day to massacre them all" (1.1.454-55). Timeliness significantly cuts across word and deed: Saturninus's unwise public anger at Titus does nothing to "dissemble" Saturninus's "griefs and discontents" (1.1.448), a necessary part of a strategy to position the Andronici advantageously for Tamora's revenge.

Aaron demonstrates strategic skill at generating and seizing opportunity from his opening lines, where he resolves to "mount aloft" (2.1.512) with Tamora in her unexpected elevation, to his forest entrapment of Quintus and Martius. He shows his skill at exploiting the spatial as well as the temporal dimensions of tempo by suggesting the woods, a space that creates opportunity, as a site for revenge: "[t]he forest walks are wide and spacious, / And many unfrequented plots there are, / Fitted by kind for rape and villainy" (1.1.614-16). Aaron uses place and event, woods and the hunt, to create a kairotic situation for revenge. He then ties himself explicitly to time and death during his encounter with Tamora in the woods. Aaron checks her amorous enthusiasm, saying "Madam, though Venus govern your desires, / Saturn is dominator over mine" (2.2.30-31). Jonathan Bate glosses "Saturn" here as referring to the god's role as revenger, and this is certainly consonant with the themes of the play.[27] However, Saturn (Kronos) is also the god of time and grandfather of the god Kairos. Tamora and Aaron seize revenge stealthily through proper timing under Saturn's influence.

[27] See Bate's notes on page 170 of the Arden Shakespeare's *Titus Andronicus*

The kinds of swordplay taking place in early modern England further illuminate the correspondences between the theory and practice of fencing, on the one hand, and the theme of timing in *Titus Andronicus,* on the other. The brawl over Lavinia into which Chiron and Demetrius enter at the end of Act I is couched in terms that reference the dueling and brawling that took place in Shakespeare's England, a form of disorder that gave rise to anxiety over corrupting foreign influences on England's youth. Swaggering onto the stage in the middle of a heated conflict, the brothers' lines tie them to the Italianate courtly culture of dueling, and Aaron's subsequent concern evokes the public spaces of the London streets. Chiron swears that despite the small difference in age between the brothers, he is just as worthy as Demetrius to possess Lavinia. He threatens Demetrius: "my sword upon thee shall approve, / And plead my passions for Lavinia's love" (1.1.534-35). The language here reflects the underlying judicial structure of the duel: both the private duel over the point of honor that was beginning to flourish in England as well as the Continent, and the duel as trial by ordeal. The kind of proof that the sword offers was a last resort and was only sought when the question under arbitration was not one that could be proved through witnesses. Though England's jury system had long displaced the trial by combat as the typical method of settling disputes, the trial by combat persisted through the sixteenth century and lived on in cultural memory, as we can see in the abortive duel at the beginning of *Richard II* between Thomas Mowbray and Henry Bolingbroke. Shakespeare invokes these associations in the brawl scene of *Titus Andronicus* as part of his comic and gruesome juxtaposition of high and low: love and rape, the gentleman's duel and the street brawl join together with later pairings of pathetic flies and cannibal feasts.

Chiron's invocation of the trial by ordeal foreshadows the emptiness and failure of the judicial system. Chiron's use of legal language is hardly more responsible than Saturninus's corrupt and foolish rule. Demetrius brushes aside Chiron's reference to judicial dueling conventions and taunts him for his youth:

> Why, boy, although our mother, unadvised,
> Gave you a dancing-rapier by your side,
> Are you so desperate grown to threat your friends?
> Go to, have your lath glued within your sheath
> Till you know better how to handle it. (1.1.537-41)

These lines evoke dance and theater, two arts that require cooperative timing between partners.[28] Demetrius patronizingly dismisses Chiron, describing his weapon as purely ornamental, or wooden and fake altogether. Demetrius also uses the rhetoric of dueling when he refuses to put away his rapier until: "I have sheathed / My rapier in his bosom, and withal / Thrust those reproachful speeches down his throat / That he hath breathed in my dishonour here" (1.1.552-55). When Aaron emerges with his plan, it redirects the competition of Chiron and Demetrius into cooperation against the Andronici. Aaron bathetically calls for "clubs" in an aside that reduces the courtly rhetoric of the duel over the point of honor to a street brawl that needs the intervention of the watch to curtail. What the brothers imagine in terms of the aristocratic privilege of the point-of-honor duel, Aaron reduces to the petty misdeeds of London delinquents.

[28] These taunts mirror the kinds of insults offered by native Englishmen like George Silver, who calls the favored weapon of the Italians "bird-spits" (v). Silver bemoans the transformation of "men into boyes" (57) that Italian teachers and rapiers effect, and Demetrius's language similarly stresses inexperience, incompetence and youthfulness.

The initial argument over Lavinia between Chiron and Demetrius casts them as the dangerous youth of London infected with foreign practices. A generational as well as a national approach to the threat that Chiron and Demetrius pose to Roman social order here is useful. In a play where sons are systematically murdered and executed, Chiron and Demetrius are among the last of their generation still standing. Their "braving" entrée into the play resonates with Elizabethan anxieties over gang violence from idle and bellicose young men who earned the titles of "roaring boy" and "swashbuckler" as they took to the streets, sliding their swords against the inside of their bucklers to indicate they were spoiling for a fight.[29] This association is further cemented when Aaron calls for clubs to separate them. The roaring boys in Elizabethan England signal a failure of humanist goals to replace violence with writing. Placed inside a scriptive order that trains him to read, Chiron becomes the decorporealized hand dismembered from the social body through a process of discipline that ultimately does not replace material violence with immaterial writing, but rather continues to implicate the scene of writing with the scene of violence.[30]

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[29] Thomas Cooper uses *swash* in his 1565 *Thesaurus linguae Romanae & Britannicae* to define the Latin word *concrepare*: "to swashe, or make a noyse with swoordes agaynst tergattes." Cooper's "target" is a term often used interchangeably with "buckler" to denote a small, light shield. Sword and buckler formed a traditional weapon combination for the English. In contrast, Italians teachers called the single sword (meaning rapier) the "Queen of Weapons" and advocated for teaching its use to beginners before allowing an offhand offensive or defensive item such as a dagger, second sword, buckler, or cloak.

[30] See Goldberg on the disciplinary properties of education in handwriting.

By allying Chiron and Demetrius with foreign bravado, Shakespeare engages with audience anxieties about the disintegration of traditional methods of knowledge transfer. At the heart of the contentions over foreign teachers was the question of bad influence and infection from foreign vice. From Saviolo's text, *His Practice,* published in 1595, and from the criticism the Italians as a group drew from English contemporaries like Silver, we can gather that their lessons focused on dueling and individual self-defense more than military preparation. The techniques and weapons used favored an unarmored context. With the general weakening of the guild system under Queen Elizabeth I, and her (allegedly) preferential treatment of Italian strangers, Shakespeare's neighbors could feel beleaguered when they were instructed by foreigners they thought that they should have been instructing.

Aaron's usage of the term "device" further underscores the mingling of rhetoric and combat. The device is a linguistic crossover between the two domains of knowledge, rhetoric and the science of defense. Though the Oxford English Dictionary focuses on the form of "device" referring to a scheme, an intention, or a heraldic emblem, the word is also a specialized term in fencing, denoting a phrase of combat or a technique. Silver cautions his fellow countrymen to shun the "vices and devices" (*Paradoxes* "Dedicatorie" n.p.) of foreign fencing masters and he has choice words to say about "those Imprfyt Italyon Devyses wt rapyor & poniard" (*Instructions* 74). When Aaron sees Chiron and Demetrius brawling with their swords, he cautions them: "you do but plot your deaths / By this device" (1.1.577-78). Aaron puns on both senses of the word – a device as something that is plotted, a stratagem or instrument, and device as a phrase of combat, the duel or brawl that he interrupts. The pun foreshadows Titus's own combination of words and weapons in Act 4.

Titus's Time: "some mad message"

Theories of tempo enrich our understanding of the strange and often dismissed letter scene at the core of Act 4. Act 4 occurs at an unspecified point in time after Act 3, curiously flattening to simultaneity Lavinia's explication of Ovid and Tamora's gestation and delivery. Due to its temporal tactics, this part of the play can be as puzzling to its audience as it is to the characters within it. It is often read as a digression in the revenge plot. For example, according to Bate's analysis, that Titus "spends the fourth act sending jokey messages, first to Chiron and Demetrius, then to Saturninus via arrows and Clown" (12-13) is a sign of madness and does not accomplish anything in the plot, but works

instead to engage the audience's sympathy. In contrast, I would argue that the act represents Titus's skillful deployment of both the waiting and acting elements of tempo

Act 4 contains three scenes that Titus supposedly instigates due to his madness, each one involving a letter wrapped around a weapon: the weapons from his armory delivered with a verse from Lilly's grammar, the arrows bound in notes that plead for divine justice fired inside Rome's walls, and the knife folded into a note to Saturninus and delivered by the unfortunate Clown. The instances represent different deployments of contratempo. The first is a feigned weakness designed to make the Goths overconfident and to free Titus to pursue revenge. The second and third are attacks that purposefully fall short in order to prepare the people of Rome for a new leader and engage their sympathies, while making Saturninus jumpy and eager to conciliate Lucius and Titus. The beginning of the play sees Tamora's seizure of tempo with the forest murder. The remaining acts involve Titus's retaliation, which involves both suspension and action, since seizing tempo requires intentional waiting as much as it does activity.

Fencing pedagogy employing the principle of tempo holds that a fencer can place the opponent into obedience without actually making attacks. The temporal position refers to an index of initiative and opportunity rather than to specific actions. Parries performed to lull the adversary into a false sense of security, or to gain a more advantageous positioning of body and blade can be performed by the fencer who takes the initiative, without the adversary knowing that he or she has been put into obedience. In such a move, Titus stealthily regains the initiative in the scene where he sends a letter to Chiron and Demetrius, and the bloody four lines that accompany three deaths in the banquet scene represent Titus's final stroke, emerging from the device victorious over

Tamora. Tamora fatally initiates the contact that Titus exploits when she dresses as Revenge and brings Chiron and Demetrius to Titus's very door.

Critical attempts to deal with the 4.2 letter scene tend to dramatically abstract its action in order to maintain the thrust of some greater argument.[31] This moment has been read variously as a strike at Horace and classical authority, a moment for Aaron to revel in his superior historical and literary knowledge over Chiron and Demetrius, and a demonstration of bad pedagogy and reading practices that involve emulation without discretion. However, when read in dialogue with the discourses of fencing and tempo, the scene quite literally speaks to the play of time as Titus creates opportunity for himself by feigning madness.

Following Lavinia's explication of Ovid and the vows of the Andronici to revenge her, Young Lucius understandably wants to deliver a dagger-message to the bosoms of the perpetrators. Titus, instead, promises to "teach [him] another course" (4.1.119). Deferring immediate revenge, Titus sets the stage for a more condign and satisfying revenge. Titus's next move is to gather up a gift basket of weapons from his armory and to wrap a citation from Horace around them: *Integer vitae, scelerisque purus, / Non eget Mauri iaculis, nec arcu,* "The man of upright life and free of crime does not need the

[31]James in *Shakespeare's Troy* argues that Titus's letter attacks classical authority because it "hardly seems worth the trouble to humiliate Tamora's foolish and villainous sons in a literary contest" (72). Titus does not intend for his barbaric audience to understand the poetry of their colonizers, or to use it as a common medium of communication. She suggests that when Titus turns the literature of Rome into a weapon, he subverts the capacity to instill and encourage Roman virtues. Dickson also assumes that Titus means for the note to be incomprehensible to its recipients. He argues that the letter scene functions as part of the play's questioning of the model of emulation, wherein England attempts to imitate and improve upon Rome: "the judgments, beliefs, and precedents that the play enacts undercuts any sense of proper closure and satisfaction in emulating the examples of Rome" (406). Carolyn Sale enlists the letter scene as part of her argument about the interplay between violence and rhetoric in the play's moments of writing to comment on colonial relationships, and Sale is more interested in Aaron's "scornful amusement" than Titus's motivations. Bate, in his introduction to *Titus Andronicus*, considers how this scene contributes to the morbid humor of the play, and how the registers of grief and comedy intermingle in a reflection of the disintegrating decorums of Roman honor and dramatic expectation.

javelins or bows of the Moor." Heather James reads the *integer* of *integer vitae* as "physically whole" ("Cultural Disintegration" 132), referring to the maimed Titus who no longer intends to stay free of crime. While these resonances are certainly in play, *integer* also reads as "morally upright," and as such the letter works to lull his future victims into inaction rather than threatening them. The gift bewilders Titus's family and inspires his enemies with a feeling of safety. In the end, however, Titus's promise to Young Lucius to teach him another course is fulfilled not by the letter but by the play's final feast when he kills the Goth boys and feeds them to their mother.

When the young Goths receive this scrap of Latin poetry from Titus, Chiron, preening himself on noticing its classical allusion, fails to attach any greater significance to it. Aaron, on the contrary, seems smugly assured that he has correctly read Titus's wounding lines. But what does Aaron know (or think he knows) and what is the significance of Chiron's interpretation of the note? The initial exchange around the letter is remarkable, not least for the often-noted fact that the characters apparently have some knowledge of Latin and Roman literature, "a common ability to 'speak' the language of Empire'" (Antonucci 121). Demetrius seizes the letter first and exclaims:

> DEMETRIUS: What's here? A scroll, and written round about?
>
> Let's see
>
> [*reads*] *Integer vitae, scelerisque purus,*
>
> *Non eget Mauri iaculis, nec arcu.*
>
> CHIRON: O, 'tis a verse in Horace, I know it well:
>
> I read it in the grammar long ago. (4.2.18-23)

Chiron seems to agree with Demetrius' reading of Titus's gesture as an overture of friendship in a pathetic bid for favor from the politically ascendant Goths. In fact, the receipt of the letter

initiates a scene of pedagogy, but in a different, more darkly comic register than is usually suspected. The interactions of the three recipients with the letter are those of a patronizing schoolmaster who thinks he understands more than he does, and his two dense pupils over whom he enjoys intellectual superiority a little too much. In Aaron's aside, he snickers:

> AARON: Ay, just – A verse in Horace, right, you have it.
>
> *[aside]* Now what a thing it is to be an ass.
>
> Here's no sound jest! The old man hath found their guilt,
>
> And sends them weapons wrapped about with lines
>
> That wound beyond their feeling to the quick.
>
> But were our witty empress well afoot
>
> She would applaud Andronicus' conceit. (4.2.24-30)

Made overconfident by his intelligence in relation to Chiron and Demetrius, Aaron ultimately underestimates the other adults of the play. Of Aaron's pupils, the older brother, Demetrius, reacts first to the delivery of the letter, seizing it and reading out loud the lines of poetry. Chiron's subsequent recognition and citation of Horace's ode is done in direct speech. He recognizes it not as part of the longer ode, but rather as an aphorism learned in his school grammar book. Lilly's grammar and Shakespeare's plays appropriate and redeploy stories and aphorisms from multiple cultural and temporal contexts. This eclecticism contributes to a disorientation and difficulty in fixing and

organizing time and space. Aaron's response to Chiron is straightforward and humorously emphatic. Aaron condescendingly flanks Chiron's observation, "a verse in Horace," with two affirmations, "Ay, just" and "right, you have it." In his aside, however, Aaron's rhetoric becomes more complex.

Aaron offers his own interpretation of the letter. His first thought is of what the gift reveals about its sender. The "sound" of "no sound jest" describes most obviously what Aaron views as Titus's mental state, *sound* in the sense of health and wholeness. Aaron believes that Titus is not making a jest from a state of mental soundness, and thus the jest reveals his insanity. *Sound* for Aaron clearly functions as an adjective modifying the noun *jest.* However, the internal rhyme of *sound* with *found* in this line also evokes the verbal form of the word. Shakespeare ironically positions Aaron to think he is doing one thing with language (questioning Titus's sanity), while revealing to the audience that Aaron is perhaps not in as full control of his rhetoric as he believes he is. Aaron unintentionally gestures to what Titus is really doing: sinking in, penetrating, and discovering, sounding them out with a test and creating opportunity for himself. In his arrogance, Aaron becomes the victim of Titus's scheme and reads the letter the way that Titus assumes that all three of them will – as "some mad message from [Lucius's] mad grandfather" (4.2.3), evidence of Titus's harmlessness. Once Titus has revealed his knowledge of Demetrius and Chiron's crime, he has only to wait for their reactions to see if he is safe in moving forward with the rest of his plan. If they are so convinced of his insanity that they do not feel the need to retaliate, then Titus has more freedom in pursuing his vengeance.

Chiron and Demetrius do not understand the allusion, much less that they are being sounded out. Here Titus, as well as Aaron, experiences rhetorical failure as his message goes amiss to two-thirds of his audience. Neither Titus nor Aaron are exemplary tutors: both either fail to communicate or fail to apprehend their text. Though Titus's message is misunderstood by Aaron and the Goth brothers, the letter serves a practical purpose in the plot to advance Titus's ends. While it is common for critics to read this scene as Titus sending a threat that Aaron understands but that Chiron and Demetrius do not, in fact the letter reveals Titus's calculating intelligence and his ability to generate and seize tempi of opportunity.[32]

The letter indicates that Titus considers Chiron and Demetrius as being under the tutelage of Aaron, and that this instruction is in something criminal and savage. Additionally, the message suggests that Chiron and Demetrius are not men of upright lives and free from crime – they need javelins and bows (thus the weapons from Titus's armory). Ostensibly following the advice of humanist educators like Vives, Titus renounces the barbarous tools of warfare (the javelins and bows of the Moor) and delivers his own weapons to a Moor's students, while seemingly taking up the writers' quill as his weapon. Titus opposes the realms of rhetoric and combat to imply that he has given up a physical mode of violence for something subtler. He manipulates this expectation to his

[32] Dickson, for example, assumes that we, like Aaron, apprehend the true meaning of the letter. He writes that Demetrius and Chiron's "specific disregard for education [is] exhibited through their inability to read Titus's warning, so clearly apparent to Aaron" (389). Bate, in his introduction to *Titus Andronicus,* also suggests that Chiron and Demetrius "misinterpret [the letter's] meaning (though that cunning reader, Aaron, does not)" (35). However, these readings of the letter-as-warning are problematic, because Aaron wishes in his next breath for Tamora to be there to share the joke with him, and he dismissively calls Titus an "old man" (4.2.25) and his message a "conceit" (4.2.30). It seems unlikely that Aaron, given his position as Tamora's favorite and his knowledge of Tamora's affection for her sons, would risk the sons' lives or their mother's goodwill. It seems even less likely that he would imagine that Tamora would be amused by a serious threat to her sons.

advantage, ignoring the expected linear trajectory from brutal bloodshed to peaceful writing.

The letter's valence of new pacifism overshadows the threat of the message, explaining Aaron's amused indifference to Demetrius and Chiron's lack of perception. The letter can be read as an exposure of the brothers, but in the same breath, as indicative of Titus's intentions not to pursue the matter any further. Practically, this strategy means that because Titus is able to dissimulate and encrypt his true intention, which is to pursue violent revenge, he is left free to work out his plans, which include having arrows fired into Saturninus's court wrapped in pleas for divine justice. Titus incites revolt within Rome's walls, as his son Lucius approaches from the outside with his new Goth army. These circumstances combine to explain why Tamora leaves her sons at Titus's house without fear. Their conviction that Titus is mad, which leads to their renunciation of violent means, is their only reason for putting themselves into Titus's grasp. The letter heightens the effect of Titus's return to violence – after an entire act where Titus writes letters and intertwines them with weapons, wounding beyond feeling but not wounding bodies, his murder of Chiron and Demetrius becomes all the more spectacular to the audience, who may or may not have been persuaded by Titus's apparent turn to non-violence. In Fabris's sense, Titus seizes tempo by feigning weakness to trigger an attack he is ready to counter.

Shakespeare's use of the letter device works tactically to maneuver his audience into obedience by crafting an unpredictable narrative and avenger. The uncertainty around Titus's sanity creates the conditions for surprise in the audience, just as it sets

Tamora up within the play. Of course, suspense and surprise are more pleasurable experiences in a dramatic spectacle than in feasts with one's enemies.

Tempo in Revenge and Anti-Revenge Drama: "all times fit not for revenge"

I have focused on fencing tempo as it manifests in *Titus Andronicus,* but the structuring principle of contratempo features prominently throughout Shakespeare's oeuvre and in the revenge and anti-revenge drama of his contemporaries. Attending to this logic provides more nuanced readings of the plays. For example, in the play that founded the genre in England, *The Spanish Tragedy,* the tactics of waiting are central. When Hieronimo realizes that he will not get justice from the king for the death of Horatio, he feigns madness, gaining the king's sympathy and lulling Lorenzo into inaction. Recognizing that "all times fit not for revenge" (3.8.28), Hieronimo determines to "dissembl[e] quiet in unquietness" (3.8.30) until he knows "when, where and how" (3.8.44) to enact his revenge. His tactical madness eventually earns him a kairotic situation in which he convinces his enemies to "act" in a play with him in which he takes the role of murderer. Rather than the figurative simply becoming literal in a linear progression, the literal murder takes place inside of the figurative encounter of the play.

The definition of tempo as opportunity created through one's purposeful stillness or movement evokes the tactics of another "mad" avenger, Hamlet. While issues of timing and temporality have been extensively discussed in *Hamlet,* the prince's waiting has typically been read as a sign of indecisiveness and the play as an example of missed *kairos*.[33] However, if we consider stillness as part of storming, waiting as part of action,

[33] See Baumlin and Baumlin's "Chronos, Kairos, Aion," in *Rhetoric and Kairos,* 165-186, and Sharon Beehler's "'Confederate Season': Shakespeare and the Elizabethan Understanding of *Kairos*" in *Shakespeare Matters* 74-88.

and Hamlet's madness as part of a revenge strategy, then it becomes apparent that *The Mousetrap* staged for Claudius's benefit is a way for the prince to create opportunity. The fencing match at the end of the play makes explicit the principles taken from fencing tactics that provide a structural basis for action and inaction through *Hamlet.* Though the resulting slaughter may not have been Hamlet's plan, he succeeds in his goal of making Claudius die in a state of mortal sin and, perhaps in a secondary goal of shuffling off his own mortal coil without committing self-slaughter (afterlife penalties for killing in self-defense or in unpremeditated rage being less onerous than those for suicide).[34]

Anti-revenge dramas, too, trade in the logic of combat when it comes to their pacing and the tactics of their heroes and villains. Where Hamlet successfully draws an attack by feigning weakness and then countering that attack with deadly force, fencing timing in *Romeo and Juliet* shows a breakdown of tempo in the street brawl between Tybalt and Mercutio. Romeo, attempting to break the antagonistic timing of the fight, is himself dawn into the temporal rhythm of revenge instead of redirecting the brawlers' energies into cooperation. As in *Hamlet,* the tragic logic of this mistimed encounter externalizes the temporality of the duel that governs the pacing of the narrative. Another anti-revenge drama, *The Atheist's Tragedy,* revisits the logic of combat with a religious twist. Castabella and Charlemont engage in purposeful waiting based on a tactical understanding of divine providence. Leaping onto the executioner's platform at his own trial, Charlemont's courage stirs guilt in his villainous uncle, D'Amville, who claims the

[34] Baumlin and Baumlin instead consider *Hamlet* to be a play of missed *kairos* since the prince does not murder Claudius when he has the chance, but suspends action past the time when it is opportune and appropriate. I agree that *kairos* is an important part of *Hamlet*, but take Hamlet as a model for good timing. Though he is commonly criticized for indecisiveness, he shows a strong tactical grasp of timing by knowing when to act and when to wait in the last act of the play. Timing is especially important in revenge drama: revenge must be condign, and to create the appropriate conditions for revenge requires shrewd planning and precise timing.

honor of executing his nephew. Without striking a blow, Castabella and Charlemont see D'Amville accidentally brain himself with the axe, and D'Amville becomes the divine instrument of his own well-deserved execution.

The antagonistic and interruptive timing taught by the "art and science of defense" provides an alternative to the timing of the narrative arc. Where Shakespeare and his contemporaries seem to unexpectedly digress from an expected plot trajectory, they are in fact drawing from this and other models of timing in circulation in early modern England. Reading *Titus Andronicus* from this perspective sheds light on the structure of the play by contextualizing Titus's strategic moments of madness.

Chapter 2: Taking Time for Love in As You Like It

Introduction

As You Like It's "lack of plot after Act I has been observed by critics through the centuries" (Kuhn 46). The absence of a linear, driving plot arc does not denote the play's aimlessness, however, but rather represents how Shakespeare draws from the structure of the feint: a simulated menace to one target to draw a parry that is then eluded, and the sword directed at a different target. In contrast to contratempo, feigning relies not on pretended weakness to lure the adversary to attack but on distraction. Like the conditional "if" for which *As You Like It* is famous, feints posit in their first movement a hypothetical.[35] The subsequent movements hold in suspense many possibilities at one time until the action is concluded with a touch to the open line. In what follows, I will read several of these seemingly plotless scenes and demonstrate how they actually inform the back-and-forth of the play's narrative structure. Shakespeare uses both linguistic and non-linguistic methods to explore the theme of courtly dissimulation and to craft a suspended sense of theatrical time.

The play begins with intense sibling rivalry in the court or the late Roland du Bois, as the eldest son, Oliver, denies his younger brother, Orlando the education of a gentleman. Driven by jealousy, Oliver arranges for the wrestler, Charles, to murder or maim Orlando when they meet in the wrestling ring for a competition. This plan failing, Oliver decides to set fire to Orlando's house (with Orlando in it). Catching wind of the plot, the loyal elderly servant Adam escapes with Orlando into the exile of Arden forest. Meanwhile, in a neighboring court, Duke Frederick has usurped the role of his older

[35] Maura Kuhn notes that "*As You Like It* has 138 *If*'s…for a relative frequency of 0.647, significantly higher than the relative frequency of *If* in all of Shakespeare's works, 0.4256" (44).

brother, Duke Senior, who has fled to Arden to live with a few of his devoted courtiers. His daughter, Rosalind, stays behind with her cousin, Celia for a time. They observe Orlando's wrestling match and Rosalind falls in love with him. Soon thereafter, Frederick's paranoia prompts him to banish Rosalind. Celia and the court fool, Touchstone, decide to leave with Rosalind and head for Arden. Rosalind disguises herself as the shepherd boy, Ganymede, and Celia disguises herself as the shepherdess, Aliena. In the forest, Orlando is subjected to a number of tests to prove his love and to develop his courtly skills. Rosalind/Ganymede must both fend off the attentions of the besotted shepherdess, Phoebe, and teach Orlando how to woo properly. That the forest is a suitable environment for the inculcation of valuable character traits and abilities is confirmed when Oliver, cast off into the forest by Frederick, has a change of heart and reconciles with his younger brother. Oliver and Touchstone decide to marry local shepherdesses – Aliena, who pleasantly surprises the courtiers by being a noblewoman in disguise, and Audrey, who does not. The play concludes with a four-way wedding.

First, I will discuss the ways in which fencing signifies as a mode of *poiesis* to establish the close relationship the fictions of fencing with aesthetics. Then, I will consider three specific scenes of feigning, which I argue exemplify the play's debt to fencing tactics and techniques. The first scene, Orlando's wrestling match, introduces the play's interest in sports and body language as a supplement to the love language of poetry he practices later in the play. Later, as Rosalind and Orlando disguise themselves, the play explores the generative potential of dissimulation via their fictions of selfhood. In the second scene I will discuss, Orlando bursts threateningly into Duke Senior's banquet to demand food. Though seeming to display ineptness, Orlando actually shows again his

keen sense of tempo as he adapts to the unexpected situation. The rhythm of his movement – threat, perception, adaptation – reflects the structure of the feint, as English and German fencing theory understand it. I will then look to Orlando's seeming shift to verbal methods of displaying and developing courtiership through his love poetry. Rosalind, disguised as Ganymede, tutors Orlando on a lover's dilated and experiential sense of time while Jaques, Touchstone, and Celia/Aliena comment on the tempo of his poetry. Orlando's feet, both metrical and physical, become the locus of the play's interest in embodied models of time. Finally, my reading sheds light on the play's unusual four-way stichomythic exchange in the final act, as it formally reflects the sideways movement of the feint and the preparatory footwork for launching an effective attack.

"Wiles and New Deceits": *Poiesis,* Genre, Feints

The poetic uses to which the activity of swordplay has been put are well-known. Love and rhetorical contests head the list of such figurative appropriations. Appropriately for the playfully and romantically antagonistic context of *As You Like It,* the same linguistic element, *lac,* or play, modifies the activities of fighting in battle (*beadu-lac*) and getting married (*wedlac*) – what we now know as wedlock. While it is common to read of a lover "vanquished" by his beloved, or of a brilliant "riposte" in an argument, the family of fencing tropes related to deception is not as frequently invoked today. [36] However, Florio illustrates the alliance of these two faculties of *poiesis* in his expansion of the definition of *finta,* used as a technical term for the feint in fencing, from the 1598 to the 1611 version of his dictionary. Where in the 1598 edition, *finta* is defined as "a

[36] The French word for "answer" or "reply" used in a technical sense in fencing to refer to the attack directed at the opponent immediately following one's own parry is "riposte." This term has been conspicuously co-opted to refer to a quick, clever retort. Similarly, in German, the *Vorschlag,* or first strike, was adapted into rhetoric to describe a suggestion or attempt to persuade.

faigning, an offer, a proffer to do any thing," in 1611 to this definition is added "a fiction" as the second term. In this period, "fiction" generally refers to fashioning or imitating, but as early as 1599 it bears with it the generic sense as "species of literature" which is "concerned with the narration of imaginary events and the portraiture of imaginary characters."[37] Florio connects the kinds of feints found in fencing with those found in fiction-writing, but he recognizes more than invents this common ground.[38] Castiglione, a generation earlier, had already extensively explored the feint as a figure for social dissimulation.[39]

In *The Book of the Courtier*, time is a way of being in relation to others continually in flux based on age, status, and company, and it is an important part of graceful comportment. This grace, as Eduardo Saccone notes, "signifies not so much a particular quality as a modality, an ability: the graceful using of qualities so as to provoke grace.[40] Castiglione hints at such a modality when Lady Emilia decrees that Federico Fregoso should continue the account of the ideal courtier. She asks him to shift from Lodovico's description of the necessary knowledge and qualities of the courtier to the practical application and development of these attributes: "how and in what manner and when the courtier should put his good qualities into use and practice those things which the Count said it was right for him to know" (116).[41] Federico responds, denying an easy

[37] "fiction, n." *OED Online*. Oxford University Press, March 2015. Web. 5 May 2015. See definitions 1a, 2, and 3b in particular.

[38] In fact, an underlying tropology of combat runs through many early modern literary works, as authors such as Castiglione, Tasso, Sidney, and Shakespeare co-opt the vocabulary and dissimulatory techniques of fencing.

[39] I expand on this point in "'Master of al artificiall force and sleight': Tempo and dissimulation in Castiglione's *Book of the Courtier*," *Italian Studies* 73.1 (forthcoming 2018).

[40] Saccone, Eduardo. "*Grazia, Sprezzatura, Affettazione* in the *Courtier*" in *Castiglione: The Ideal and the Real in Renaissance Culture*. Eds. Robert Hanning and David Rosand. (New Haven: Yale UP, 1983).

[41] "in qual modo e maniera e tempo il cortegiano debba usa le sue bone condizioni ed operar quelle cose che 'l Conte ha ditto che se gli convien sapere"

separation between activity and essence. *Modo, maniera,* and *tempo* administrate the ontological (qualities) and the circumstantial (conditions) in the practice of courtiership: "in wanting to distinguish the way [*modo*] and manner [*maniera*] and timing [*tempo*] of the good qualities practiced by the courtier you want to separate what are inseparable; for these are the very things that decide whether his qualities and the way he employs them are good" (116-117). Federico's distinction highlights an important, but often overlooked aspect of Castiglione's project. Even in scholarship that seriously evaluates the skills of courtiership, this dimension of *tempo* is neglected in favor of *modo* and *maniera* because the latter terms speak more directly to how identity is often understood as behavioral and ontological more than temporal.[42]

Castiglione's preoccupation with timing first emerges in a verbal game, and later is introduced in relation to non-linguistic practices like fencing and dance. *The Book of the Courtier* is organized in temporal terms by four days of gameplay, each of which is interrupted by the attention of the party being called to the lateness (or earliness) of the hour. The opening scene of *The Book of the Courtier* introduces tempo as one of the courtier's key traits by contrasting Unico Aretino's virtuosic display of good timing with Fra Serafino's flat-footed and mistimed attempt at humor. The courtiers and court ladies join in a circle to play the meta-game of each proposing a game for the evening's

[42] For example, see criticism on Castiglione that reflects on performance and self-construction. Burke in his seminal text calls the book "an 'open' work" that is "not only ambiguous but deliberately so, in the manner of a play" (37). Lanham similarly argues "The central self is a skill, instinctive good drama" and asserts that "Urbino knows no leisure at all, just as self-conscious man knows no leisure in the world. He is either making or unmaking himself." Lanham, Richard. *The Motives of Eloquence: Literary Rhetoric in the Renaissance*, (New Haven: Yale UP, 1976), pp 156-157. More recently, Berger focuses on behavioural skills and strategies of self-representation in the court, arguing that *The Book of the Courtier* "depict[s] sprezzatura not only as a representational technology but also as a normative demand: a demand for the performance of exemplary inwardness that's assumed to be inauthentic by the performers no less than by their audiences," p. 4.

entertainment. Amid general pleasantry and laughter a jarring note sounds when Fra Serafino bungles his turn. His failure is made even more striking because it comes immediately before the suggestion of the masterful crowd-pleaser, Unico Aretino. Aretino proposes a game where each player guesses what the jeweled "S" on the Duchess's forehead means. When, as he anticipated, he is asked to provide his own explanation, he feigns a moment of reflection and then recites a sophisticated and seemingly improvised sonnet, impressing the other players. The later suspicion that he had already composed the sonnet does not seem to impinge upon the audience's enjoyment of Aretino's management and seizure of opportunity: ""he eventually…recited a sonnet on the subject he had raised, describing what was the meaning of the letter 'S', which many of those present thought he had made up on the spot but which others decided must have been composed beforehand since it was more ingenious and polished than seemed possible in the time" (27). In fact, part of the pleasure for Aretino's audience comes from speculating as to whether or not his sonnet was spontaneously composed – a continuation of the game of insiders and outsiders at the heart of courtly *sprezzatura*, which works to unite those who are in the know.

In contrast, Lady Emilia conspicuously interrupts Fra Serafino and skips his unsatisfactory game. Fra Serafino's game is for everyone to give his opinion as to why women hate rats but love snakes so that he can then explain the right answer. Both Aretino and Fra Serafino plan their punchlines ahead of time, but Aretino shows such *sprezzatura* that only the initiated guess that he has prepared his sonnet in advance. Fra Serafino does not attempt to hide his construction of the game nor its endpoint, alienating his audience. Such unplayed games, coming as they do prior to the pastime that occupies

the rest of the book, may seem unimportant and digressive. However, they actually perform the work's central concern: how *sprezzatura* in public displays of artful deceit turn on the courtier's careful cultivation of temporal skill, trained through disports such as word games and fencing. The conversational enactment of *sprezzatura* does not only open the book but extends to Federico's formulation of planned improvisation. Federico, like Aretino, carefully manages his argument to provoke predictable responses that he is then prepared to counter. This strategy is especially prominent in his baiting of Gaspare Pallavicino. Federico suggests that courtiers should do only that at which they excel so that they seem to be skilled at everything. Federico goes on to suggest that the courtier should plan out seemingly spontaneous public displays of skill. Strategically, if the courtier is known for expertise in one activity, he should prepare also in a secondary area. Thus, when the courtier is asked to display his skills, he can perform in an unexpected subject, leading spectators to assume "they must be even more competent in what is their main activity" (149). Just as the fencer re-directs his adversary's attention with a feint, the courtier leads his spectators to assume one action only to foil these expectations with a display of spontaneous virtuosity in another activity.

Federico advances his argument through his own deliberate exposure of feigned weakness. Pallavicino takes the bait and attacks Federico along the lines Federico has anticipated, objecting, "What you are describing seems to me more like crude deception than art. Nor do I believe such deceit is ever fitting for one who wishes to be a man of honor" (149). Federico's ready counter suggests that he is following his own advice and that the question of skilful dissimulation is one to which he has given some thought.

Federico resists the reading of deceit as opposed to honesty through the analogy of a fencing competition:

> [dissimulation] is not a question of deceit but rather an embellishment for whatever one does; and even if it is deception it is not to be censured. In the case of two men who are fencing, would you not say that the one who defeats the other is deceiving him when he does so because he has more skill than his partner? (149)

Federico's analogy highlights the adversarial timing of the court. It is not enough to have good *modo* and *maniera* because the self is not fixed and essential but rather must be administrated through wise foresight. Court life, even constructive and ideal court life, is not predicated on cooperation among courtiers, but rather their skilful antagonism. The pastime of "provoking the folly of those in whom it is latent" is part of how court insiders entertain each other. This delight in dissimulation is often hidden by a shift from Renaissance to Baroque notions of artifice. Castiglione's *Book of the Courtier* displays and celebrates deceptive skill rather than participating in a culture of paranoia regarding the discrepancies between surface and interior. Scholarly discussions of Renaissance dissimulation often take Pallavicino's perspective, focusing on anxiety, closed bodies, and surveillance. In these terms, *askesis* is closely equated with ascetic denial or negation. However, to take Federico's part, the elegance of deceit is an equally important concern, and selves are formed through the ludic as well as disciplinary practices.

Elegant deception is a point of pride for masters such as Nicoletto Giganti. For Giganti, feints represent the most playful and poetic aspect of fencing tactics, and the most appropriate for a schoolroom or game context: "I am only going to describe those

actions which to me seem the most beautiful (*belle*), artful (*artificiose*), and useful (*utili*)… Among all the ways in which you can artfully strike your adversary, the feint, in my opinion, is the best. The feint is when you imply (*accenare*) that you will do one thing and then you do another" (1606 23).[43] Feints are techniques of deception in service to a broader strategic context. Giganti argues that "the apogee of this science is distilled into guile and deception…When two masters fence, they do not exchange thrusts or cuts, but rather wiles and new deceits" (1608 74). These "wiles and new deceits," the purposeful fashioning of an audience's perception of one's rhythms of movement, removes fencing from the domain of simple activity and into that of *poiesis.*[44] With such onstage misdirection and dissimulation, fencing enters into the realm of representation.

Francesco Alfieri similarly admires the skilful use of feints and agrees with Federico's assessment a century prior. While "deception in itself is an odious word," he argues, "no one will deny that military conventions allow for stratagems of war…war is nothing but a duel between two kings, in which deception is permitted and is a virtue" (31). Specifically, Alfieri goes on to write "the deception of which I speak offends neither justice nor the faith, but is a precept of the art used to defeat your enemy without difficulty called the feint" (31). Alfieri gives a rare illustration of a feint in action. Typically, plates depict the fencer either before or after the feint is executed. Here, Alfieri uses letters to demarcate potential lines of attack. The feint represents two of the four ways in which the fencer on the right can hit after allowing the fencer on the left to gain

[43] Huizinga describes *poiesis* as a function of play, and, as we have seen, the etymology of "play" bears out the deep connection between the activities of stage and fencing school, with participants in both activities described as "players." The etymological connection runs deep. Single combat exists, quite literally for Shakespeare's audience at the intersection of play and earnestness: the Old English *lac* (play) and the Old Norse *orrusta* (earnest) both refer to these often lethal contests.

[44] By titling his 1606 fencing book *Scola, overo teatro*, Giganti highlights the fluidity between the school and the space of the theater or fencing hall (*teatro* means both).

his sword and come into measure. Alfieri writes that the fencer can feint to A, then lower the hand to B to wound in the chest, or feint to A and cut the leg in C with a retreat.

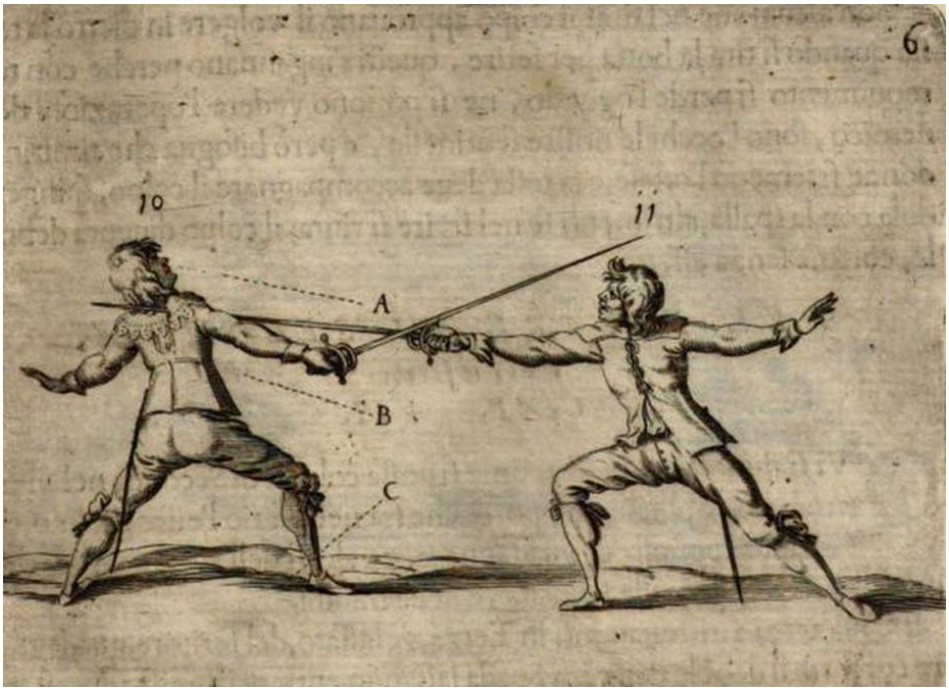

Figure 3. Alfieri, Francesco. The feint, "Del ferire di seconda e di Piè fermo," *La Scherma,* 1640. Engraving. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, digitized by Google Books.

That masters still felt the need to defend the ethics of the feint well into the seventeenth century is suggestive of their cultural freight. On the practical rather than the moral side of the issue, masters such as Capoferro who focus more on the dueling field and less on a student's performative ability warn against using the feint except in very restricted situations because it gives up a tempo and exposes the fencer to being hit with a counterattack in a serious encounter: "Feints are not good because they lose tempo and measure...if you feint outside of measure, it does not convince me to move, but if you feint in measure I will hit you while you are feinting" (29). The feint's riskiness is part of its elegance, but its successful execution calls for a careful reading of the context and its stakes – the genre of the match.

The art of combat, like visual and literary art, occurs in different genres: the point-of-honor duel, the tavern brawl, and the public display of skill in a contest all have different conventions, and solicit different advice from masters. In 1553, Agrippa's watershed *Trattato* was printed with its lethal, thrust-oriented, streamlined system. Similarly, Saviolo advises fencers never to spare the life of a friend when they go to the dueling field. [45] Many masters writing at the turn of the sixteenth century de-emphasize performance, labeling flashy, entertaining actions as too risky. The play element is never completely eclipsed by this increased interest in efficiency and lower-risk actions, however. In 1619, Giovanni Gaiani discusses the difference between school and field, raising such questions as what to do when performing in front of a monarch and how to fence one's own student in front of his friends and family.[46] Gaiani's Puritan English contemporary, Joseph Swetnam, though not a playful author by any stretch of the imagination, advises a number of similarly non-lethal tactics so as to avoid imperiling one's own soul.

Some fencing genres, such as the point-of-honor duel, follow a similar temporal logic to that of revenge tragedy with an emphasis on drawing attacks through feigning an opening that one is then prepared to counter. Revenge drama employs a recursive and amplifying temporality – avengers suspend action to wait for the best moment for

[45] While we do have records of English fencing performances in courts, they do not occupy the same social role as fencers and fencing masters in the Italian tradition. Traditional English prize fighting is a primarily middle-class occupation regulated by the guild system. Italian fencing focused more on founding schools that often had noble clientele, or in tutoring in individual aristocratic households. During Shakespeare's lifetime, some English parents adopted these practices and introduced Italian fencing tutors, but others like George Silver decried Italian influence as unpatriotic and unmanly. Silver memorably terms the Italian weapon of choice, the rapier, a "bird spit" and complains that Italian fencing techniques are transforming mature men into youths and brave men into cowards.

[46] For more on Gaiani and non-lethal contests, see Piermarco Terminello's "Giovanni Battista Gaiani (1619) – An Italian Perspective on Competitive Fencing" on the historical martial arts blog, *HROARR,* at *hroarr.com*

condign revenge, which they actively prepare for by recreating the original scene of the crime in some way. This recreation varies from Hamlet's *Mousetrap* play to Vindice's elaborate poisoned skull, but they all incorporate an element of return with excess. Feints, in contrast, tend to occur in non-lethal training bouts at fencing schools and at public performances. They are risky, flashy maneuvers which rely on misdirecting the opponent's attention so that the fencer can hit in an unexpected play.[47] In this way, they tend to follow the comic mode. Deceptive temporal manipulation in comedy more often relies on misdirection than pretended weakness – the crossdressing heroine rather than the mad avenger.

The art of defense in *As You Like It* brings with it a digressive timing that dilates the pace of the plot. There are certainly several ways to account for the play's odd timing. For instance, Jay Halio argues that Arden's sprawling forest pace is a necessary tempo foil to the tempo of city and court life – Arden's timelessness "links life in Arden with the ideal of an older, more gracious way of life that helps regenerate a corrupt present" (197). Maurice Hunt suggests that classical and religious senses of *kairos* motivate sequences in the play, as characters mature and learn to seize opportunity at its ripest moment.[48] To these, I would add that the shift in timing occurs as a formal reflection of the play's interest in the sporting elements of deception: when fencing makes its way into the literary it is often in relation to the discipline's techniques of dissimulation. Changes in tempo (in this case, the narrative timing of the plot) are crucial to crafting an effective feint. In the wrestling scene at the beginning of *As You Like It,* Oliver uses the modality of playful performance common in English prize fighting to cover up a more profound

[47] This is a trend rather than an absolute distinction – there are instances of masters advising feints for lethal dueling situations and for countertime being used in more performative situations.

[48] Hunt, Maurice. "*Kairos* and the Ripeness of Time in *As You Like It*"

form of "wiles and new deceits" with his attempt on Orlando's life. The play does not simply divide court and country into scenes of deception and sincerity, however. Throughout the play Orlando is introduced to the ways in which being a courtier is about practiced, timely feigning – Castiglione's *sprezzatura*. In what follows, I will look at how the movements of the characters, their entrances and exits, as well as their words exemplify feints on a non-linguistic level, while their wordplay on themes of time and dissimulation verbally mimic the delivery of the feint.

"Swashing and a martial outside": Disguise and Self Performance

Shakespeare collapses verbal and non-verbal modes of interaction throughout *As You Like It*, especially around love and play. One of Rosalind's first lines involves the sport of falling in love. Her conversation with Celia about the figurative sport of amorous conquest is immediately followed by an invitation to see a wrestling match. The sport metaphors continue throughout her courtship, with Orlando first "throwing" Rosalind's heart by throwing Charles, then Rosalind's beauty turning Orlando into a jousting target. Rosalind laments "Sir, you have wrestled well, and overthrown / More than your enemies" (1.2.219-29). Orlando remonstrates with himself after Rosalind's greeting and departure, saying: "Can I not say 'I thank you'? My better parts / Are all thrown down, and that which here stands up / Is but a quintain, a mere lifeless block" (12.215-17). This interaction reveals the extent to which the non-verbal expression of sports and combat is linked with the verbal expression of love and love poetry in the play.

That Rosalind and Orlando are rendered speechless reflects the play's larger engagement in body language. Orlando goes from boasting about "not being yet breathed," or out of breath from strenuous exercise, to losing all of his verbal ability.

Charles cannot speak after he is thrown, foreshadowing the figurative throwing of Orlando's heart a few lines later. Duke Frederick cites Rosalind's reticence as evidence for her untrustworthiness. Given no reason to exile Rosalind due to her behavior, he construes her silence as deceptive, telling Celia "[s]he is too subtle for thee, and her smoothness, / Her very silence, and her patience / Speak to the people, and they pity her" (1.3.71-73). The nonverbal language of sports comes to fill the lacuna left by these silencings.

Scholars have long recognized the importance of feigning to *As You Like It,* but often assume negative connotations. Kuhn, for example, writes that "Feigning, poesy, and lying are all in league with flattery, that staple of court life and courtly love which is exposed in the play" (48). While this association is certainly present, it does not represent the full spectrum of the play's engagement with what Castiglione terms "comely dissimulation." Orlando's education, in large part, involves learning to more artfully deceive (as we will see in the forest banquet scene) and to allow himself to be deceived (as in his courtship with Ganymede).

The formal properties of the wrestling match reflect the play's central concerns around courts, courtiership, and the true meaning of nobility.[49] As early as 1606, Fabris deprecates physical contact in a fencing match because touching the opponent leads to wrestling, and wrestling is a degeneration of true fencing.[50] However, he treats it himself

[49] As Gina Bloom emphasizes, the formal qualities of specific games matter because "different games call for unique competencies in players and in spectators of games" ("Spatial Mastery" 6)

[50] "[N]ondimeno, chi ha la vera maniera se bene adopra la mano parta la spada, e ferisce di tempo, il che è bene saperlo fare per poterlo usare in caso di neccessità mà non per fondamentavole, come di sopra l'habbiamo accennato, chi sà l'effetto, quale puo' nascere da una mano può meglio conoscere il contrario, che è di bisogno, ma' per vera regola non dee mai metter la mano in opera se non quando può giungere al ferimento, overo alle prese per venire poi alla lotta materia non spettante à noi, che vogliamo solamente trattare delle diffuse, de i' modi di ferire, & del vantaggio dell'armi, e non del lottare ancorche qualche volto accada per accidente, si come nel fine del libro ne diremo pure qualche cosa, mà quando si viene à

in a number of plays (sequences of attack), and he admits that it has its place as part of a long tradition of foundational combat training. In earlier Italian manuals and in contemporary English and German-language manuals, wrestling was often taught first as part of the art of defense rather than a lower-class alternative to it. Castiglione recommends wrestling, though for more pragmatic than artful reasons, saying that "it will serve his turne greatly, to know the feate of wrestling, because it goeth much together with all weapon on foote" (53). Orlando, like the sport of wrestling in which he excels, occupies a somewhat uncomfortable position. Noble, martial, and manly? Or peasant-like, brutal, and uncouth?

Rosalind, at least, is filled with admiration for Orlando's youth and skill. As she wishes Orlando good luck, fully expecting him to be disabled or killed in his wrestling match with Charles, she alters a common conversational formula to Orlando's situation: "Hercules be thy speed" (1.2.175). Rosalind's transformation of the more common "God speed thee" is significant. "Speed" denotes success and good fortune as well as velocity, and "godspeed" was a common way to "express a wish for the success of a person who is setting out on some journey or enterprise" (OED def 1). Rosalind's unconventional appropriation of the formula draws attention to the multiple senses of "speed" as noun and verb. While today the term has undergone significant semantic narrowing to refer mostly to a measure of the quickness of movement, in Shakespeare's day "speed" encompassed fortune, skill, context, and timing.[51] In this adapted formula, Rosalind links

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termini tali già si hà scorso il pericolo maggiore, del quale è più neccessario trattarne per insegnare à passarlo sicuramente, e con danno del nimico."

[51] Most commonly at the turn of the seventeenth century, to speed is to succeed or prosper. However, Shakespeare also uses the term to refer to "an evil plight or awkward situation" in *The Taming of the Shrew* (7b). Further, the term can refer to one being prepared or equipped – "skilled or versed in something." Together with skill, fortune, and social context, the word has the more familiar modern connotations of velocity or swiftness, as well as that of timing – bringing an early end to a matter.

together the sportive qualities of the wrestling match and the play's later concerns around speed in poetry, love, and social interaction.[52]

Both Rosalind and Orlando treat dissimulation as a generative process rather than a vice responsible for the downfall of a golden age. They react to their banishments by strategizing how they will survive, setting up an elaborate game of make-believe before they even leave their courts. In this way, they reflect the ideal courtiership as they learn to project the fiction of selfhood across various contexts.[53] Rosalind's fiction centers on constructing a "swashing and a martial outside" through props and performance. She plans to place a "gallant curtal-axe" upon her thigh and a "boar-spear" in her hand to hide the "woman's fear" in her heart (1.3.111-14). She renames herself Ganymede, which, as has been commonly noted, emphasizes the indeterminacy of her gender and her availability as a love object. However, Jove's cupbearer is also a displaced participant in the court of Olympus. Kidnapped by Zeus from his task of sheep-tending on Mount Ida, Ganymede is the inverse of Rosalind. Where Rosalind is forced to move from the court to the pastoral, Ganymede travels under duress from the serene pastoral to the dangerous court of the gods. Meanwhile, Orlando contemplates whether he should beg for food or "with a base and boisterous sword enforce / A thievish living on the common road" (2.3.33-34). Orlando's words foreshadow his actions at the forest banquet, sketching out

[52] Donn Taylor's work on time and occasion approaches the question of time in terms of growth to maturity. He argues that Shakespeare envisions time as "a phenomenon which exists objectively," but one which is perceived differently by different characters in varying stages of personal development. He discusses *kairos* and the gradual merger of the imagery of Fortune with that of Occasio to argue that the play uses the metaphor of growth to ripeness to reflect the proximity of Occasion. I agree that this background of character development is important for reading how time operates in *As You Like It*, but I would like to discuss the seizure of ripe times in terms of the social landscape of the play as well.

[53] As Cynthia Marshall points out, Rosalind later falls into an error deprecated by the courtiers. Princes should not undermine their authority through participating in masquerades as themselves because it confuses their political authority with the fiction of play. "When Rosalind, disguised as Ganymede, masquerades her own role with Orlando, the flexible, contiguous, and collapsible boundaries of play and reality are displayed" (282).

the two paths he sees as available to survive. Ultimately, Orlando takes neither of these routes, but adapts to the circumstances he finds in the forest by beginning his training as a courtier.

"The countenance of stern commandment": Orlando's Feint

In Act 2 of *As You Like It*, Orlando displays his skill at reading and adapting to situations in a different social context than the wrestling ring when he crashes a forest banquet of exiled noblemen. Simulating a threat, Orlando approaches with a commanding countenance and a drawn sword, ordering "Forbear, and eat no more!" (2.7.88). His victims, far from exhibiting fearful compliance, calmly critique his feast etiquette. Duke Senior speculates as to whether the interloper is a "rude despiser of good manners" or someone made desperate by circumstances (2.7.92). Orlando immediately recognizes that his initial tactic will not work under these circumstances, and he quickly shifts to verbal methods as he explains that he is "inland bred" and not generally given to such uncouth behavior (2.7.96). Ultimately, however, Duke Senior's dignified insistence that he will only share his meal if Orlando asks nicely for it prompts Orlando to put away his sword in embarrassment and apologize, saying:

> I thought that all things had been savage here,
> And therefore put I on the countenance
> Of stern commandment. But whate'er you are
> That in this desert inaccessible,
> Under the shade of melancholy boughs,
> Lose and neglect the creeping hours of time
> If ever you have looked on better days,

If ever been where bells have knolled to church,

If ever sat at any good man's feast,

If ever from your eyelids wiped a tear,

And know what 'tis to pity, and be pitied,

Let gentleness my strong enforcement be,

In the which hope I blush, and hide my sword. (2.7.106-117)

Orlando's interruption and apology encapsulate the larger themes of timing and feigning fundamental to the comedy's treatment of courtiership. Shakespeare imagines social awkwardness as a species of untimeliness – an integral part of the education of a gentleman being to know how to read context and decide when to speak as much as what to say. Just as important, however, is the ability to adapt midway through a course of action based on the new information acquired. Orlando initially bungles the tempo of this forest interaction when he attempts to intimidate at an inappropriate time. When Orlando realizes his mistake, his new tactic is to use an apology to deliver an implicit critique, reversing his out-of-placeness at the banquet feast and replacing it with the strangers' temporal and spatial dislocation.

Orlando identifies the forest courtiers by their temporal mismanagement. They intentionally neglect time's "creeping hours" rather than seizing or making time. Whereas in *Titus Andronicus* Titus uses deception to generate *tempi* of opportunity from his opponents, the passive forest court of exiled noblemen seems content to be suspended in time. Orlando's "If evers" highlight this sense of temporal dilation. The hypotheticals roll out, sonorously mimicking the knolling of the church bells he invokes. However, where church bells mark the passage of time, in this speech Orlando co-opts their rhythm to

formally reinforce the sense of suspension he crafts. Not coincidentally, these themes of timing – poor social timing, indifference to opportunity, and the "if"s" pausing of time – are caught up with questions of disguise and misdirection, as Orlando assumes the wrong countenance for the occasion. This scene demonstrates how dissimulation is not confined to either the court or the forest. In the wrestling match, Orlando disguises himself as well, as a person of lower class. This deception does not deceive Charles, but does allow him to enter the context in the first place. In the scene of the forest banquet, he continues to disguise himself, this time as a fearless and violent bandit. Later, the fiction of selfhood he projects will shift again as he defines his courtly identity through his love for Rosalind.

Orlando's intrusion enacts the structure and timing of the feint in addition to highlighting time as a theme. With sword drawn, he offers an initial threat. However, based on his adversary's reaction, he quickly adapts to the situation. In this way, he follows the advice of masters like Meyer and Silver who advocate "eyes-open" feints. The initial attack is as much of a probing action as it is the first part of a compound attack because it attempts to provoke a response that Orlando is prepared to counter. This kind of feint stands in contrast to the one described by Johann Georg Paschen in his 1661 *Short Though Clear Description Treating of Fencing on the Thrust and Cut:* "The feint must also be made swiftly, and thereon you must thrust however possible. Then, when you make a feint, you must not wait on whether the adversary parries or not, but thrust in the weak, as you have already decided for yourself" (4). Both models of feinting have their own appropriate contexts based upon the conditions of the match and the opponent. Orlando's feint, while still more showy and dangerous than non-feinting attacks attack, is

of a more conservative variety of feint. Because the situation is, for him, a life-or-death encounter (he must get food to keep his elderly servant from starving), he uses the feint with adaptation. However, the kind of feint Paschen advises is a better display of virtuosic *sprezzatura* because it is made with full speed and commitment. Having already timed the adversary's parries and predicted the likely response, the fencer barrels through at full speed. If the attacker has guessed correctly about the adversary's response, s/he gains an advantage because the momentum of the feint is not checked midway through to perceive the enemy's reaction. If the prediction is wrong, then the attack ends in spectacular failure. It is this second variety of feint Rosalind employs.

The play's movement from Orlando's skillful footwork in the wrestling ring to the stumbling feet of his poetic meter represents his overextension as he attempts to adapt to the expectations of the forest court. Orlando's inept versifying occupies much of 3.2, as Rosalind and Touchstone read and comment upon the poetry Orlando has carved into trees. Touchstone describes Orlando's poetry as "the right butterwomen's rank to market" – that is, the insubstantial chatter of a group of women. He follows it up by describing the next poem as "the very false gallop of verses" (3.2.85-86, 101). Touchstone's criticism equates speed-as-swiftness to superficiality and ineptness. Mistakes in metrical timing – what Rosalind describes to Celia as verses which "had in them more feet than the verses would bear" – come from an overcrowding and artificial acceleration (3.2.151-52). Her poetic critique reflects a contemporary debate in fencing about the role of the feet during the feint. Some masters taught students to strike the floor with the lead foot in order to accentuate a feint. Others criticized this extra beat – the technique places in the phrase of combat more feet than it can safely bear. For instance, Fabris writes:

> Some tend to feint more with the feet rather than the sword: they stomp their foot on the ground in order to make as big a noise as possible, startle the opponent and wound him in the tempo of his jolt. This may be successful indoors, especially on a wood-paneled floor, where the 'boom' may be great enough to indeed upset the opponent; but certainly not outdoors where the ground does not make noise. Besides, an experienced fencer will get the better of this feint no matter what the surface is: if you stomp your foot while out of measure, he will know that your sword is too far; if you do so in the measure, he will use your movement as a tempo to wound you *or trick you with a feint of his own*, in which case your stomping the ground will get you wounded, since you cannot defend an opening without creating another. (6, emphasis mine)

Indeed, Rosalind does take the tempo Orlando gives up as he overextends himself through his poetry in order to instigate her own playful feint of her own – the giant "if" of the Ganymede love game, where Orlando acts as if the shepherd boy is his beloved. Orlando and Rosalind/Ganymede's first discussion is about the different modalities of a lover's time, and s/he draws him into the competition of her love game. However, Rosalind is not in full command of the footwork of love either. When Celia informs Rosalind of the verse's author, Rosalind's amusement quickly turns to the irrational and impatient behavior of a too-eager lover as well. She continually interrupts Celia's account of having seen Orlando, until Celia remonstrates "I would sing my song without a burden; thou bringest / me out of tune" (3.2.225). Musical timing joins the meter of poetry and the antagonistic timing of the court as instances as tempo in Arden forest.

Good tempo in poetry, as in the art of defense, is not so much a fast pace but rather the ability to recognize a quality of time, to seize the opportune moment.

Where Touchstone critiques the speed of Orlando's poetry, the normally censorious Jaques unexpectedly finds something to admire in Orlando's verbal celerity. Jaques describes Orlando's wit as "made of Atalanta's heels" (3.2.253). Reinforcing the verbal and non-verbal aspects of courtly fictions of selfhood, these heels resonate with both Orlando's poetic (and physical) feet as well as "the swift foot of time" Ganymede later evokes (3.2.27). While current discussions of theatrical gesture and embodied cognition often focus on the hands, for early moderns the feet were also key in both the reception and delivery of sensory information. As Natasha Korda points out, "The epithet 'treading the boards' (or the stage), which has long been synonymous with the actor's art, suggests the reliance of that art upon footwork and footwear" (86). Orlando's fast feet feature centrally in how others define him via his poetry as well as his athletic skill. Jaques's, for instance, alters Rosalind's invocation of Hercules's speed with that of Atalanta's, and the sport of wrestling with that of racing. Hercules's wrestling match with Antaeus is decidedly martial, consonant with the courtly atmosphere that made a competitive sport into an assassination attempt. Atalanta's open challenge to marry any man who can beat her in a race follows the later thematics of the play, with love cast as competition rather than life-or-death struggle disguised as sport.

"If this be so": Feints and Stichomythia

The final act of *As You Like It* contains a scene that has often been read as a variety stichomythia, the Greek dramatic technique of witty one-line sallies and rejoinders. Four characters on the stage echo one another in sighing after someone else

until Rosalind, disguised as Ganymede, ends each exchange in an inside joke with the audience. After Ganymede shows Phoebe's love letter to Silvius, Phoebe comes storming back on stage with Silvius trailing behind her. When Ganymede tells Phoebe to look at Silvius and love him, Phoebe orders the shepherd to explain what it is like to be in love.

SILVIUS: It is to be all made of sighs and tears,

And so am I for Phoebe

PHOEBE: And I for Ganymede

ORLANDO: And I for Rosalind

ROSALIND: And I for no woman. (5.2.74-79)

This pattern is repeated twice more in response to Silvius's different propositions. The effect is an incantatory rhythm. Rather than a traditional stichomythic exchange of parry and riposte, this one seems strangely slippery and circular. Characters are not given a clear adversary to defend and rebut, but instead are each sighing in displaced attention from their lovers. None of the characters directly confront each other and debate until this repetition:

PHOEBE [to Rosalind] If this be so, why blame you me to love you?

SILVIUS [to Phoebe] If this be so, why blame you me to love you?

ORLANDO: If this be so, why blame you me to love you?

ROSALIND: Why do you speak too, 'Why blame you me to love you?'

ORLANDO To her that is not here nor doth not hear. (5.2.93-100)

Even here, rather than responding to the pointed question of each lover, the characters redirect their inquiries to someone else. These repetitions at first seem to be far away from the witty parry and riposte banter that is stichomythia's primary definition.

However, there are two ways in which the exchange does evoke a logic of combat. The first is the sideways movement of the feint, as the characters ignore their lovers and address their beloveds. The second is the rhythmic nature of the scene. Skillful combat requires extensive reading and preparation before the moment of the attack to ensure the adversary is taken by surprise and to make an accurate prediction of what the adversary is likely to do. Thus, it would be a familiar pattern to the audience to see a long back-and-forth (or, in this case, round-and-round) sequence of probing intention and setting a pattern before launching an attack. The attack then breaks the tempo set previously and catches the adversary off guard. If this exchange is the preparatory pattern-setting phase of making an attack (in this case a feint), the next lines show the first movement of the compound attack:

> ROSALIND : [to Silvius] I will help you if I can. [To Phoebe] I would love you if I could. – tomorrow meet me all together. [To Phoebe] I will marry you if ever I marry woman, and I'll be married tomorrow. [To Orlando]: I will satisfy you if ever I satisfy man, and you shall be married tomorrow. [To Silvius] I will content you if what pleases you contents you, and you shall be married tomorrow. (5.2.101-105)

These hypothetical statements act as the first movement of a feint with each person she addresses. She makes a proposition that, given what they know, seems agreeable. In the second movement of the feint, Rosalind reveals herself at the four-way wedding.

Before the wedding, Touchstone mirrors Rosalind's interplay between verbal and physical modes of posturing and deception as he initiates a long discussion on dueling conventions. In most productions, his speech is cut because it seems tangential to the

action of the wedding plots. However, it is actually directing the audience to that intersection of verbal play and swordplay in the courtier's context. Touchstone is given over thirty lines to showcase his understanding of the degrees of a lie, during which a legalistic quibbling overtakes and derails any real feat at arms. He describes these degrees progressively as:

> The first, the Retort Courteous; the second, the Quip Modest; the third, the Reply Churlish; the fourth, the Reproof Valiant; the fifth, the Countercheck Quarrelsome; the sixth, the Lie with Circumstance; the seventh, the Lie Direct…all of these you may avoid but the Lie Direct; and you may avoid that, too, with an 'if'…Your 'if' is the only peace maker; much virtue in 'if.' (5.4.83-92)

This list shows an escalating sequence in response to a continued provocation (in this case, a badly-cut beard). Touchstone picks up on the play's investment in the hypothetical "if" as a means of holding time suspended, but he applies it to the complex etiquette governing the point-of-honor duel, which included written *cartelli* of challenge posted in public places as well as verbal gymnastics such as Touchstone ridicules. While the intersection between verbal and non-verbal expression in Orlando and Rosalind's courtship moves from Orlando's wrestling to his poetry, in this list the verbal never quite makes its way into the non-verbal expression of aggression. Written challenges like the *cartelli* worked frequently to endlessly displace the actual moment of combat. In this way, Touchstone's disquisition on the lie seven times removed evokes the kind of courtiership Rosalind calls upon earlier in the play – the cowardly man who pretends to be brave by strapping on weapons and using a bragging voice, hoping to "outface it with

their semblances" (1.3.114). Self-construction is laudable, but also open to ridicule. Castiglione's ideal courtier and Touchstone share many points of similarity. They both are driven by the need to project their best attributes and to perform in social situations according to their scripted roles, and they both need to have an acute sense of timing and judgment. For Touchstone, to know when to back down from a verbal sparring contest, for Castiglione to show oneself to best advantage in order to be better placed to advise one's prince.

Duke Senior's reaction to Touchstone in the play's final scene reinforces the sportive, dissimulatory logic of the play with a reference to hunting. The Duke remarks approvingly that Touchstone "uses his folly like a stalking horse, and under the presentation of that he shoots his wit" (5.4.95-96). That is, Touchstone's foolishness serves as an instrument of misdirection and distraction meant to lull unwary game into complacency while the fowler creeps into measure. The tactic is intended to be seen through by those who, like Duke Senior, are really in the know. In this sense, Touchstone is *As You Like It*'s unlikely model of *sprezzatura*. The combination of the role of courtier and the role of fool in their common ground of virtuosic dissimulation resonates with the strategies of the commercial theater. Early modern drama finds itself facing charges which range from the profaning of sacred things through their representation on stage to the cultivation of the audience's lewd and idle propensities in its representation of the non-sacred. Timing as a mode creating and managing opportunity and finding an appropriate moment is a religiously and politically charged challenge.

When viewed in terms of the play's timing rather than its role in furthering a linear plot, Touchstone's seemingly digressive disquisition gains new significance. The

indirection discussed in this monologue reflects the timing of the feint, with its deceleration and sideways movement. The relationship between theater, fencing, and courtiership goes back to the play function of *poiesis.* However, the court of Arden forest does more than contrast artificial and complicated court life to the authentic and simple pastoral life. Instead, the pastoral works to train potential courtiers in the right kind of deception.

Given the patterns set by the rest of the play, the wedding should be the triumphant touch to the line opened by the feint's misdirection. However, Rosalind keeps up her verbal feinting long after there seems to be any plot-motivated reason for it. As Rosalind solves the paradox of satisfying Silvius, Phoebe, Orlando, and her father, she still uses conditional language: "I'll have no husband if you be not he" (5.4.112). Even after the conclusion of the play, when the player playing Rosalind speaks the epilogue, she continues: "If I were a woman I would kiss as many of you as had beards that pleased me" (14-16). Why the continued insistence upon the conditional? If we add fencing to our analysis of the play's *poiesis*, an answer comes from the aesthetic values of English fencing. As Silver articulates: "men may with short swords both strike, thrust, false and double…when two fight with short swords, having true fight, there is no hurt done." That is, in the ideal fight between skillful opponents, misdirection, interception, defensive and offensive measures are perfectly matched and so continue endlessly, to the pleasure of those watching. Taking its cue from good fencing performances with long phrases of action, the final hit delayed as the spectators watch and listen to the clash of weapons, *As You Like It* is reluctant to end its play with the audience.

In this chapter, I have focused on how social timing was imagined in a courtly context by Shakespeare and Renaissance fencing masters. The logic of the feint and of the conditional "if" inform the games of *As You Like It*, from the opening wrestling match to the wooing game to the verbal games of the *cartelli* described by Touchstone. When we read *As You Like It* in terms of tempo, it sheds new light on the already well-recognized central themes of tardiness or haste. What theories of social timing bring us that other theories of time as measurement, occasion, or theme do not is the performative element of bodies arranged in space and the strong cues of how those bodies interact to suspend, manage, and generate tempo. In turn, this helps us to better understand the verbal play of timing which reflects this structuring property and adds to the generative interaction of words and bodies on stage via Touchstone's digression, Rosalind's diction, and the games played by all the characters.

In the comic mode, we have seen different ways in which cunning is enacted on stage. For Titus, dissembling madness poises him to attack Tamora when she overextends. Rosalind, in contrast, signifies cunning as a crossdressing heroine. Crossdressing is closely tied to fencing as Rosalind straps on a sword to project a threatening countenance. The sword does not signify just another piece of costuming, but is one of an array of cues to represent deception in non-verbal as well as verbal ways. The structure of the hypothetical "if" linguistically follows the pattern of the feint, but the costuming reinforces the playful misdirection visually. Shakespeare uses similar cues in another famous crossdressing comedy, *Twelfth Night.* Swords and swordplay here too are intimately tied with questions of dissimulation and comic cunning in Viola's comic near duel.

Rhythms of words and gestures carried with them ethical, pragmatic, and social nuances that deeply informed the early modern stage. In “Play Time” and “Killing Time,” we have seen two recommended methods for managing the opponent’s time. “Killing Time” explores the contratempo tactic of feigned weakness that is prominent in revenge drama, while “Play Time” investigates the ways in which feints structure *As You Like It.* While it is true that we do not need fencing theory to talk about general properties of deception and types of dissimulation such as feigned weakness versus active misdirection, what fencing brings us is a specific context complete with embodied timing and games in which to situate these considerations. These particularities significantly impact our reading of dramatic pacing across an entire play, and even across whole genres. The context also gives us the tools to understand individual scenes that to modern critics appear unmotivated and digressive.

Chapter 3: Wasting Time with Puritans in Bartholomew Fair

Introduction

[T]he exercising of weapons…gives a perfect judgement – George Silver

Early modern playgoers loved to see people trying to make decisions. The more obscure the evidence and the higher the personal cost to the men on stage the better. This fascination with seeing players probe to learn more, act on imperfect knowledge, and give rationales for their verdicts is evident in the proliferation of courtroom scenes in early modern drama. From Shakespeare's *Merchant of Venice* and *Measure for Measure* to Jonson's *Volpone* and Tourneur's *Atheist's Tragedy,* judges and magistrates provide a source of suspense and entertainment that exceeds their role in recapitulating plot points and providing an outside perspective on the events of the play.[54] Scenes of judgment still capture the imagination of audiences today. Reality court shows like "Judge Judy" capitalize on this interest, but it is easy to overstate the similarity between these modern-day forms of judgment and those in the early modern theater. The former is indebted to a post-Enlightenment model of judgment while the latter emphasizes a subtly different model in which *judgment* is synonymous with *skill*.[55]

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[54] Judgment in these plays often went hand-in-hand with changing ideas around the role of grace in Christian doctrine, and Protestant and Catholic theology on the subject has been a well documented source of influence in early modern theater. However, less attention has been paid to how judgment was envisioned as a skill, not simply an innate characteristic, which is the focus of this chapter.

[55] The post-Enlightenment model of judgment most familiar to modern-day readers casts judgment as a moment of discernment against a backdrop of baseline shared understandings. In Kantian aesthetics, this backdrop incorporates a universal model of beauty, which makes it possible to determine artistic merit. In *Critique on Judgment* Kant posits 'judgments of taste.' These judgments are rooted in subjectivity and universality. The subjectivity of judgment means that individual responses to beauty are not empirical but come from feelings of pleasure or displeasure. With the universality of judgment, in contrast to individual preference, the person passing judgment feels that others ought to share the same reaction to whatever it is he or she is judging. In Kant's view, these judgments of taste may be rooted in pure reason and therefore transcendental – what he terms a "taste of reflection." Or, the judgments of taste may instead be particular, embodied, and based in sensation – the taste of sense. In both these types of judgments, the role of skill is diminished or eclipsed altogether. For transcendental, reflective judgments, the appeal to a shared,

Judgment was used interchangeably with *skill* in works like Thomas Wilson's *Rule of Reason* (1551), where he summarizes: "Hitherto we have treated of the former parte of logique called in latine *Iuditium,* that is to say, judgement, or skill, to declare the nature of everye worde severallie, to set up the same words in a perfecte sentence, and to knitte them up in argument" (36). An early Anglo-Norman borrowing from French, the earliest senses of *judgment* in England are forensic or theological – the judicial decision or the judgment of God.[56] Soon thereafter followed the more general sense of judgment as a faculty of discernment, and, though aesthetics, the "science of art," was not fully articulated in the early modern period, by the turn of the seventeenth century the field's forerunner, a literary-critical judgment, was central to Jonson's poetics.

In this skillful sense, judgment prominently features in disciplines from theology, to fencing to rhetoric. Masters of divinity, fencing masters, and rhetoricians expended considerable ink on whether judgment is inborn or trained. Like the conventional debate between sword and pen, both extremes are straw-man arguments and the truth lies somewhere in between the poles of the false dichotomy. That is, while judgment has its origins in instinct, this instinct is less important than the process by which judgment can be learned and exercised. As the art of knowing *when*, theatrical judgment in particular is a kairotic ability. Recent discussions of judgment have focused on how it functions as the art of knowing *which* – navigating individual instances against broader precedents in legal terms, and the determination of artistic merit in aesthetic terms. However, for early

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universal frame of reference lessens the importance of individual ability. For the embodied judgments enabled by the taste of sense, the durational aspect becomes less urgent – speed of discrimination and response time to aesthetic pleasure is not one of Kant's central concerns. However, in the early modern period, judgment was conceived of as a temporal process subject to training.

[56] "judgement | judgment, n." *OED Online*. Oxford University Press, June 2016. Web. 22 July 2016.

modern authors such as Jonson and Shakespeare, the *when* is at least as important. Castiglione exemplifies this preference through an exchange between two characters in *The Book of the Courtier* - Aretino and Federico who view judgment as, respectively, inborn and subject to training. Aretino argues that you cannot isolate timing from judgment and train it accordingly. Responding to Federico's practical list of ways to cultivate the skills of courtiership, Aretino asks: "Who is so foolish, when he knows how to do something, as not to do it in his own good time?" He continues: "all that need be said, I think is that the courtier should possess good judgment….If he does have it, then he needs no other instructions about how to practice what he knows at the right time and in the proper manner" (112-113). However, by the end of *The Book of the Courtier,* the consensus seems to be that to reach one's full potential, one cannot "rely on Nature alone" but one needs the "assistance of skillful practice and reason to purify and enlighten the soul…virtue may be defined more or less as prudence and the knowledge of how to choose what is good and vice as a kind of imprudence and ignorance, which leads us into making false judgments" (292).

Because early moderns understood judgment as an embodied capacity, they sought somatic ways to train it. For instance, George Hale's 1614 pamphlet, *The Private Schoole of Defence,* argues that men should learn to fence for three primary reasons: necessity at home (self defense), public good abroad (war), and exercise.[57] Hale's explanation of the last reason captures a historical sensibility regarding disciplines of

[57] Hale, like Swetnam three years later, addresses the pamphlet to Prince Charles. Its full title is: *The Private Schoole of Defence: Or the Defects of Publique Teachers, exactly discovered, by way of Objection and revolution. Together with the true practice of the Science, set down in judicious Rules and Observations; in a Method never before expressed.* With the death of Charles's older brother, the pious and athletic Prince Henry in 1612, perhaps proponents of the art of defense felt threatened by different, unknown leadership.

mind and body: "[N]o other recreation carries so generall imployment both of body and minde, as this doth: for here the Feete labour equally with the Hands, the Eye and the Judgement walke together." Perception and decision are not simply sequential or joined together, but they are mutually engaged in a quotidian physical activity (walking) with implications of motion, speed, and direction. In fact, Hale grounds his entire definition of his subject matter in terms of judgment:

> [T]he Science of Defence is at Art Geometricall, wherewith the body is guarded with a single or double weapon from wrong of the Offender, or the greatest disadvantage of his Offence. The Parts thereto required are Strength and Judgment. Under Strength are comprehendeth swiftnesse of motion and quicknesse of eye…Under judgment falls the considerations of Time, Place, and Distance." (Definition of the Science, n.p.)

Judgment, in Hale's (and, I will argue, Jonson's) sense, is a specifically temporal and corporeal skill. It is corporeal because, trained via physical exercise as embodied knowledge, judgment functions as more than an abstract, conceptual activity. Judgment is temporal because it operates as a skill of timing as well as one of discerning. [58] Bringing the *when* to the fore in this chapter will allow me to highlight judgment's role as an ongoing process of sorting and discerning among particularities.[59] More than a verdict or an innate characteristic of critic or magistrate, judgment is an ability that was trained through a variety of linguistic and non-linguistic means.

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[58] For more on the temporal dimensions of embodied skill as it pertains to the English theater see Tribble, Evelyn and John Sutton, "Minds in and out of time: memory, embodied skill, anachronism, and performance," *Textual Practice* 26.4, 2012, 587-607.

[59] In this paper, I will be treating a necessarily limited scope of judgment as a species of embodied cognition. For more a broader range of judgment's significance in the early modern theater, see *Shakespeare and Judgment*, Ed. Kevin Curran. Oxford UP, 2016 and Klotz, Lisa. "Ben Jonson's Legal Imagination in *Volpone*," SEL, 51.2 (2011): 385-408.

In Jonson's proto-aesthetic framework, taste is a governing metaphor for the capacity to judge drama. Rather than the dead metaphor later characterizations of *taste* assume, in the early modern period taste is decidedly corporeal and often cast in contemporary medical treatises as a subspecies of *touch*. Drawing from an Aristotelian model of sensation, medical theory of the early modern period equated the two. As Carla Mazzio points out, "the ideas and the vocabularies of taste and touch were deeply entwined in anatomical theories of [the Renaissance], and this partnership extended into the domain of metaphor in the realms of music, rhetoric, and theology" (170). Moreover, contemporary plays such as Thomas Tomkins's 1607 *Lingua, or the Combat of the Tongue and the five Senses for Superiority* draw from Plato's *Gorgias* where "cookery (as opposed to medicine) is established as an art of deception and explicitly aligned with the deceptive powers of rhetoric" (Mazzio 168). These connections suggest why Jonson imagines his plays as banquets, with different dishes to tempt different palates. The activities of cooking and eating capture an important aspect of Jonson's literary theory in its corporeality and potential to dissimulate.

Several scenes from the quarto (1601) and folio (1616) versions of Ben Jonson's *Every Man in His Humor* and contemporary fencing treatises work to unfold the workings of this corporeal and temporal model of judgment on the early modern English stage.[60] I will examine three moments of reflection on judgment: Knowell Senior's reminiscences about his own school days, Kitely's soliloquy on jealousy as a pestilence

[60] The quarto version was first performed in 1598 and it was published in 1601. The folio revision is difficult to date with certainty. The *Cambridge Edition of the Works of Ben Jonson* editors summarize the "choices most favoured in the ongoing debate are some time around 1605 and 1612" (620). My goal is not to attempt to resolve this long-standing debate, though I do believe some of the topical references I examine in this paper support an earlier date of revision. Unless otherwise noted, I will be working from the *Cambridge Edition* folio of the play.

infecting imagination, judgment, and memory, and the fencing lesson through which Bobadill claims to teach Matthew judgment of the eye, hand, and foot. This last example will open to broader questions about Jonson's sources, as I argue that he draws from the methodology of fencing pedagogy for judgment inculcation. I will end with some thoughts on the avenues of literary analysis opened by this corporeal and temporal model of judgment.

Bartholomew Fair's chaotic structure reflects Jonson's continued interest with the model of judgment I have described and his experimentation with the theater as a site of temporal and subjective knowledge production. As Jonson moves from the paradigm of humors to that of vapors, he shifts his focus from ontology to activity. While humors characters are legible as such because of their stability – a choleric character will be angry and a melancholic one will be sad – with the vapors characters of *Bartholomew Fair*, Jonson foregrounds flux and action instead. The volatility of the vapors paradigm reflects that of the fencing exchange, and both draw from competitive interaction to achieve their goals. The ending puppet show returns to Jonson's concern with the theater as a site for the contagion of poor judgment, but not to reject altogether the potential of emotional contamination. Busy's tirade against the theater – in both the content and the tempo of its delivery – encapsulates the special ways in which Jonson envisioned the theater as touching its participants.

While previous chapters have focused on the dissimulatory techniques of contratempo and the feint, this chapter centers the counterattack. Counterattacks are actions that interrupt the attack of the adversary. In contrast to the more defensive parry and riposte, they are made in one tempo, or movement. In *Every Man In*, the

counterattack is what calls to accountability the empty flourishes and half-hearted attacks Bobadill makes against Squire Downright. It comes to stand for a method of cutting through affectation with a well-placed and well-timed counterassault. In *Bartholomew Fair,* Jonson mirrors the setup and execution of a counterattack in Lantern Leatherhead's rhetorical tactics.

Exercises in Judgment in *Every Man In His Humor*

Every Man In begins with a competition between a well-educated young man, Edward Knowell (Kno'well), and a friend, Wellbred, over who can come up with the funniest "gulls." Edward's entry is his cousin Stephen, a typical social-climbing country buffoon. Edward's friend and competitor presents Matthew, a "rhymster" (amateur poet), and Bobadill, a *miles gloriosus* who styles himself as a fencing teacher.[61] The pairing is not coincidental: the rest of the comedy takes up a playful coupling of pretension in poetry and in fencing versus downrightness. As Wellbred enjoys the hospitality of his sister, Dame Kitely, and brother-in-law, Thomas Kitely a little too much, Thomas Kitely asks Wellbred's half-brother, Squire Downright to intercede. In his mission, Downright several times crosses paths with Captain Bobadill, whom he finds deeply irritating. In the last act, Justice Clement forces Bobadill and Matthew to wait out in the cold while all the other characters enjoy a final feast. Throughout, Brainworm, the servant Knowell Senior employs to spy on his son, causes chaos by inciting the worst traits of the unbalanced humors characters.

[61] Jonson frequently uses ancient comedic character types like the *senex amans* or the *miles gloriosus* and reworks them in creative ways to comment upon contemporary happenings. This practice is explained in *Timber,* where he writes that people should use the ancients as guides rather than unthinking imitating their conventions.

In the years that elapsed between the quarto (1601) and the folio (1616) publications of *Every Man in His Humor,* Jonson made several changes to foreground the theme of judgment, including the addition of a prologue and the alteration of a soliloquy on education. The folio's new prologue takes up questions of taste, as Jonson questions his audience's literary judgment. Notably, Jonson also altered the play's setting, moving the action from Florence to London. This may be because, as his career progressed, Jonson realized that the comedy's strength lay in its "social immediacy."[62] The change in setting augments the connections audiences might draw between the behavior of the humors characters and that of recognizable people in the playgoers' neighborhoods. The plot is minimal in both quarto and folio, acting primarily as a catalyst for the actions of the play's out-of-balance characters.

Knowell Senior, the nosy father who opens the play by surreptitiously reading a letter addressed to his son, first introduces the theme of judgment in the folio version of *Every Man In*. His uses the term to refer to discerning among topics of study, perhaps the most rarified sense in which "judgment" circulates. However, the embodied and temporal complexity of judgment is present even in this context. The folio's introduction of judgment early in the play represents a significant departure from the character's lines in the quarto version. In the quarto, he reminisces of his schooldays and his subsequent dismissal of poetry as an important discipline by saying "But since, experience hath awaked my *spirits* / and reason taught them how to comprehend / The sovereign use of study" (1.1.19-21, emphasis mine). By the folio revision, these lines have been reworked: "But since, time and truth hath waked my *judgment* / And reason taught me better to distinguish / The vain from th' useful learnings" (1.1.22-24 emphasis mine)

[62] Donaldson, Ian. *Ben Jonson: A Life*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2011. 129.

While in the quarto, experience is a causal agent which awakens the spirits, working alongside the capacity of reason to educate, in the folio Knowell's judgment is awakened instead of his spirits. Knowell imagines judgment in biological terms, asleep and dreaming of poetry versus awake and productively at work on important topics. The spirits-to-judgment shift retains the same effect because "spirits" and "judgment" both carry a psychosomatic charge. Spirits, in a humoral medical framework, have much in common with the concrete workings of an embodied judgment. As Gail Kern Paster and others have noted, the spirits of the early modern stage are embodied, responding to material pressures and exerting their own influence within the body.[63]

The two terms – spirits and judgment – also carry distinct connotations. When Jonson casts spirits as partnering with "reason" in the older man's education, Knowell is directed to a singular "sovereign" use of study. When judgment is instead reason's ally, Knowell takes a more pluralistic approach to worthwhile knowledge. Reason's development in this case allows Knowell to engage in active, ongoing processes of discernment across multiple topics. This on-the-ground, contingent characterization of judgment reflects the ways in which it acts in a forensic capacity, mediating the many different kinds of cases that join together to form common law. When Jonson shifts from a singular, sovereign study to this dynamic and multifarious context of distinguishing vain from useful, he begins to align judgment with an emerging early modern proto-aesthetic sensibility that valued the particular.

Where Knowell Senior's soliloquy on education presents judgment as a capacity for discerning among particularities, the play's *senex amans,* Kitely, highlights

[63] For more on the embodied aspects of terms such as passions, spirits, and humors, see Paster, Gail Kern, *Humoring the Body: Emotions and the Shakespearean Stage,* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004.

judgment's temporality. For Kitely, judgment does not exist in a binary stasis, awake or asleep. Instead, it engages in constant activity as a psychophysiological process and is susceptible to sickness. Similarly, memory is subject to all the same vulnerabilities as a plague-infected body – it is not a recorded set of past perceptions stored in a mind safely separated from the body's vagaries. Unlike many literary aging and jealous husbands, Kitely is fully conscious of his own infected judgment. Kitely complains (in the same language in both quarto and folio versions) that jealousy infects:

> The houses of the brain. First it begins
> Solely to work upon the fantasy
> Filling her seat with such pestiferous air
> As soon corrupts the judgement: and from thence
> Sends like contagion to the memory,
> Still each to other giving the infection,
> Which, as a subtle vapour, spreads itself
> Confusedly through every sensitive part
> Till not a thought or motion in the mind
> Be free from the black poison of suspect. (1.4.211-220)

Jealousy, for Kitely, is a vaporous disease that sickens first fantasy, then judgment, then finally memory. By the final phase of the "pestilence," fantasy, judgment, and memory are engaged in an endless recursive loop of poisonous suspicion. Jealousy begins a kind of destructive athletic training. Where good exercises encode efficient reflexes into the body's muscle memory, this circuit from perception, to discernment, to remembrance amplifies the pestilence's power through iterative training.

By figuring jealousy as a vapor, Jonson brings to the fore an adversarial quality he sustains throughout the play. Kitely is the only character in *Every Man in His Humor* to use the word, but elsewhere in his oeuvre Jonson uses "vapor" as a near synonym for "humor," though with a key difference. Vapors, unlike humors, are transitive – one can vapor *at* someone else. This means, among other implications, that vapors offer a better framework for hostile interaction – vapors can assume their own antagonistic agency, within the body (as in Kitely's soliloquy) or against someone else's vapors (as we will see in *Bartholomew Fair*). For Kitely, the vapor of jealousy is waiting to pounce upon an unwary fantasy and to so infect a vulnerable judgment.

If Kitely's struggle reflects an internal combat between a pestilential jealousy and the houses of his brain, Matthew's lesson with Bobadill and Bobadill's encounter with Squire Downright externalize the combativeness inherent in learning and exerting judgment. Bobadill, the play's *miles gloriosus,* complains to his friend, the plagiarizing and affected "rhymster" Matthew: "I have no spirit to play with you; your dearth of judgement renders you tedious" (1.5.125-126) as he abruptly ends a fencing lesson. By citing Matthew's judgment as the principle hindrance to a worthwhile match, Jonson expresses the contemporary understanding of fencing competition as a venue for exercising and displaying the skill. When Matthew, eager to prove himself, asks for another pass, Bobadill responds in more explicitly corporeal terms: "Why, I will learn you, by the true judgement of the eye, hand, and foot, to control any enemy's point i' the world" (1.5.133-134). Rather than an abstract process of discernment occurring in an individual and bounded mind, judgment here is characterized as what we might today call proprioception – the body's ability to sense the relative spatial and temporal positioning

of its members, to coordinate movement, and to maintain a sense of self. The foundational elements of Bobadill's promised lesson combine the judgment of the eye (vision), the hand (touch), and the foot (spatial awareness of the distance between self and adversary).

Though Bobadill represents Italianate affectation, some of his most ridiculous fencing pedagogical moments are accomplished using an English instructional idiom. When Bobadill promises to teach Matthew judgment, he draws on the vocabulary of English fencing books of his period. While Italians typically discussed *tempo* (opportunity), *misura* (distance), and *modo* (technique), English authors tended to focus more on judgment, time, and space. For instance, Silver names judgment as one of the four grounds, or guiding principles, of fencing because: "Through judgment, you keep your distance, through distance you take your time, through time you safely win or gain the place of your adversary."[64] Judgment acts as an overarching capacity to mediate mutually dependent aspects of kinesthetic reasoning. In contrast to Continental fencing traditions, Silver uses two spatial terms – distance and place – to define the fundamentals of fencing. This specialized vocabulary allows him to discuss spatial awareness with more precision. He describes the ability as both an intersubjective and dynamic function of the space between self and adversary (distance), and as the ability to recognize an opportune moment, or placement of weapons and bodies (place).[65]

The English were primed to think of fencing specifically as a means of training judgment, as the title of the first printed fencing manual in English suggests. Giacomo di Grassi's 1570 *Ragione di Adoprar Sicuramente l'Arme si da Offesa, Come da Difesa,*

[64] Silver, George. *Brief Instructions Upon My Paradoxes of Defence,* 82.

[65] This level of nuance would have been familiar and useful to early modern players as well in their interactions with spectators, props, and other people on the stage.

Con un Trattato dell'inganno, & con un modo di essercitarsi da se stesso, per acquistare forza, giudicio, & prestezza was "Englished" by I. G. and printed in 1594 under the title of *Di Grassi his true Arte of Defence, plainlie teaching by infallible Demonstrations, apt Figures and perfect Rules the manner and forme how a man without other Teacher or Master may safelie handle all sorts of Weapons as well offensive as defensive: With a Treatise Of Disceit or Falsinge: And with a waie or meane by private Industrie to obtain Strength, Judgement, and Activitie*.[66] Di Grassi treats quarreling and gentlemanly fights, but he relegates sport-related fencing (of which "falsing," or feinting, plays an important role) to the second part of his treatise.

Di Grassi's more militaristic approach to fencing may be what made his manual so appealing to the Englishman who picked the Italian's book to translate. In late Elizabethan England, strains of Italian courtesy culture vied with a native chivalric nostalgia for ascendency. I. G., in translating di Grassi, appropriates the cache of Italian cultural commerce. However, by choosing to translate a manual that is militarily-focused, he dodges some of the most obvious criticism that is later leveled at authors like Saviolo, for whom gentlemanly quarreling plays a more central role. The translated title, by adding "how a man without other teacher or master" and "a waie or meane by private industrie" emphasizes an auto-didactic function that is not present in the original Italian. This serves to further stress the mundane, self-directed avenues toward personal enskilment the book aims to teach. Judgment, in this model, is actively trained rather than occurring against an *a priori* ground of shared truth.

[66] The English title indicates an awareness of a growing market for works focusing on self-teaching. It makes a significant claim that is absent in the Italian title, suggesting that the person who reads this book will need no other teachers. This claim is pedagogically unusual – as Sydney Anglo notes, "it was extremely rare for any of [the masters] to claim that written words would, of themselves, suffice to make a student proficient in the martial arts" (*Martial Arts* 30).

That judgment was the expected purview of fencing masters is further suggested by a complaint di Grassi levels: "I doo not remember that ever I saw anie man so throughly indewed (*habbia posseduta*) with this first part, to wit, Judgement, as is in that behalf required" (np). For di Grassi, fencing should ideally train judgment as well as blows and wards. At first glance, the translator's word choice of "endued" choice seems to reinforce a model of judgment that is given all at once, or that exists outside of time altogether. The sense of "endue" most commonly used today refers to giving or endowing – i.e. a king endued with responsibilities. Di Grassi's translator uses the term to evoke a constellation of meaning around digestive, gustatory and instructional metaphors, however: "take in, 'inwardly digest" (OED II.2.b) or to "lead on; to bring up, educate, instruct" (OED III.4). For I.G., taste testing – becoming endued with judgment through training– complements more abstract sciences such as physics and geometry.

Fencing authors at the end of the sixteenth century became increasingly explicit about the discipline's role in navigating between theory and practice. Di Grassi complained that fencing masters get stuck on the instances rather than teaching students underlying principles which can develop their judgment. Di Grassi's avenue toward gaining his readers *judgment* begins with laying out a series of rules based in geometry and physics. The principles include such admonitions as the "right or straight line is of all other the shortest" and "he that is nearest hitteth soonest." These rules, he argues, may be refined by Art – that is, more speedily and precisely brought into action and trained into muscle memory – but they are also instinctive. A fencer caught without a sword would still have the instinct to defend an attack with whatever comes to hand:

> For a man at al times (when he is occasioned to strike or defend) doth not carrie these weapons about him, but is constrained to defend himselfe with a peece of wood from a Iavelyn, with a stoole or fourme from a sworde, or with a cloake from a dagger, in which case men commonly use many other things not ordained for that purpose, doing that therewith which naturall instinct teacheth them. And this instinct is no other than the knowledge of the rules before laide down: which knowledge, because it is naturally graffed in the mynde, is something the rather holpen and qualified by Arte, and maketh a man so assured and bolde, that he dares to enter on any great danger, and judgeth (when he seeth the qualitie of the weapon, and the fyte wherein it is placed) what it maye do, or in how many waies it may either strike or defend. From which judgement springs the knowledge of all he hath to do, and how he hath to handle himself to encounter any danger." (n.p. "The meanes to defend")

In this example, di Grassi asserts that judgment – instinct augmented via art – is at the heart of fencing learning, rather than the memorization of different tricks and techniques specific to a weapon. Judgment is encoded into the muscles of the body as fencers practice adapting to unexpected situations. This encoded judgment informs psychosomatic (in a humoral system) capacities like boldness, or courage. More than simply revealing one's moral qualities, fencing actively shaped values and personalities.[67]

[67] A specific example of what training judgment looks like in a fencing lesson: An instructor starts by giving the student a simple situation to deal with in one specific way. For example, when the instructor opens a line, the student will lunge and hit. Then, the instructor introduces a second scenario – now when the instructor attempts to engage the blade the student will attack with a disengagement. Drawing from these two possibilities – the straight thrust or the disengagement – the instructor then prompts the student to choose between the scenarios based on the instructor's random movement. As the student improves, always disengaging when the instructor attempts to engage and doing a straight thrust when the instructor opens to invitation, the instructor adds false movements and more randomness along with footwork to move in and out of measure – that is, a position where the instructor can be hit with a lunge. Now the fencer not only has

Masters developed dynamic drills aimed at developing faster response time and encoding into muscle memory the right movements to make based on visual and tactile stimuli. Even more than reacting quickly to immediate stimuli, however, judgment is the capacity to interpret and defeat an adversary's strategy. In contrast, rote drills which involve only the memorization and repetition of predictable movements are easy to teach to a large group, but not effective in training the kinesthetic reasoning required in a match.

Di Grassi's claim that training judgment is fencing's purview may seem a little hubristic or out-of-touch to today's readers, as sports like fencing are displaced into extracurricular activities rather than featured at the core of humanistic curriculum. However, such a vision of fencing's pedagogical capacity is not restricted to Italian fencing masters, but finds its way into innovative educational tracts well into the seventeenth century such as John Milton's *Of Education* (1644). Milton recommends that students exercise – preferably with weapons – for at least an hour and a half before lunch each school day:

> The exercise which I commend first, is the exact use of their [the student's] weapon, to guard and strike safely with edge, or point; this will keep them healthy, nimble, strong, and well in breath, is also the likeliest means to make them grow large and tall, and to inspire them with a gallant and fearless courage, which being tempered with seasonable lectures and precepts to them of true fortitude and patience, will turn into a native and heroic valor, and make them hate the cowardice of doing wrong. (13)

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to make the correct choice but recognize when the conditions are favorable to attack. Judgment in fencing involves the skill of holding oneself in readiness, in the correct position, to be able to exploit the opportunity when it is presented.

This exercise serves not only as a kind of recess, but also represents his humanistic investments in a pedagogy which stresses the use of personal experience to test out received truths. For instance, Milton recommends students spend as little time as possible learning grammar, and that they immediately apply the theoretical principles they have memorized to the praxis of reading and writing in the target language. In the same way, fencing provides a crucible of at-speed decision making which forges students' courage and ethics along with their athleticism, as it not only reveals one's moral qualities, but also actively shapes values and personalities. To this end, fencing masters developed dynamic drills aimed at developing faster response time and encoding into muscle memory the right movements to make based on visual and tactile stimuli. Even more than reacting quickly to immediate stimuli, however, judgment is the capacity to interpret and defeat an adversary's strategy. In contrast, rote drills which involve only the memorization and repetition of predictable movements are easy to teach to a large group, but not effective in training the kinesthetic reasoning required in a match.

Downright Blows, Downright Prose

Given these ways in which Jonson's contemporaries understand judgment and its training, it is no surprise that he uses a pair of fencers to illustrate the literary values embodied by his staccato, neostoic prose style.[68] Bobadill and Squire Downright exemplify two postures of self-representation: affectation and plainness. Squire Downright is the renamed Giuliano, who is glossed in the quarto version as "a choleric older half-brother" to Kitely's brother-in-law, Wellbred. By the folio edition, he has become a "plain squire." None of the other humors characters undergo such a substantial

[68] For more on Jonson's literary aesthetic, see Jonas Barish, *Ben Jonson and the Language of Prose Comedy*, New York: Norton, 1960.

shift in how they are introduced to Jonson's readership. Why foreground the character's directness over his irascibility? I believe Jonson's decision is, in part, prompted by the notoriety occasioned by Silver in his vocal defense of the "downright blow" (and, by extension, the strong, downright English spirit). Silver published his own bitingly funny at satirical polemic against Italian "strangers" who, like Bobadill, promise to teach true judgment but actually teach bad habits, at some point between *Every Man In*'s first quarto and folio performances. While it is not certain if Jonson personally read Silver's 1599 *Paradoxes of Defence*, Jonson at least draws on the same stories and incidents, which shows that the conflicts between Silver and the Italians were such common knowledge as to make for good fodder for the playwright's inside jokes.

Saviolo has already been widely acknowledged as the butt of Shakespeare's "very butcher of a silk button" joke in *Romeo and Juliet.*[69] Silver records another incident of Saviolo's accessorizing that was notorious in Elizabethan England but has been largely forgotten today. Like Shakespeare, Jonson mines Saviolo's boasts for comic material. *Every Man In* establishes early on Squire Downright's irascibility and Bobadill's bluster, as Bobadill casually insults Downright by calling him a "scavenger," or street cleaner. Downright, to his continued vexation, keeps encountering Bobadill throughout the play but is unable to engage him in combat. Finally, Downright finds Bobadill on a London street accompanied only by the useless Matthew. When Bobadill refuses to draw his sword, Downright beats him with a stick instead as the Italian cowers and pleads. Rather than avenging himself in through single combat, Bobadill goes to Justice Clement to press a suit against Downright.

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[69] See Turner, Craig and Tony Soper, *Methods and Practice of Elizabethan Swordplay*. Carbondale: Southern Illinois UP, 1990. 52.

This incident closely follows similar sequence of bragging, beating, and threatened litigation in *Paradoxes of Defence.* Silver claimed that Saviolo "gave out speeches" that he had been "thus manie years in *England*, and since the time of his first coming, there was not yet one Englishman, that could once touch him at the single Rapier or rapier and Dagger" (68). An unnamed gentleman in London whose "English hart did rise" to hear the boasts of Saviolo sent for Bartholomew Bramble, a "verie tall man both of his hands and person, who kept a schoole of Defence in the towne" to take Saviolo down a peg (68). At Saviolo's school and in front of the gentlemen he taught, Bramble first invited Saviolo to drink wine with him and then to play at rapier and dagger. Saviolo refused rudely, saying "by God me scorne to play with thee." Bramble, "being more then halfe full of Beere" boxed Saviolo's ear and knocked him into a "Butterie hatch." All Bramble's abuse was not enough to provoke Saviolo to settle the question in a manner anticipated by the English. Instead, Saviolo threatened Bramble with legal action, saying "I will cause to lie in the Gaile for this geare, 1. 2. 3. 4. years" (69). Disgusted, Bramble threw his beer on Saviolo and called him a coward. Apparently Saviolo never rose to the bait – Silver reports that the next day, Saviolo met Bramble in the street and said, "you remember how misused a me yesterday, you were to blame, me be an excellent man, me teach you how to thrust two foote further then anie Englishman, but first come you with me" (70). Saviolo makes a show of offering mysterious Italian tricks to traditional English fencers. The lesson is only spoken of, however, as they step not into a fencing school but rather a nearby mercer's shop. Perhaps realizing, as Bobadill does not, that his case will not fare well before an English judge, Saviolo attempts to buy off Bramble with a dozen of the shop's "best silken Pointes" (69). This story shows how the influence

between fencing manuals and drama was a two-way street. Silver reproduces a foreign accent with broken English as he writes Saviolo's dialogue, emphasizing the distance between Saviolo's urbane claims to teach Englishmen to fight well and obey a strict code of honor, and his own hypocritical and deficient physical presence mediating Italian courtly ideology. Silver's phonetic imitation of Saviolo's accent in writing is strongly inflected by the oral medium of drama and verges on theater itself.

Scholars from an English cultural tradition around fencing such as Aylward and Anglo are understandably inclined toward the perspective of George Silver, but the situations arising in *Every Man In, Paradoxes of Defence,* and in Italian-authored sources like *His Practice* are more complicated than a simple story of boastful cowardice and condign punishment. The English believe in a rough-and-ready sort of accountability – a "put up or shut up" mindset, which is reflected in the way fencing figured as a social practice and public spectacle in England. In contrast, the Italians tried to settle things through legal channels whenever possible. The duel over the point of honor frequently ended in death and they were an aristocratic offshoot of the privilege nobles could invoke of saying "no" to the sovereign in very limited cases.[70] Such meetings were, at least in theory, constrained to situations in which it was one man's word against another's. In such a context, a duel was supposed to show who was telling the truth, much like the point-of-honor duel's predecessors, the trial by ordeal and the trial by combat.[71] This cultural difference led to conflict, particularly given Bonetti's readiness to go to the Privy Council and his patron Sir Walter Raleigh for redress. For instance, in a letter to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London, we learn that:

[70] See David Quint, 1997.
[71] See Frederick Bryson

> He is daylie vexed by the common fencers of that Cittie because he professethe the use of weapons, they are therefore required to call suche of them before them as the said Roche shall name unto them to have offered him violence, and thereupon as they shall fynde them culpable to see them effectuallie punished, and bandes to be taken of them for their good behaviours hereafter towards hym, that he be no furder molested by them, but that without impediment he maie teache the use of weapons within his howse to such gentlemen as shall like to resorte unto him. (334)[72]

Bonetti's legal navigations disgusted contemporary Englishmen who thought of fencing matches as contests, which, in Silver's words, had the ideal of no harm being done to either fencer.

Jonson incorporates what must have seemed to him as a byzantine legal excuse into his representation of Italian fencing master, Bobadill. Jonson contrasts this wordy cowardice to the behavior of the English squire, Downright. [73] The *Cambridge Edition of the Works of Ben Jonson* cites the tune "Downright Squire" as a source for the character's name. While this song may have been on Jonson's mind as he penned the city comedy, Silver is a more direct and proximate source, though this connection has yet to be recognized. Silver was infamous for tangling with foreign Italian fencing masters and for promoting the "downright blow" as opposed to their "school tricks" or "juggling gambols." Silver wrote *Paradoxes of Defence* as a confutation of a new, Italianate system

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[72] *Acts of the Privy Council of England Volume 10, 1577-1578*. Ed. John Roche Dasent. London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1895. *British History Online*. Web. 24 March 2017. http://www.british-history.ac.uk/acts-privy-council/vol10.

[73] J.D. Aylward has touched upon some of the correspondences between *Paradoxes of Defence* and *Every Man In* as they concern Rocco Bonetti in "The Inimitable Bobadill," *Notes and Queries* 195 (January 7, 1950).

of fencing *en vogue* in London among the elite and would-be elite. He argues against taking up the "vices and devices" (techniques and weapons) of Italian fencers. He singles out the rapier for censure as an encroaching Italian device – for instance, Silver calls the longer, thinner, and primarily thrust-oriented weapon specialized for civilian combat a "bird-spit." As for vices, he denounces Italian footwork for attacks. Instead of the *passado* (a running attack that likely appeared suicidal to the English, whose footwork is more cautious) or the *stocatta* (a direct thrust delivered with a lunge), Silver recommends instead *gathering* (pulling the body backwards to safety) and the *downright blow.*

English fencing of the 1590s had much in common with Italian fencing of the 1550s-70s: both schools emphasized cuts, used wards which were less point-forward, and employed shorter, broader swords than the rapier. Rather surprisingly, given Silver's polemical opinion, it was not uncommon to look to Italian sources like di Grassi's 1570/1594 treatise to articulate favored English techniques. For instance, Hale uses di Grassi's advice to describe proper preparation and execution of the downright blow. The illustration shows how to defend against the downright blow – or, in di Grassi's terms, the *mandritto*:

Figure 4. Di Grassi, Giacomo. The downright blow, "De i modi del difendere," *Ragione di adoprar sicuramente l'arme,* 1570. Engraving. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, digitized by Google Books.

These images show two potential attack trajectories. In the C-to-D and D-to-E trajectory, the fencer on the right lowers his sword for a thrust. In the A-to-B trajectory, he delivers a downright blow. Di Grassi makes clear from this image that the attack is direct and fast – the arc inscribes a more efficient path to the adversary's target than do the lines representing the thrust.

The technical dimension of "downright" is usually eclipsed in glosses of the *Every Man in His Humor*, with the term being generalized to its etymological cousin, forthright. For instance, Nicholson suggests "Downright, as his name implies, is a straightforward honest English gentleman, with as much idea of turning sharper or cheating a man as the north and south have of coming together, perhaps less" (423-424). [74] However, in Jonson's day, the term had a specialized meaning as the opposite of a

[74] Nicholson, "'Rook,' its Double Metaphorical Signification in Elizabethan English" *Notes and Queries* (1889) s7-VII (179): 423-424.

reverse, or backhand blow. In *Arden of Faversham,* for instance, Michael questions "Who would not venture upon house and land, / When he may have it for a right-down blow?" (1.174-175). As the synonymous substitution of right-down for downright suggests, the most important aspect of the cut is its directionality and force. A downright blow is a strong attack with the blade traveling from high to low, right to left. The blow is proverbial in Jonson's time for a way of striking whose ferocity could invalidate the pretensions of fencing "experts" in favor of the common laborer. Silver writes:

> Our plowmen have mightily prevailed against them, as also against masters of defence, both in schools and countries, that have taken upon them to stand upon school tricks and juggling gambols. Whereby it grew to a common speech among the countrymen "Bring me to a fencer, I will bring him out of his fence tricks with down right blows. I will make him forget his fence tricks, I will warrant him." (Admonition, n.p.)

The Italian masters living in England may have judged downright blows to be simple, strong, and lacking in cunning. In some instances, it even seems like Silver is in agreement with them, as in the above claim where he taps into a strain of fencing anti-intellectualism to see this assessment in positive terms. However, this passage is not simply about opposing the complex with the simple, but about correctly reading intention and calling bluffs. Here Silver recommends downright blows as counterattacks. Rather than initiating an attack, in this case the "countrymen" wait for "fence tricks" – needless movements, flourishes, and posturing. Then, they deploy a downright blow to interrupt the frivolous motions.

The use of "downright" in the technical sections of fencing manuals shows other ways in which the term means more than straightforward. It was also popularly used as the first motion of a feint. Silver later cautions fencers to "take heed that [the adversary] deceives you not with the downright blow at your head" (BI). Swetnam (1617) writes in his staff section that a useful "falsifie" is to "proffer a downe-right blow at your enemies head, fetching him with a great compasse, so that it may seeme to your enemie, that you meane to strike him downe" then change the blow to a thrust at the last second. As this discussion suggests, Silver represents fencing throughout his books as mixing efficiency of motion with adaptability and cunning – qualities which seem on the surface to be at odds. His interest in the contraries of fencing theory and practice is, perhaps, why he names his book *Paradoxes of Defence* rather than *Simple Rules of Defence.*

For Silver and Swetnam, fencing offers an avenue of at-speed training in embodied judgment. Swetnam's "falsifie," what we could call now a feint (a simulated thrust or menace that so closely resembles a real attack that the adversary is forced to parry), is an especially risky and sensitive action because it relies upon fine gradations in timing. For example, when the fencer sees the adversary extend as if to cut his or her head, the fencer must both decide what to do (that is, parry immediately if the fencer believes it is a real attack or counterattack into it if the fencer believes it is a feint) and put that decision into action. As the fencer improves, so does his or her reaction time – judgment as a faculty of knowing *when* comes to the fore as a crucial skill.

Even when it is not the first movement of a feint, the downright blow can be a dangerous proposition if one is not reading the adversary accurately. To defend against the downright blow, di Grassi recommends the low ward because one may "very easily

withstand the downright blow, and the reverse by giving a thrust, for that he shall hit him first."[75] By reading the opponent's timing correctly, the fencer can take advantage of, or even generate, a lapse in the adversary's judgment. In this case, the mistake would be if the opponent misjudges both the distance s/he is from the adversary and the preparedness of that adversary. In these conditions, drawing back the sword arm to deliver a downright blow leads to the fencer's action being interrupted by the speedier straight thrust of his or her waiting adversary.

The characters' lessons in judgment are also lessons for the audience, as Jonson incites ridicule for what he sees as annoying and harmful social behaviors. Such pedagogical moments in *Every Man In* do more than reaffirm what we already know about the theater and its potential to educate audiences through examples and ridicule, however. They also give us some of the mundane, embodied ways in which exercises in judgment – whether through the art of poesy or the art of defence – develop literary judgment. Like the downright blow that can be a fully executed simple attack or a feint to the head with a change in target at the last second, a literary downrightness conceals within itself the potential for multiple meanings and dissimulation. This seeming plainness layered over deep tactical complexity was especially appealing to Jonson as he developed what Jonas Barish terms "antirhetorical naturalness" as opposed to Shakespeare's school of "rhetorical ornament" (2). Jonson's comic prose may at first seem simplistic. However, upon closer inspection, it is actually quite complex: his orthographic representation of a wide array of English accents, his sentence structure, and the interruptions he inserts into character conversations all point to a kind of English *sprezzatura* (practiced, spontaneous grace) that is both crafty and crafted.

[75] Di Grassi, 24

Vapors, Puppets, and Cognition in *Bartholomew Fair*

> When't comes to the *Fair* once, you were e'en
> as good go to *Virginia,* for any thing there is of *Smith-*
> *field.* He has not hit the Humours, he do's not know
> 'em; he has not convers'd with the *Bartholmew*-birds,
> as they say; he has ne'er a Sword and Buckler Man in
> his *Fair*. (Induction 7-11)

Among a litany of complaints about the quality of *Bartholomew Fair* recited by the putative stage-keeper, the play's sad lack of displays of fencing prowess heads the list. Jonson frequently employs fencing in his comic drama. In *Epicoene,* the noise of drums animates the soundscape as a parade of fencers march through London to attract an audience for a prize fight, and a long comic anti-duel sequence pillories social climbers. *Cynthia's Revels* satirizes the worst excesses of court flattery by following the conventions of a fencing prize fight but changing the weapons to courtly affectations and the combatants to vain courtiers. In *Every Man Out* Fastidious Brisk illustrates his foolishness by recounting, blow-by-blow, a duel that shredded his expensive clothes. Given all of these explicit invocations of fencing as a social practice, one might echo Jonson's stage-keeper and wonder where the Smithfield sword-and-buckler fights are in *Bartholomew Fair*. That is, why ground an analysis of how fencing informs Jonsonian judgment in a play where direct allusions to the practice are so sparse? I do so because judgment is nowhere more prominent as a theme than in *Bartholomew Fair,* and the adaptive, seemingly chaotic rhythms of the English and Germanic fencing phrase show

contemporary ways of thinking about plot and structure which motivate the movement of the comedy.

Bartholomew Fair is exceptional both for the number of speaking parts (thirty-six) and the length of the playtext (over 4,000 lines). The dizzying profusion of people, motives, and activities on stage in *Bartholomew Fair* stands in tension with its underlying careful construction. If there was ever a play that Jonson dashed off at the last minute, it was not this one. The play was commissioned to be performed in front of King James VI/I before it was a confirmed success in the commercial theater – as Donaldson points out, a most unusual act of trust in the dramatist. Like Castiglione, Jonson believes in deep preparation and training to give the impression of nonchalant, easy skill. The complex structure of the play and its seeming chaos is reminiscent of the daily bodily exercises he would have engaged in to corporeally encode instinctive movements.

The comedy involves a number of groupings of citizens and Fair folk enjoying the atmosphere (and navigating the perils) of Bartholomew Fair. John Littlewit, his wife Win-the-Fight, and her mother Dame Purecraft make up one family group. They are accompanied by Zeal-of-the-Land Busy, a hypocritical suitor of the widow Purecraft. Another group is comprised of the simpleton, Cokes, his tutor (who is entrusted with Cokes's special license to marry), Wasp, and his intellectually superior fiancée, Grace. Quarlous and Winwife are a couple of young men looking for an easy ride by marrying a wealthy widow. The fair centers on two structures, a booth with roast pig and beer and a puppetry show tent. The former is presided over by the corpulent and obscene Ursula, called the pig-woman, and the latter by the puppeteer, Lantern Leatherhead. Adam Overdo, a Justice of the peace, is so self-important as to disguise himself as a commoner

to root out crimes in the manner of a fairy-tale king. Throughout, characters get lost, get in fights, play games, and split off in groups of different configurations for various dubious purposes. The play ends with all the characters gathered at Leatherhead's booth to enjoy the final puppet show. Justice Overdo realizes he has been overly harsh and invites everyone back to his house for a feast.

As my summary suggests, the play's plot seems sporadic and episodic, as Jonson evidences more interest in following places and groupings of people than in developing a single line of action. Guy Hamel argues that the plot of *Bartholomew Fair* is so difficult to define because of the play's continuing "spur-of-the-moment elaboration" (65). Jonson's version of English *sprezzatura* demands a seeming spontaneity, which is based upon the play's muscle memory – that is, its deep temporal structure from which specific actions and reactions arise. Exits and entrances, the breakdown and reconstitution of various assemblages of fairgoer and fairfolk are more important to Jonson's dramatic experiment than a unified plot. Joel Kaplan describes this underlying organization as the "elaborate regularity in the play's handling of pacing and tempo" (141). I agree that much of the genius of *Bartholomew Fair* lies in the way it handles the tempo of character interaction. The play's unique tempo has not yet, to my knowledge, been connected to the theater as a site of subjective and temporal knowledge production, however. I will argue that fencing discourse's articulation of how sensorimotor mechanisms participate in memory retrieval and the perceptual experience of time sheds light on the game of vapors and the puppet show. Using these sensory cues, Lantern Leatherhead's puppet show assemblage invites Busy's attack in order to counter it with a prepared response.

The phrase of combat and the structure of *Bartholomew Fair* both promote flexible behavior and are built on a logic of disruptive and often antagonistic intersubjectivity. As the editors of the Cambridge edition note, *Bartholomew Fair* demands:

> [A] double vision, leaving us bereft of the characters' sense of certainty, but also without their blinkers. The induction requires and trusts us to respond flexibly…the play also encourages us to hold the 'discordant qualities' of incompatible meanings not in synthesis but in suspension, and it is exhilarating as well as disturbing to have our expectations and our judgement so disrupted. (266)

Much of the comedy's action takes place in the middle – the space of suspension. It is from this position that the play's interest in judgment is most clearly articulated. Flexibility, adaptation, and suspension, the traits here used to describe Jonson's dramaturgy, are hallmarks of German, English, and Spanish fencing pedagogy. Italians tended to think more in terms of setting traps that predicted an opponent's response two or three movements down the line. In contrast, other traditions tended to be more leery of predicting likely actions. Thus, they stress the suspension of judgment until the opponent reveals his final intention. However, authors like Silver and Meyer recommend adaptable tactics, such as Silver's "two-fold mind" (being prepared to fly in or out as soon as one perceives what the adversary is doing in response to one's movement) and Meyer's advice to take what the opponent offers rather than looking for an ideal scenario.

In his 1570 *Thorough Descriptions of the Art of Combat*, Joachim Meyer advocates a literal feeling out of the opponent's next movement conducted via blade contact, describing the cognitive work that occurs during this moment of contact in

sensory terms: “note here the word ‘feeling’, which means testing or perceiving, to find out whether he is hard or soft on your sword with his bind” (1.17V).

Figure 5. Meyer, Joachim. *Fühlen,* 25r, *MS A.4°.2,* 1560. Watercolor. Lund, Lunds Universitets Bibliotek.

In the image above, the sword acts as a cognitive prosthesis mediating timing and judgment. Through the strength of resistance met, the fencer predicts the opponent’s next movement and reacts accordingly. Single combat, particularly the point-of-honor duel, is frequently made to represent a model of autonomous subjectivity: two individuals square off to try their relative worth and prove falsehood or truth. However, though less familiar to us today, a systems-level approach to the fencing match was a customary configuration to early moderns. Terrain, time of day, length and type of weapon, and the opponent’s disposition as choleric or timid combine to form a complex and dynamic environment. Fencing bouts employ a distributed model of cognition which illuminates the training of timing and judgment at the level of practice. Because Jonson elected to show rather than

tell his audience about the aesthetic decisions that went into the play's rhythm, references to the logic of its flow are sparse. Fortunately, other sources such as Meyer and Silver's fencing treatises provide us with more details about the antagonistic structures from which Jonson draws.

Meyer, in writing about the temporality of combat, offers a more compelling plot structure for *Bartholomew Fair* than that of a traditional five-act play. Meyer is still deeply connected to the medieval manuscript tradition, and his pedagogical orientation is toward the particular and the contingent.[76] He remarks, "only the Market can instruct the Buyer" – since fencing occurs in context between two people, it is crucial to be able to respond appropriately and instantly to the situation as it unfolds (44).[77] Meyer gives a profusion of examples of techniques employed in different situations. I focus on the temporal terms he emphasizes in his discussion of initiative and timing: the before (*vor*), the after (*nach*) and instantly (*indes*). These time terms are linked to the concept of *fühlen,* or feeling, central to Meyer's thought. Via the sense of touch, the fencer predicts the adversary's intentions and adapts to them.

Meyer, like Aristotle, is interested in change between states as a way to think of time. Unlike Aristotle, this mutation between states (before and after) is non-linear and can flow both ways – before and after can bleed together because they are temporal terms that measure initiative as well as change. Meyer's treatment of time/timing illustrates the ways in which fencing time is conceptualized as an index of opportunity and initiative rather than only as a unit of measurement. He begins his discussion of time by laying out

[76] See Jeffrey Forgeng's introduction to *Art of Combat* for an analysis of Meyer's relationship to modernity and to the medieval manuscript tradition.

[77] All Meyer quotations are drawn from Forgeng's *Art of Combat* and are cited as this translation's page numbers.

an orderly beginning, middle, and an end to each *stück* (sequence of actions). However, within this apparent order is a knot of coexisting potentialities: for Meyer, the "now" of the bout is non-linear, before and after blend together and must be pried apart. The beginning of a device comprises the initial guard and cut. The middle is when the fencer responds to what the adversary does in response to the cut. The end is when the fencer withdraws safely without being hit. However, within this seemingly linear sequence, fencers can inhabit either the before or the after. Fencers are in the after when they are solely reacting to the opponent's maneuvers, for example wildly parrying a series of feints, or simulated attacks. Alternately, when the fencer has the initiative and can force the adversary to react, the adversary is now the one in the "after."

The balance between being ready to react to whatever your adversary does in the middle of the device's sequence and being able to force your adversary to react to you is delicate. Fencers, Meyer writes "struggle over the Before with their simultaneous devices and strive for mastery" (44). Meyer terms the middle the handwork and writes that here there is:

> [A] constant changing and transformation between the Before and After, for now your opponent gets it, now you in return. But he who has the After, that is, is so crowded upon that he must always parry, shall be well mindful of the word Instantly, and not forget it; for through it he must rush back to the Before, if he wishes to withdraw without harm. (69)

Timing here becomes spatialized, a contested battlefield. Moreover, during the same time unit, fencers actually inhabit different temporal positions based on their relationship to each other rather than an external measurement. All this is not to say that Meyer does not

believe in planning ahead. He affirms the importance of being able to generate kairotic moments as well as seize them through such measures as the "provoker, taker, hitter" attack combination. In this combination, the fencer throws an intentionally short attack at an opponent's open line, acting "as if you had overcommitted to your cut" (189). If the opponent is fooled and moves quickly to attack that opening, the fencer essentially parries and ripostes: "recover for the stroke, and cut out his incoming cut or thrust with your forte, or deliver a Suppressing Cut down onto it, depending on the situation...As soon as you have thus taken his stroke or thrust, then rush to the nearest opening with cutting or thrusting" (189). This sort of sequence is what modern fencing terms a "second intention" action. That is, the fencer does not necessarily expect the initial attack to hit, but rather to provoke a reaction the fencer is ready to counter. While it does rely on looking ahead, the present orientation is still noticeable. Context is crucial - the opening one makes depends on the circumstances, the defense used against the incoming attack differs based on the opponent's reaction. Meyer emphasizes that the fencer must judge "depending on the situation" in each instance.

Meyer's pedagogy is especially useful for Jonson in the context of the theater because of the way it incorporates sensorimotor mechanisms and the retrieval of memories. Additionally, the articulation of sword and hand offers a framework for hand-to-puppet connections. Recent work on embodied and extended cognition explores the ways in which the cognitive work can be "off-loaded to the body and to the environment in service of action, tool use, group cognition, and social coordination," blurring the "boundaries between brain areas, brain and body, and body and environment" (Teske 759). In Meyer's feeling, or *fühlen*, the sword acts as a prosthesis by allowing the fencer

to gather temporal information based on the softness or the hardness of the bind. The future is brought into the present via the sense of touch. Trained through numerous drills to respond in certain ways to certain types of pressure, the body carries memories built and deployed across time. In this sense, touch brings together both two fencers, and two temporalities, with the fencer in the before and the fencer in the after meeting during this connection.

Rather than building to a climax and a resolution, Jonson's play represents the interactions between the fair and its visitors in Meyer's sense. That is, they approach one another in the onset, meet in the middle, and spring back apart at the end (or end the *stück* with a touch). This is why the play has so few moments when the stage is clear. Clearing the stage provides a sort of punctuation that was made use of frequently by Shakespeare and other dramatists.[78] Such theatrical punctuation breaks into clean phrases a number of action sequences. By avoiding this strategy of structuring plays, Jonson offers an alternate model of plot and rhythm, one which recommends adapting in response to chaos, sensed via antagonistic moments of contact.

I do not mean to suggest that Jonson sat down with Meyer's text, read it in its entirety, and mapped the structure of the fencing phrases onto his own comic drama. Instead, I would like to point out that this movement from out of distance, into the contact of *fühlen* and its entailed decision point, and back out of measure describes one of several

[78] I am indebted to Hamel for this insight on theatrical flow. He observes that "In *Cynthia's Revels*…the stage is cleared only eight times, including act breaks. By contrast, in *Antony and Cleopatra*, Shakespeare's most interrupted play, the stage is bare thirty-five times" (49). Jonson, by avoiding clearing the stage during the first and usually the second act as well means that "the general movement involves a gradual enlargement of the number of persons on stage, a process that creates a sense of both continuity within the play and of cumulative complexity

ways early moderns understood judgment and plot. Jonson draws on this knot of time, judgment, and embodied practice to craft the action sequences that structure his Fair.

Every Pig-Woman in Her Vapor

Jonson's interest in using *Bartholomew Fair* to explore combative structure is evident in his invention of the "game of vapors." Throughout the comedy, Jonson trades his customary framework of humors for that of vapors. Vapors are like humors in that they are a representation of the physiological makeup of each individual – their aggression, melancholy, apathy, and optimism. Vapors, like the steam of Ursula's roasting pig, are distinct from humors because of the way in which heat (whether from sources such as lust or gluttony or from the smoldering bowl of a pipe) makes them rise. When the characters of the play are introduced to the heated pleasures of the Fair, their follies gain ascendancy. *Bartholomew Fair's* engagement with vapors begins with the horse-courser, Knockem's request that Ursula, whose pig and beer-selling booth is the center of the fair's vice, bring him a beer. Knockem uses "vapors" nominally as a synonym for bad temper, reproaches, or an expression of reluctance: "let's drink it out, Urs, and no vapors!" Later, Knockem expands the semantic range of the word by using it as a transitive verb – "Any man that does vapor me the Ass…I do vapor him the lie" when the citizens and fair-folk come together to participate in a "game of vapors." With this semantic flexibility, the term can allow players to vapor *at* each other, an important distinction from the work of the humors in other comedies.[79]

[79] See Robinson for a full account of the Fair's capacity to melt its patrons and release their basest vapors. Paster argues that vapors and humors are synonymous, and I agree that this is mostly the case. However, the greater mobility of vapors, and the way that the play uses vapors transitiviely, lend themselves better to the intersubjective antagonism thematic of *Bartholomew Fair.* See Paster, "*Bartholomew Fair* and the Humoral Body."

Scholarship on *Bartholomew Fair* has long recognized the importance of vapors to Jonsonian poetics, but so far interventions regarding vapors have read them primarily in terms of classical literary heritage or as a game to facilitate turn-taking, cooperation, and listening. Robinson, for instance, argues that "the center of structure and meaning of *Bartholomew Fair* lies in the symbolism of vapors that pervades the play's imagery, characterization, and action" (66). Gail Kern Paster also finds in the vapors of *Bartholomew Fair* a social commentary on civic life and the humoral body: "it is in his brilliant invention of the game of vapors – in which contradiction is the outer expression of the inward self's most fundamental need to declare itself separate and unique – that Jonson hits the humors indeed" (268). I agree with Robinson that Jonson draws from a strain of Aristotelian thought which understands the gradual growth of diverse parts into one whole as a mode of dramatic unity. The play's chaotic structure is integral, not incidental to its mission and thematics. I also agree with Paster that Jonson uses vapors, and particularly the vapor game, in *Bartholomew Fair* in the same way in which he uses humors in other comedies – that is, to symbolize embodied emotion. However, I would like to add that Jonson's poetics were influenced by contemporary structures of thought as well as classical theory and that he works in antagonism as much or more than cooperation. Thus, fencing discourse is a necessary supplement to both of these important aspects of Jonson's dramatic strategy.

The symbolic activity of *vapor* reaches its peak in the "game of vapors" in which Knockem engages a group of Fair patrons: Nordern, Puppy, Cutting, White, Mistress Overdo, and Wasp. As Ursula's booth opens, spectators see a tableau of characters "talking noisily" and argumentatively. Jonson glosses the game in a stage direction:

"Here they continue their game of vapours, which is nonsense: every man to oppose the last man that spoke, whether it concerned him or no." Edgworth and Quarlous, intent upon stealing the special license Wasp carries, enter and stand to the side, joining the theater audience as spectators. This show-within-a-show foreshadows the culminating puppet act, as all of the characters assume Edgworth and Quarlous's positions looking down at the puppet play's action. Wasp ventures a non sequitur, "Why I say nay to't," (4.4.22) which ignites the following argument.

KNOCKEM: To what do you say nay, sir?

WASP: To anything, whatsoever it is, so long as I do not like it

WHIT: Pardon me, little man, dou musht like it a little.

CUTTING: No, he must not like it at all, sir: there you are i'the wrong.

WHIT: I tink I be: he musht not like it, indeed.

CUTTING: Nay, then he both must and will like it, sir, for all you.

KNOCKEM: If he have reason, he may like it, sir.

WHIT: By no meansh, Captain, upon reason, he may like nothing upon reason.

WASP: I have no reason, nor will I hear of no reason, nor I will look for no reason, and he

is an ass that either knows any, or looks for't from me. (4.4.25-35)

The vapors game is a game of counterattacks: the only rule is that one must immediately and vehemently oppose whatever was said before. It feeds Wasp's craving for competition as much as Ursula's pig purportedly satisfies the pregnant Win's craving. The game also makes Wasp as ridiculous as his charge, Cokes, by having him loudly declare that he has no reason. The linguistic free-for-all, as characters jump in on one

another's behalf or to offer unprovoked insults, is reminiscent of the academic disputation (Beaurline 1978). Jonson cues that there are more than academic themes at work, however, by having the characters move in and out of verbal and non-verbal modes of aggressive expression.

The multiple aggressors of this scene evoke the brawls characteristic of the English streets between English and Italian masters of fence. This connotation is fully realized as the characters resort to physical exchanges, first when they "fall by the ears" (presumably, scuffling without drawn weapons), and later when they draw their weapons to fight. To facilitate the theft, Quarlous and Edgworth first exploit and then generate a tempo of opportunity. In the first instance, Knockem urges Whit to strike Wasp in retaliation for an insult. In the ensuing altercation, Edgworth steals the license. Knockem's and Whit, too, are able to seize opportunity as Quarlous, in turn, instigates a conflict through his defense of his beard and "They draw all, and fight."

The game of vapors into which the play descends is socially antagonistic as well as constructive, seamlessly blending into the physical fight and back out. Ultimately, these combat-inflected reading strategies reveal the workings of Jonson's theory of judgment and its inculcation. This game shows in action the modes of temporal, embodied, judgment marked by the intersubjective antagonism of fencing. It also sets the stage for the puppet show that concludes the play. In this final scene, Leatherhead, the puppeteer, sweeps up both Cokes and Busy in the tempo of his own performance.

Selfhood and the Puppetry Arts

The puppet show, written by John Littlewit, is a burlesque mashup of the popular friendship tale, Damon and Pythias, and the romance of Hero and Leander. Jonson's use

of stichomythia in the final puppet scene and the pervasive dueling imagery throughout suggest that the scene is meant to be read with modes of combat in mind. The show exemplifies a rhythm of theatrical expression in the temporality of its plot and the antagonistic, intersubjective interactions of Busy and Leatherhead. Leatherhead displays his skill as a master adaptor – a seizer of the before – as he confutes Busy and accommodates Cokes.[80] Through Busy, Jonson delivers a critique of Puritan understandings of the theater's relationship to the sacred, offering instead his own view of the ways in which drama can touch its audience.

The puppeteer works his audience's criticism and enjoyment into the fabric of the puppet show, as he takes Cokes's interjections up into the rhythm and details of the play. For instance, after Cupid sends the puppet Hero a pint of sherry, purportedly from Leander, she falls in love with Leander. In the next lines, Puppet Jonas narrates "a pint of sack, score a pint of sack i'the Coney" (5.4.164). Cokes responds, "Sack? You said but e'en now it should be sherry" and Jonas responds "why so it is: sherry, sherry, sherry" (5.4.164-165). In this and many other moments of the puppet show, Cokes engages in a dialogue with the puppets, which Lantern Leatherhead works into the show. Sometimes this adaptation also works at the level of the show's rhyme scheme, as when Cokes's interruptions are co-opted into the play's poetry:

LANTERN: 'Tis well, you can now go to breakfast to Hero;
You have given me my breakfast, with a 'hone and 'honero.
COKES: How is't, friend? Ha' they hurt thee?
LANTERN: Oh, no!

[80] The editors of the *Cambridge Jonson* believe that these puppets were more likely hand puppets than marionette puppets. This kind of puppet represents an even closer prosthetic arrangement of tool-to-body than the strings of the marionette.

> Between you and I, sir, we do but make show. (5.4.220-224)

This slippage between puppet and puppeteer certainly showcases Cokes's naivety as a consumer of theater. However, it also displays Leatherhead's a compound subjectivity, an assemblage of human and non-human materiality that evokes the players and props of the larger theater. Similarly showing his flexible abilities, Lantern adapts to Busy's presence through a quick-witted cooption of his interference, ultimately heightening the humor of the show by using inflated rhetorical tropes and the language of aristocratic dueling to contest Busy, making the Puritan himself antagonist in the puppet show.

Busy's initial onslaught on the puppet show ultimately rebounds upon him, as he loses control of his bellicose allusions. He storms "Down with Dagon, down with Dagon; 'tis I, will no longer endure your profanations" (5.5.1-2). To Leatherhead's response, "What mean you, sir?" Busy continues:

> I will remove Dagon there I say, that idol, that heathenish idol, that remains (as I may say) a beam, a very beam, not a beam of the sun, nor a beam of the moon, nor a beam of a balance, neither a house-beam, nor a weaver's beam, but a beam in the eye, in the eye of the brethren; a very great beam, an exceeding great beam; such as are your stage-players, rhymers, and morris-dancers, who have walked hand in hand, in contempt of the brethren, and the cause; and been borne out by instruments of no mean countenance. (5.5.4-10)

The tempo of Busy's speech allies him with the foolish Italian, Bobadill. Both use voluble and self-contradictory language to project authority. In contrast to Bobadill, Busy's speech uses a rolling, repetitive rhythm to build momentum. Bobadill trades in the jargon of everyday language, but Busy assumes a more poetic preacher's mode of

expression. Seizing on the notion of a beam, Busy loses track of his allusion's context, in which the beam denotes not idolatry but hypocrisy. The beam to which Busy refers is an ironic allusion to Jesus's famous injunction against hypocrisy, to "cast out first the beam out of thine own eye" before attempting to "pull out the mote" in someone else's (Luke 6.41). Because of this fundamental error in reading – perhaps he confuses the beam with the stumbling block – the point Busy hammers home is the opposite of what was intended: the puppets' eventual victory and Busy's conversion to a consumer of theater is foreshadowed in his tirade.

Jonson's reference serves as a reminder of the play's larger message, to pay attention to your own perception and discernment before critiquing others'. As Jonson puts it in the contract, the playgoers are to agree that "every man here exercise his own judgment and not censure by contagion" (86). Judgment is deliberately exercised rather than passively infected. However, it is the active versus passive ways of enjoying the theater that Jonson contrasts, rather than rejecting the potential of emotional contagion altogether. The theater is specifically a venue for developing robust judgment in audience members because of its vulnerability to emotional contagion. Otherwise, his goal of using humor to induce laughter and therefore change – one does not wish to imagine that one's neighbor in the next seat is laughing at one, after all – would be ineffective.

Jonson's investment in the commercial theater as a venue for exercising judgment is also evident in the specific idol to which Busy alludes. When Busy figures Leatherhead as Dagon, and, by extension, the commercial theater as a heathen temple, he exhibits the ways in which Jonson understands Puritans as the intellectual heirs of the Philistines. Busy conflates dancing, poetry, and stage-plays with puppet theater, all as hindrances to

proper vision and obedience. The word choice "idol" at first seems a strange one, since it seems that Busy objects more to the sexual immorality induced by such cultural production rather than observing the second commandment. However, the allusion fits with a Puritan view of the future of the theater. Dagon the idol was known for miraculously falling and breaking its hands and head off:

> When the Philistines took the ark of God, they brought it into the house of Dagon, and set it by Dagon. And when they of Ashdod arose early on the morrow, behold, Dagon was fallen upon his face to the earth before the ark of the Lord. And they took Dagon and set him in his place again. And when they arose early on the morrow morning, behold, Dagon was fallen upon his face to the ground before the ark of the Lord; and the head of Dagon and both the palms of his hands were cut off upon the threshold; only the stump of Dagon was left to him. (1 Sam 5:2-5)

Referring to Leatherhead as Dagon evokes his handpuppets' eventual fall and destruction in the face of God's Ark. The "handless" Dagon puppets walk "hand in hand" with other performers, as both are symbolically linked to the hand's ability to touch and feel out. Busy sees the materiality of theatrical production, with its props and costumes, to be a species of blasphemy as well as a hotbed of immoral crossdressing as he later argues. This view is perhaps influenced by the theatrical nature of Anglo-Catholic liturgy.

Jonson's development of the Dagon allusion, like the beam allusion, is ironic. Busy may think that he is making the point that the glory of God will overcome the pretensions of a blasphemous theater. However, Busy actually enacts what Jonson sees as the Puritan's inheritance of the Philistine's obtuseness. If Leatherhead is Dagon, then his

puppet theater is the "house of Dagon." However, in this story it is not the idol itself that is at fault. Rather, it is the Philistines who assume that the Israelites' god is as collectible as an idol. Juxtaposing the truly sacred (the Ark) and the falsely sacred (the Dagon statue), the Philistines violate a central decorum and draw down God's wrath (he later afflicts whichever town hosts the Ark with tumors). Thus, it is the confusing of the sacred and the non-sacred that is at issue. Antitheatricalists, by reading the theater a medium of blasphemy, place it in the context of the sacred. In this sense, it is the Puritans' preoccupation, rather than any intention on the part of playwrights and players, which shifts God's presence into a commercial playhouse.

In contrast to stichomythic tradition, the exchange between Puppet Dionysius and Busy is marked by juvenile assertion and contradiction rather than sophisticated one-liners. Lantern engages in a mock stichomythic exchange which resembles an infantile tug-of-war more than a staccato, witty thrust-and-parry sequence. When Busy says of Puppet Dionysius's work "it is profane, idol," Dionysius answers back: "it is not profane!" which is relayed by Lantern to Busy: "it is not profane, he says." Puppet Dionysius and Busy go back and forth twice more: "It is not profane," "it is profane" until they give up. The underlying tactics of combat, specifically of the counterattack, are still apparent despite the simplification of the exchange, however. Jonson pairs academic disputation with the complex etiquette of the point-of-honor duel in order to craft the antagonistic temporality of the exchange. Using reiterations of giving the lie and the inflated rhetoric of bravos, the angry puppets repeatedly call each other to the dueling field. Upon Busy's arrival, the Puppet Dionysius challenges him as well: "You lie, you lie, you lie abominably" (5.5.80). Finally, Dionysius takes the battle to Busy by

questioning typical Puritan occupations (5.5.57-60). Anticipating Busy's clichéd response concerning the moral dangers of the theater, Leatherhead/Dionysius sets Busy up as the victim of a well-executed counterattack. At this instigation, Busy is forced into his famous chief contention, that theater involves crossdressing and is therefore an abomination, to which the puppet "takes up his garment" to reveal his sexlessness.

In the exchange, Busy slips between addressing Leatherhead and the puppets as idols. This confusion reflects a seamless extension of Leatherhead into his puppets. More than simply another example of Busy's naivety, the indeterminacy expresses Jonson's vision of the theater as a venue for joint perception and distributed cognition. The puppet show's role as a microcosm of the theatrical experience as a whole has been discussed, and explanations of this analogy tend toward the cynical. For instance, Scott Shershow argues that Jonson's motivation for ending his play with a puppet show was part of a larger project to "transcend and transform popular performance by embracing it with a self-conscious irony" (99). In this view, the importation of puppets marks Jonson's attempt to contrastively define literary theater against the puppetry arts, or popular lowbrow theater. However, this view of Jonson's creative project must either ignore the other instances of popular entertainment he introduces in his plays, or say that he uses all of them ironically. As I hope to have demonstrated throughout this chapter, Jonson's relationship with the popular entertainment of public prizefighting is more complex. I agree that Jonson uses the puppet show as a way to comment on the theatrical experience, and probably even to level critiques at his audience and at other playwrights. However, I do not think that this is the only, or even the primary take away from the show. Instead, Leatherhead and Littlewit's collaborative venture showcases the theater's capacity to

break down barriers. While Jonson eschews the kind of emotional contagion that leads his audience to accept someone else's judgment rather than forming their own, this is not the only form of joint perception he addresses. He also draws attention to the generative potential of the "middle," the "handwork," or the "suspension" as a locus of judgment inculcation. Moments of emotional contact among audience members, between self and other, player and puppet, audience and actor, offer arenas of growth through conflict. As Jonson writes in his commonplace book, *Timber, or Discoveries,* public schools promote intellectual development because of the element of competition.

On a metatheatrical level, Busy's biblical allusions also reinforce the vibrant materiality of the Fair. Just as the idol, Dagon, moves of its own volition to fall down and worship the Ark, so the puppets assume their own agency throughout the show. Dagon's hands are broken in the fall – for Busy, a vision of theater's ultimately loss of social agency. Jonson, through the handpuppets' victory, instead suggests the theater's ability to feel out its audience, to touch emotions, and to change behavior.

Jonson's antecedents in the fencing school as well as the grammar school are crucial to understanding his temporal, corporeal model of theatrical judgment. Discernment, for Jonson, is both antagonistic and intersubjective, which makes the "mechanisms of enskilment" offered via the English stage a particularly appropriate vehicle for its training.[81] Judgment, a mode of knowing-when and a skill of selfhood features prominently in Jonson's *oeuvre,* but its dimensions of embodied practice are often overlooked. The shared methodologies of fencing masters and playwrights are a rich vein of material for understanding how time inflects models of literary judgment.

[81] On such mechanisms see Evelyn Tribble, "Skill" *Early Modern Theatricality*, ed. Henry Turner. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2014. 173-188.

The structure of *Bartholomew Fair*, with its debt to the adaptive and seemingly chaotic rhythms of fencing, illuminates the model of subjectivity and cognition at work in Jonson's drama. As Meyer and Jonson knew well, there is more than one way to have a beginning, middle, and an end. Freytag's pyramid (the plot structure consisting of exposition, rising action, climax, falling action, and denouement) is only one way to look at dramatic structure – and it is not a particularly compelling one for *Bartholomew Fair*, which consists of a series of flowing movements together and apart. These moments of contact challenge the bounds of the autonomous individual and of spectators and players because individual identity is subsumed in the intersubjective "between."

Chapter 4: Making Time for Murder in Arden of Faversham

Introduction

The story *Arden of Faversham* (1592) relates had been in circulation in England for decades before its adaptation to the stage. The play enacts the murder of Thomas Arden, a wealthy land-owner, by his wife, Alice. The 1551 crime was sensational enough to draw an unusually detailed five quarto pages of description and analysis in Holinshed's *Chronicles of England, Scotland, and Ireland* (1577, 1587). In both the *Chronicles* narration and the play, a variety of murder conspiracies spin into escalating violence and complexity. Alice plots with her lover, Mosby, to murder her husband. They enlist the help of another farmer (Greene), a painter (Clarke), a disloyal servant (Michael), and two ruffians for hire (Black Will and Shakebag). After a number of failed attempts, this large group of conspirators finally manages to murder Arden. Alice forces her maid, Susan, to help with the cover-up and they are all caught and executed.

The play follows its source text quite closely and incorporates many details, such as the specific love favors Alice and Mosby exchanged. However, in one surprising move, the adaptors add an additional murder attempt right before the final successful ambush in Arden's home over a game of backgammon. Given the repeated and repetitive failures of the previous five assaults, why add one more? I will argue that the added attack encapsulates the play's engagement with *place*, which in contemporary parlance encompassed ideas of opportunity and time as well. The relationship among props, players and audience illuminates the spatially-charged, antagonistic timing of the theater. In *Arden of Faversham,* objects of the play act as technological extensions of the players, but are also adversarial to them. Where my previous chapter was concerned with

judgment as an embodied practice, this one will look to the contribution of other material objects to the process of judgment. In what follows, I will read the series of attempts on Arden's life in terms of specific techniques of representing temporal cunning – the class of "second intention" actions in which the fencer does not necessarily expect his or her initial attack to hit. These techniques reflect the ways in which place and time interact with the material structures of the playhouse.

Place is a mode of judgment – the faculty of kinesthetic reasoning governing one's time and position. *Arden of Faversham* deals extensively with judgment as a theme. The contributions of forensic models of judgment to the rhetoric of the early commercial theater have been well explored. For instance, Lorna Hutson argues that changes in dramatic narrative correspond to developments in legal culture: "these very rhetorical techniques for evaluating probabilities and likelihoods in legal narratives were perceived by dramatists in the London of the late 1580s and 1590s to be indispensable for their purposes in bringing a new liveliness and power to the fictions they were writing" (2). Similarly, Luke Wilson argues that the legal tradition's methodology for discussing and assessing intention influenced the depiction of forethought in plays like *Hamlet.* However, judgment as a corporeal and temporal skill, a way to evaluate intersubjective time and space, has received little attention. Displays of cunning are understood, through the lens of English fencing theory, as attempts to "gain the place" of the adversary (*Brief Instructions* 2). Through a reading of Silver's tactical advice alongside botched and successful murder attempts, I will articulate the play's engagement with plot as both place and pace. These elements of plot open up questions of the theater's often hostile environment. While the stage certainly gave many examples of cooperative ventures of

joint perception, it just as often could display the failure of willful props, negative reception from the audience, or the players' own painful mistakes.

"But give me place and opportunity": Attempting Arden

It hardly seems fair when Susan Mosby is dragged off to be executed with the rest of the perpetrators of Arden's murder at the end of *Arden of Faversham.* Though compelled by her mistress to assist in the cover-up, she is innocent of the planning and execution of the murder itself. As Susan puts it, "wherefore should I die? I knew not of it till the deed was done" (18.19-20). Susan illustrates the theme of being in the wrong place at the wrong time that runs through the theatrical version of *Arden of Faversham*. While in one sense, as the play's final scenes suggest, the tragedy is a reflection on determining culpability and judgment, divine and human, it ultimately reflects on such prudential matters of placement and timing more than the cautionary morality tale of its source text. The death sentence, meted out to guilty and innocent alike, does not portray a triumphant judicial system: the play leaves the impression of incomplete justice, thwarted providence, and bungling criminals. This emphasis reflects the interest of the playgoing public in displays of skill and ineptness. Alice's skill and the ineptness of her co-conspirators reflect the dual, interrelated themes of scheming and place which run throughout the play, united by its deployment of the term *plot*.

In *Arden of Faversham,* "plot" joins together the opportunistic and the positional. From the "plot of ground" Arden greedily acquires to the "complot" laid by Mosby and Alice, to Franklin's final meditation about the mysteriously blighted grass under Arden's corpse, the "plot" in which "Arden lay murdered," the word circulates within the play in key positions (13.33, 14.89, Epilogue 10). Joined with these definitions of place and

scheme are the senses of "plot" as a method of visualizing abstract space. "Plot," or "platt," referred the structure of the stage itself as well as to the reduction of objects in space to abstract, two-dimensional representations. As Henry Turner notes, "plot" at the time of *Arden of Faversham*'s composition was still heavily indebted to its roots in artisanal discourses.[82] Makers of all sorts relied on plots of one kind or another to plan their projects, and playwrights were no exception. Their "plots" were documents hung backstage that gave players the details of each scene and listed the characters appearing on stage at each juncture. To plot a play is to time it – to determine the play's storyline and the pace at its action occurs, how events follow one another. *Arden of Faversham*'s plot is unique in its series of amplifying failures as it is driven by displays of comic ineptness and slapstick in Alice's attempts to make the tempo (create the opportunity) of Arden's murder.

While many elements of the prose chronicle account persist into the dramatic retelling, the alterations made to the sequences of events illuminate how the play was designed to appeal to an audience as a live performance. *Arden of Faversham*'s relationship to its source text adds a valuable dimension to a study of timing on the Elizabethan stage because, as Bakhtin points out, the generic status of a work and its relationship to time are deeply connected.[83] In this sense, the play's "plot" is a change in sequence and speed of actions as it is adapted from prose history to live performance.

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[82] In many ways, my argument resonates with Turner's work on the spatial arts and how artisanal discourses and the field of geometry came to inform some of the most crucial aspects of stagecraft: the arrangement of action and the impact of its "spatial disposition" on the "methods of reasoning" modeled by the play (23). However, where Turner focuses on the spatial element of plots and plotting, I am interested in both the spatial and the temporal dimensions.

[83] Bakhtin's chronotope connects time and space in the literary aesthetic: "Time, as it were, thickens, takes on flesh, becomes artistically visible; likewise, space becomes charged and responsive to the movements of time, plot and history" (84). For Bakhtin, in the literary aesthetic the temporal takes on more importance than the spatial.

With the shift from prose narrative to stage, the timing of Alice's story changes in significant ways. The story moves on the chronotopic spectrum toward an emphasis on space (*topos*) as it is staged, but the spaces of the play are organized by and in service to its timing. While Bakhtin's model of the chronotope is most interested in the imagined spaces and times that play out in novels, it provides a useful frame of reference for drama as well. *Arden* in particular is invested in timespace through the connection of good or bad timing to specific places.

Criticism on *Arden of Faversham* has noted the play's intimate engagement with questions of space and place from several different angles. Gina Bloom and Garrett Sullivan take up the places of the play in terms of spatial mastery and the ethics of land ownership. Sullivan argues that land, particularly Arden's "plot of land," the land grant of Faversham Abbey, is "positioned variously in relationship to intersecting feudal, religious and familial discourse" (232). Bloom connects the thematic strands of gameplay with those of space and place. She explores the ways in which "*Arden* deploys the topos of gaming to query the fantasy of scopic and gnostic power," how characters navigate spatial and visual limitations (11). She uses the game of backgammon's formal properties to model contestation for space and spatial mastery both in the Elizabethan theater and in the thematics of the play itself. Indeed, spatial mastery and temporal mastery go hand-in-hand as locked doors, window sills, inopportune company, and mystical mists work to suppress kairotic moments for the would-be murderers. However, in current scholarship, timing is typically treated separately from the artful manipulation of space, a subject which is actually central to the tragedy.

Arden of Faversham's interest in artful manipulation and inept failure comes to the surface early in the first scene. Arden confides to his friend Franklin that he is sure that his wife is cheating on him with a neighbor of lower social standing: a "botcher" who "[c]rept into the service of a nobleman" to become "steward of his house" (1.25-29). Mosby is a botcher in several ways – the primary sense of the word in this period refers to a mender of broken things, often clothing or shoes. It is likely that Mosby mended clothing based on the taunts Arden hurls at him later in the scene when he takes Mosby's sword away and sends him back to his "pressing iron" and "Spanish needle" (1.313). Holinshed writes that Mosby was "a tailor by occupation, a black swart man, servant to the Lord North." A botcher is of even lower status than a tailor, so Arden's transformation of Mosby's occupation is a calculated insult (1062). The sense of "botcher" as "one who does things bunglingly" is also operant in this period, and Arden's contemptuous use of the term ironically foreshadows the many botched attempts that Mosby makes upon Arden's life.

The sword, figured here as a "Spanish needle," symbolizes Mosby and Arden's relationship in their two moments of physical conflict in scenes 1 and 14. In Scene 1, the sword takes on phallic characteristics, as Arden equates sword ownership to one's social status, and, by extension, appropriate love objects. Arden is allowed by contemporary social codes to have a sword (and its entailed capability to penetrate) while Mosby must be more circumspect about whom he penetrates. Later, Arden's sword allows for the play's most impressive display of physical skill, as Arden and Franklin beat off Mosby and two other attackers. While swords represent staged and skillful cunning late in the play, at this early moment, swords and swordplay are connected with "botching."

If Mosby ineptly botches his part in the conspiracy, Alice's continually evolving strategy and her virtuoso rhetorical abilities showcase skill. Alice's skill has drawn comment from scholars such as Richard Helgerson who claims that Alice is the play's "most brilliant and troubling poet-rhetorician" and Carol LaPerle, who contends that the play "represents an effective rhetor as capturing the full potential of kairos – a moment of rhetorical prowess and control completely dependent on the context of the situation" (140, 177). Her ability to adapt to continually shifting circumstances is evident in her first sally into murder plotting. She conspires with the painter, Clarke, promising him Susan in marriage in return for an effective poison. Though Clarke offers to paint a poisonous picture, instead the conspirators settle for a more traditional poison administered through soup. Upon tasting it, Arden remarks, "I am not well: there's something in this broth, / That is not wholesome. Didst thou make it, Alice?" (1.365-66). Alice responds by throwing the broth on the ground and melodramatically crying "There's nothing that I do can please your taste. / You were best to say I would have poisoned you" (1.368-69). Arden asks for mithridate, a poison antidote. He is clearly concerned about the nature of his sudden illness. However, despite the obviousness of the attempt, her overwrought response to his question maneuvers him placating her: "Be patient, sweet love; I mistrust not thee" (1.390). Alice, through this probing action, establishes that even with great provocation her husband will not become suspicious of her. This realization emboldens her to set in motion a new plot.

Alice's adaptability is an opportunistic skill that would have been familiar to audience members from watching expert fencers as well as great orators. English fencers think more in terms of taking the place (the positional advantage) of the adversary rather

than stealing the opponent's tempo. For instance, when Silver lists the grounds of fencing (judgment, distance, time, and place), he includes two terms for spatial awareness. Silver goes on to elaborate "Through judgment, you keep your distance, through distance you take your time, through time you safely win or gain the place of your adversary" (*Brief Instructions* Chapter 1). To "win" place resonates with the interest of *Arden of Faversham* throughout in games and gambling. Silver first introduces both "distance" and "place" so that he can nuance discussions of position. Where judgment acts as an overarching capacity to mediate different kinds of kinesthetic reasoning, *distance* is an intersubjective and dynamic function of the space between self and adversary. Alternately, *place* trades in the language of opportunity. It refers to gaining the position of advantage or taking away someone else's position of advantage.

Italian sources typically only have one term for relational space in such lists of fencing's fundamentals – measure (*misura*).[84] Silver also uses the term measure later in his treatise. Shortly after Silver defines these four grounds of fencing, he transmutes them into "four" governors: judgment, measure, and the two-fold mind. Measure in this sense takes on the role of distance as a way to discuss the intersubjective space between fencer and adversary: "measure is the better to know how to make your space true to defend yourself, or to offend your enemy." Place at first seems to fall out of this discussion, but Silver clarifies that he is actually expanding on its work in recognizing and exploiting opportunity: "the third and fourth governors are a twofold mind when you press in on your enemy, for as you have a mind to go forward, so must you have at that instant a

[84] Sometimes in Italian sources even measure is folded into tempo because tempo encompasses opportunity, broadly defined. Italians may have never developed the technical language around "place" because they evolved a different terminology for describing positional advantage, which included counterguards, finding the sword, enumerating different kinds of tempo, or moments in which to attack, etc.

mind to fly backward upon any action that shall be offered or done by your adversary." Mind, in Silver's sense, is a variety of *habitus* rather than an incorporeal cognitive processor. He describes this foundational fencing element as the ability to safely press into your enemy's distance.

Silver uses the "two-fold mind" to describe the state of readiness one must inhabit when one attacks in order to drawn an opponent's reaction, but the world also reminds us of another similar contemporary usage – to have a two-fold mind is to be doubleminded. Indeed, while in the King James Version it is the double-minded man who is "unstable in all his ways," in the *Lambeth MS* this distinction belongs to the "twafalde Mon."[85] Doublemindedness refers to the negative side of adaptability – the "double-minded man" unstable because he exists in a state of continued vacillation. In Alice's case, her doublemindedness gives her the tools to prosecute attacks and turn on a dime. When an attack fails, she is ready to distract her husband by going with pretended rage and resentment of his unspoken suspicion.

In Alice's next move to win Arden's place, she enlists the help of the bitter Greene, a farmer disenfranchised by her husband's new land grant. As her strategy evolves, she places herself at more of a remove from the crime, allowing Greene, Shakebag, and Black Will to close distance and gain Arden's true place instead. In Black Will and Shakebag's first four attempts – St. Paul's bookyard, Arden's London residence, Rainham Downs, and the ferry crossing – they are not successful even at coming into measure (striking distance), much less at gaining place. Arden has the sound strategy of defense and retreat throughout. His tactical conservativism makes it difficult to win his

[85] "twofold, adj. (and n.) and adv." *OED Online*. Oxford University Press, December 2016. Web. 9 February 2017.

place – as Silver explains, the best way to gain place from someone is to wait for them to close the distance between you: "you can strike or thrust at him at that instant when he has gained you the place by his coming in." In this formulation it is through the adversary's imperfect coming into measure that allows for the strategy to succeed rather than any technique of one's own. Arden is careful. Since he has the upper hand – his marriage to Alice, his newly enlarged wealth, and his own physical health and strength – he will not expose himself to risk by making the first move to attack, even at great provocation. Ultimately, Alice realizes that she must convince him to make a tempo so that she can win his place. Before she does, however, her cutters mount a series of renewed attacks – assaults that fall short and are transformed into new attacks.

While the *Chronicles* simply records that Black Will and Shakebag miss their chance in the St. Paul's bookyard because Arden is surrounded by too many people, in the tragedy the window sills and shop stalls conspire to create comically inopportune moments. Greene offers to "lay the platform for [Arden's] death" and is emphatically turned down by Black Will, who exclaims, "plat me no platforms!" (2.93-94). Black Will exhibits unusual wisdom in his rejection of Green's offer – it seems that the entirety of Green's plan is to have Black Will wait in a crowded area to kill Arden. This plan is abandoned because, unsurprisingly, Arden is not alone. The double meaning of plot/plat here resonates with the play's greater thematic interest in dissimulatory scheming and spatial manipulation. Greene points out Arden and urges Black Will to "stand close and take you fittest standing, / And at his coming forth speed him" (3.36-37) These lines emphasize the disposition of bodies and space and use the metaphor of speed, a body's movement through space to refer to Arden's murder. This choice of euphemisms

ironically employs a temporal metaphor, as Arden's death is comically mistimed and ultimately anything but speedy. As Black Will stands in the doorway of a stall, ready for his ambush, an apprentice decides to shut up the stall to keep thieves at bay during an anticipated crowd: he lets down his window and it "breaks Black Will's head." In the furious ensuing exchange between Black Will (who demands "amends" for his broken head) and the apprentice (who threatens them with prison), Arden and Franklin enter, see the fracas, and ignore it, determining that it is a trick "Devised to pick men's pockets in the throng" (3.53).

The space of the bookyard and the actants of bookstall, apprentice, and crowd take an active role in robbing Black Will and Shakebag of their tempo and in preserving Arden's true place. These exchanges between human and non-human agents show how the lively artifacts of the theater can enhance or impinge upon a player's performance, often in surprising ways. The bookyard attempt most clearly of all of the attacks illustrates how good timing is spatially dependent – the space of the bookyard and the assemblage of bookstall, apprentice, and crowd take an active role in creating an akairotic moment. The slapstick comedy generated by this unexpected intervention of the bookstall on one register dramatizes the back-and-forth between the dramatic retelling of Arden's murder and its prose narrative, with the books' home defending their territory against the incursions of shady characters with evocative names of "Will" and "Shakebag." On another, it reflects the antagonistic environment of the Elizabethan theater. Slapstick as a comic technique works toward a flattening of human/nonhuman relations as the player's body becomes something acted upon by objects. This comic moment's effect is to call

our attention to how the stage generates meaning through the arrangements of human and non-human configurations of matter and their means and moments of contact.

In another moment of antagonistic contact with a portal, Black Will and Shakebag again fail in their attempt to close the distance between themselves and Arden. However, while the first attempt used slapstick to enact the window sill's surprise ambush, in this case the door stands in for the defensive interstitial space between murderers and victim. Shakebag and Black Will arrange with Michael, Arden's traitorous servant, to leave the door to Arden's London residence unlocked overnight. Approaching the entry, Shakebag and Black Will attempt to outdo each other with their courage. Shakebag notes "This is the door – but soft, methinks 'tis shut. / The villain Michael hath deceived us" (5.34-35). Black Will leaves his quarreling with Shakebag to confirm "Soft, let me see. Shakebag, 'tis shut indeed. / Knock with thy sword; perhaps the knave will hear" (5.36-37). These lines, and the action immediately preceding them, make the door into the focal point of the scene. This prolonged encounter with the entryway manifests the combative logic of the scene and the play as a whole. The door is the pivot around which the audience perception of public and private space moves. The same space is imagined as interior, as Arden locks the door from the inside, and exterior, as Shakebag and Black Will subsequently draw near.

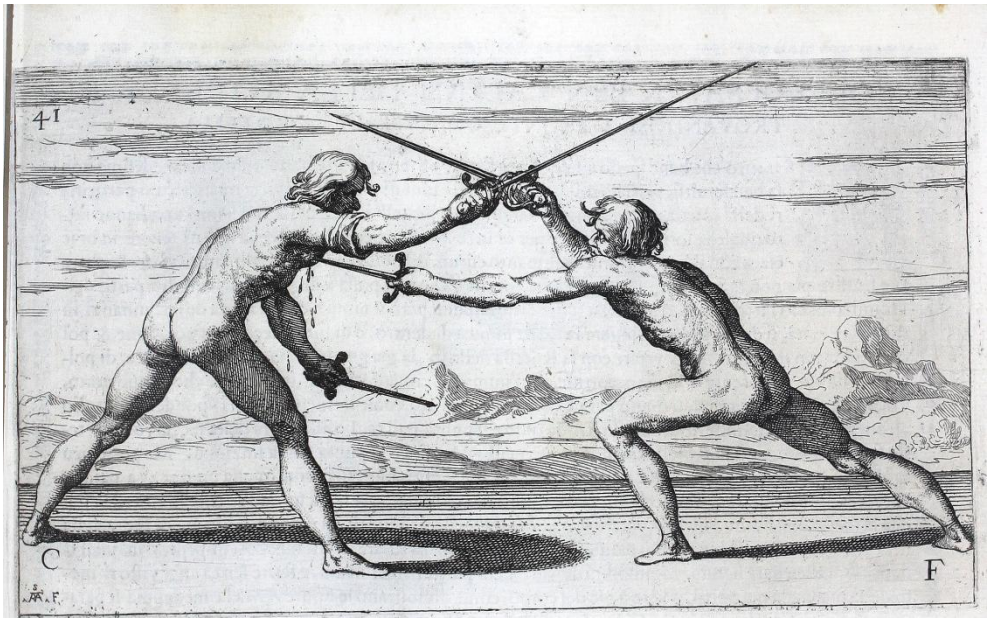
Symbolically, the locked door represents denied opportunity and it foreshadows the final murder scene in which Shakebag and Black Will are granted entry into another of Arden's houses. Black Will's suggestion that Shakebag knock with his sword reinforces the element of lively and antagonistic props – the sword transforms into a doorknocker, or, alternately, the door transforms into a buckler shielding Arden. The

repeated “soft” is both an exclamation of surprise and an injunction to move cautiously and quietly. The exclamation draws attention to the tactile and auditory dimensions of the encounter and connotes speed of movement, a redeployment of the temporal in this inopportune space and time. Renewing their attack, Shakebag and Black Will withdraw so that they can corner Michael as he emerges from the house the next day. Michael, by way of reparation, offers his master’s itinerary, suggesting Rainham Down as “A place well-fitting such a stratagem” (7.19). Ultimately, Michael’s attempt to lay a platform does not prosper any more than Greene’s, as Arden runs into a friend during his trek across the lonely uplands and cannot be ambushed.

When the playwright(s) decided to adapt the prose chronicle to the stage, one of the most significant changes made was to introduce a new murder attempt just before the successful ambush. Given the sheer number of attacks and the level of detail involved in describing each, it is a surprising decision to add one more. After all, what purpose does it serve in moving the plot along? In fact, the added attempt illustrates the play’s investments in time, judgment, and the relationship among players, props, and audience. Instead of having Shakebag and Black Will miss their way and get lost as they attempt to set up an ambush for Arden, a “mystical mist” develops and hides Arden and his friend Franklin from view on their way to an appointment. In the *Chronicles,* nothing is said about Arden’s return trip, but in the play this is the most spectacular of the attacks. It is the only attempt in which Arden fully participates, fighting back against his aggressors. As such, it most clearly offers an example of antagonistic timing.

To close the distance, Alice takes the more extreme measures that her first probing attack has assured her is safe. She provokes her husband directly by kissing

Mosby in front of him and Franklin. Her attack represents a particular fencing strategy – the second intention attack – adapted to the stage to represent an embodied display of cunning. Alice's attack does not depend upon hitting in the first motion, but can exploit Arden's reaction to the attack to gain advantage if the initial attack misses. Second intention differs from Titus's contratempo because contratempo lures a counterattack by a dissimulated failed attack – it relies upon an opponent who wants to attack. Second intention actions are more suited to the adversary who, like Arden, prefers to defend.[86] Capoferro describes this kind of action in his section on sword and dagger:



[86] Nineteenth and twentieth-century pedagogy has classified and clarified many aspects of this tactic that are implicit in the contemporary texts. For instance, it differentiates between the renewed attack and the second intention as two instantiations of the same tactic used in slightly different situations. The renewed attack is a class of second intention actions in which the fencer, having fallen short, replaces the weapon with whatever footwork is necessary to reach the opponent's target. It is used against a passive opponent who parries (with or without a retreat) but does not riposte. Alternately, one is said to be acting in second intention when one lures the other fencer into a parry-riposte sequence. Anticipating the opponent's parry, instead of feinting and not allowing the opponent to deflect the incoming steel, the fencer allows the adversary to deviate the sword. In the aftermath, the fencer is prepared to counter-parry and riposte the adversary's parry and riposte. This action would be used against fencers who will not bite for anything less than a real initial attack. *Arden* makes use of both of these varieties of second-intention tactics as well as preliminary probing actions in its sequence of five murder attempts.

Figure 6, Capoferro, Ridolfo. Second intention. Plate 41, *Gran Simulacro*, 1610. Engraving. Vancouver, Academie Duello.

In the image above, Capoferro describes a scenario in which the first attack is successfully parried by the fencer on the left. Immediately, the fencer on the right "passes forward with the left leg" to strike the opponent in the chest with the dagger instead. Formally, this tactic resonates with the ways in which Arden successfully parries the larger, more obvious attempts on his life – the threat of the sword on his way home – only to be brought down by Alice's dagger in the end. Second-intention actions are appropriate for Alice's rhetorical abilities because they are "eyes-open" actions, which rely on adaptability in the moment more than making a plan ahead of time. These actions are distinct from the kind of adaptive feint we saw in *As You Like It* in that the first attack is a real one, not a simulated thrust or menace. The first strike may or may not necessarily fail and Alice is prepared for either contingency.

In her attempt to draw him out, Alice and Mosby set off to intercept Arden on his way home, linking arms to taunt Arden into action. As Mosby jeers at Arden for his "horns," Franklin declares "'tis time to draw!" Shakebag and Black Will jump out, as if intervening in a mugging. Arden and Franklin draw their swords and attack him. Black Will and Shakebag jump into the fray in pretended concern for Mosby. Alice, presumably, stands on the sidelines and watches. The six bodies on stage, five of which engage in the altercation, encapsulate the larger temporal rhythms of the play and reflects the characterization of the combatants: Alice continually delegates, Arden intimidates Mosby, Franklin, the mediator, comes between Arden and his assailants on the field as in life, and Black Will and Shakebag compete and belittle each others' efforts.

With Alice, the audience witnesses the assault and is later given a summary of the action. I have intimated throughout this dissertation that early moderns viewed public performances via an alternate field of visual practice from our own. For the average citizen in London, acculturation involved developing the ability to analyze fencing phrases, long sequences of nonverbal action. The development of this "skilled vision" allowed the playgoing public to evaluate and interpret "inset skill displays" using a common vocabulary.[87] *Arden of Faversham* adapts the shared visual coding of embodied action and takes advantage of the educated attention of its public. With the shift from a readership to a spectatorship, the play looked to adjacent performances such as fencing matches for models of how to encode nonverbal antagonism and deception. This retelling suggests at the entertainment value in analyzing non-verbal sequences of action.

Alice's frustrated question is "How missed you of your purpose yesternight?" Because she saw the whole fight unfold, it is most likely her question is rhetorical. In an early scene of mansplaining, Greene, who did not see the fight, eagerly attempts to fill her in: "'Twas long of Shakebag, that unlucky villain" (14.47). Collaborating, Black Will offers a blow-by-blow playback of the fight in an attempt of his own to reimplot of the exigencies of circumstance and his failures:

> BLACK WILL: When [Shakebag] should have locked with both his hilts, he in a bravery flourished over his head. With that comes Franklin at him lustily and hurts the slave; with that he slinks away. Now his way had been to come in hand and feet, one and two round at his costard. He like a fool bears his swordpoint half a yard out of danger. I lie here for my life [*he takes up a position of defense*] If the

[87] On "skilled vision," see Christina Grasseni. On "inset skill displays" and the "education of attention" see Evelyn Tribble, "Toward a History of Skill in Early Modern England."

> devil come and he have no more strength than fence, he shall never beat me from this ward; I'll stand to it. A buckler in a skillful hand is as good as a castle; nay, 'tis better than a sconce, for I have tried it. Mosby, perceiving this [Shakebag's retreat], began to faint. With that comes Arden with his arming-sword and thrust him through the shoulder in a trice. (14.49-64)

Black Will's summary is rife with temporal terms. He accuses Shakebag of engaging in frivolous movements with the sword, raising it in a flashy and threatening manner over his head rather than rushing in and presenting a threat through circular cuts aimed at the head. Because Shakebag is unable to deprive his adversary of place – advantageous positioning – Shakebag is injured, and his injury frightens Mosby so much that Mosby does not attack. For Black Will, the spatial miscalculation of raising the sword rather than closing measure is also a timing mistake that causes Shakebag to lose the element of surprise.

If Shakebag's spatial-temporal error is one of misplacing the weapon, Black Will's is on the opposite extreme of placing the weapon but never prosecuting the attack. Black Will, comically oblivious, demonstrates to Alice how he stood, showing off his skillful sword and buckler ward. However, the metaphorical castle his ward forms does different figurative work than he presumably intends. While Black Will wishes to highlight his power and stability by casting himself as a castle, he really emphasizes a castle's complete immobility as he apparently stands still and misses the whole encounter. His role, as assassin, is not to hold off a siege, but instead to press an assault on the keep. The castle and the sconce, as they stand in for the technological unit of skillful hand and buckler, reflect, like the earlier door and knocker, a way of thinking

about props in terms of their antagonistic potential. However, where the door and sword-knocker evoke the "places" (and their positional opportunities) of the home and the street, inside and outside, the hand and buckler bring attention to the skillful interaction of prop and player.

Alice's brief response to this interpretation of events is telling: "Ay, but I wonder why you both stood still" (14.65). With the marker of agreement, she signals that she, too, understood the logic behind the flurry of action. Like the play's contemporary spectators, Alice can be assumed to have a high degree of visual competency for analyzing phrases of action – the explanation heightens the audience's enjoyment rather than filling the character in on vital information. Alice condenses the story down to its real point: neither Mosby nor Black Will moved into measure to attack. In his defense, Black Will offers that he was so stunned by Shakebag's incompetent fencing that he was immobilized: "Faith, I was so amazed I could not strike" (14.66).

This scene reflects an Elizabethan understanding of time as spatially and ethically charged. In terms of Silver's four governors – judgment, distance, time, and place – Shakebag has judgment but no time – he knows precisely what actions should have been taken, but too late to do anyone any good. Arden, in contrast, has time but no judgment. He is able to wound Mosby but does not understand the larger stakes of the game. Adept at seizing tempo here, Arden fails in the bigger picture of recognizing his own vulnerability. Thinking of the assaults of the play in terms of fencing phrases and the antagonistic environment of the playhouse brings into focus the chaotic ending scenes. While Alice is skillful at fencing with human antagonists, when it comes to her interactions with antagonistic objects she falls apart.

"Why, how long shall he live?": Running out of Time

The stageplay's hectic energy features one event tumbling over another. To create the impressively despicable and capable villainess of England's first domestic tragedy, the play made several changes to the story's timeline. The *Chronicles* account, in contrast to the rapid succession of events that marks the tragedy, unfolds in a more orderly manner and over the timeframe of two years. This slower timing leads to a difference in character motivations and sympathies. The chronicler, in foregrounding the longer duration of Mosby and Alice's affair, makes of Thomas Arden an altogether less sympathetic figure. According to Holinshed, Arden allowed the familiarity between Mosby and Alice to continue, not because of his love for his wife and dislike of confrontation as in the play, but rather because he did not want to "offend hir, and so loose the benefit which he hoped to gaine at some of hir freends hands in bearing with hir lewdness" (1024). His longsuffering attitude is driven by greed rather than affection – the affair "continued a good space, before anie practise was begun by them against maister Arden" (1025). Alice, "at length inflamed in love with Mosbie, and loathing hir husband, wished and after practised the meanes how to hasten his end" (1025). Alice's disgust at her husband's failure as head of household figures at least as importantly as her love for Mosby. The focus is less on Alice's lewdness and more on Arden's delay in setting his household to rights. Because Arden does not act in a timely manner, he is murdered.

Arden's willful desire to turn a blind eye also features in the stage play, but because the events unfold so quickly it is easier to excuse his negligence, as he does not have time to properly consider the implications of his wife's behavior. Alice seems to be impetuously hurling herself headlong into vice and murder: in Scene 14, Alice rages that

"these mine eyes, offended with [Arden's] sight, / Shall never close till Arden's be shut up / This night I rose and walked about the chamber /And twice or thrice I thought to have murdered him" (14.81-84). Mosby remonstrates with her for the ill-conceived idea, which Alice turns to her advantage to directly press "Why, how long shall he live?" (14.86). The shift in dramatic timing works to engage audience sympathies for Arden more than for Alice, but it also shows off Alice's skill as orator and changes the providential narrative at work. For the *Chronicles,* the focus is on God's punishment of Arden for his greed. In the play, while Franklin does speak some final lines condemning Arden's cupidity, the focus ultimately is more on place.

The mounting frustration of Arden's murderers accounts for the ludicrously violent murder sequence. Arden is, in turn, strangled with a towel, bludgeoned with a pressing iron, and stabbed by Shakebag and Alice. The excess of murderers' violence gives way to a perplexing lack of direction in covering up the crime. Arden's blood on the floor stubbornly refuses to be washed away, Arden's purse hangs accusatorily on the bedpost, belying Alice's assertion that her husband did not return home, and Michael forgets to dispose of the murder weapon and bloody towel. Given Alice's abilities as a conspirator and smooth-talker, how does she come to be at such a loss in the aftermath of the murder? Though many parts of the play highlight Alice's skillfulness, in the sequence following the murder the blood of her victim and other pieces of evidence take on active roles in condemning her. As in the bookyard scene, at Alice's home, props are at war with the characters represented on stage. The play, in closing, reflects upon this combative relationship in its characterization of Arden's blood, purse, and girdle.

Arden of Faversham is caught in a transitional moment between blood as a favored symbol of supernatural events, and blood as evidence to be considered along with other types of evidence. In both models blood assumes agency, the capacity to bear witness. Witnessing in *Arden,* as in *Titus,* still retains the legacy of the judicial duel and trial by ordeal as a shared domain of combat and speech. The forensic reasoning which motivates the final scenes is still closely tied to the play's overall interest in combat. Alice and Susan find the blood stains to be indelible. Susan washes the floor and discovers that the blood "cleaveth to the ground and will not out" (14.264). In a similar vein, Alice declares "But with my nails I'll scrape away the blood" only to find "[t]he more I strive the more the blood appears" (14.265-66). Alice gives the stubborn bloodstains their own appetites and desires when Susan asks for an explanation, saying the blood will not wash out because "I blush not at my husband's death" (14.267). The rushing of blood to the face in shame and guilt is absent and replaced by Arden's blood stuck stubbornly to hands and floor, a play of resemblance between signs.

Mosby's attempt to hide the blood stains with rushes last only until the Mayor and Franklin arrive and interpret the signs of murder: blood on a knife and hand-towel, footprints in the snow, rushes in the dead man's slipper that match the rushes at the scene of the crime, and blood spots next to Arden's favorite seat. When the Mayor declares "See, see! His blood! It is too manifest" (14.410) he articulates how he and the Franklin rely on evidence gathered through the senses, a nascent empiricism in order to read the scene of the crime. However, the blood still assumes the role of witness here, and as such is invested with power and agency. Blood continues to speak as Alice denies the crime. When she is faced with the corpse of her husband she finds that "The more I sound his

name the more he bleeds. / This blood condemns me, and in gushing forth / Speaks as it falls and asks me why I did it" (14.4-6). As Simon Barker and Hillary Hinds point out, the fresh bleeding of a corpse when confronted with its killer was a popular belief at the time of *Arden*'s performance (111). Blood's self-evident speech in this moment is interpreted in gushing and falling.

Mosby's guilt is attested by stage properties that also steal the show from him. When the Mayor asks Mosby why he committed the crime, Franklin intervenes, saying "Study not for an answer, look not down / His purse and girdle found at thy bed's head / Witness sufficiently thou didst the deed" (16.13-15). Purse and girdle join blood as active witnesses of a crime and silencing Mosby. While both bleeding corpse and misplaced purse are said to speak for themselves, their interpretations are importantly different. Where Alice's interpretation of her husband's bleeding corpse relies on the play of resemblance (an absent blush to streaming blood) the witness of the purse comes from deduction. These scenes in the aftermath of the murder shift from the logic of combat to that of the courtroom.

Both strains of evidence-bearing, the empirical and the vibrant material, are present in the prose account and the stageplay. The *Chronicles* tends toward the latter, highlighting the role of blood and hair as forensic evidence. The investigators find it and reconstruct what happened, showing it to the criminals to force a confession. The grass of Faversham leaves a supernatural testimony in the form of an imprint of Arden's body visible for two years after his murder (the length of time for which he winked at his wife's lewdness) as a sign to others about how God punishes greed. The prose account highlights the themes of God's judgment and the signs of the murder. With the stage

version, questions of theatrical experience and the interactions, often hostile, of spaces and configurations of matter inhabiting them come to the fore.

In the shift from prose history text to performed domestic tragedy, the added attempted murder scene and the changes in the speed of events create a compelling dramatic structure. The play uses the logic of the second intention action to structure displays of cunning and antagonism. Alice begins with the probing attack of her bowl of broth, and then Shakebag and Black Will launch an attack and several renewed attacks. When Alice realizes that simple attacks will not work on her defensive and cautious husband, she lures him into making the first move so that she can "win" his place as he comes into measure – it is because he feels guilty for striking Mosby that she can counter with her own from the advantage of her own place, the domestic space.

Going to the theater – an exercise in learning judgment, for good or bad – produces its own kinds of skill-based knowledge, which I have argued is intrinsically temporal. The multiple layers of contestation over time and timeliness in *Arden of Faversham* suggests a version of theatrical time in which human skill at navigating the time of one's adversary (*tempo*) joins with the fortuitous temporality of non-human forces and events in a relationship between player and prop. Opportunity, rather than linear narrative, is the driving force of *Arden of Faversham'*s many "plots."

Coda

The early commercial theater came under fire from antitheatricalist and proto-capitalist rhetoric alike. Both strands of criticism complained that stage-plays wasted the time of their patrons. In fact, as I hope to have shown in this dissertation, the theater generated time – crafted opportunity – through a wide array of temporal practices and pedagogies. The plots of *Titus Andronicus, As You Like It, Every Man In His Humor, Bartholomew Fair,* and *Arden of Faversham* all represent the ways in which the theater understands time as an embodied, intersubjective, and often antagonistic rhythm of movement. These complex ways of conceptualizing time made their way into the experimental plot structures of the Jacobethan theater: rather than failed attempts to mimic Greco-Roman five-act drama or unreflective hybridization of medieval and classical theater, the playwrights, players, and spectators of early commercial drama came together to experiment with crafting new models of theatrical time.

Playwrights drew from literary sources such as Castiglione's *Book of the Courtier* as well as from public performances of fencing for models of social timing. While Castiglione reflects the formal structure of contratempo in the interactions of his characters, it is not until the rise of the commercial theater that the fencing phrase comes to order plot structure at a high level. Prize fights offered strategies for sequencing actions to compose a non-verbal story, relying upon the educated vision of the spectators. The commercial theater does more than reprise and redeploy the tactics of the prize fight and the trope of the literary battle of wits. Drawing from these two models of how to represent antagonistic timing, playwrights apply the logic of combat to the dramatic structure of plays across genres. In the revenge drama *Titus Andronicus*, Shakespeare

adopts the rhythm of the fencing contratempo action to organize plot. Titus uses the tactic of seeming to kill time (delay) while he waits for it to be "killing time" for Chiron and Demetrius. Generating an opportune moment through the tactic of contratempo, Titus draws an assault from Tamora that he is prepared to counter. The seemingly digressive scenes in which Titus performs madness are motivated, as the play draws from rhetorical pedagogy as well as fencing pedagogy to represent verbal and non-verbal cunning.

In *As You Like It,* Shakespeare works in a comic mode to adapt the structure of the feint to organize Rosalind and Orlando's courtship. The hypothetical "if" works throughout as a verbal equivalent to the feint, used as a means to dilate tempo, create suspense, and manage the reactions of others. Taking time in *As You Like It* is not about moving at a leisurely pace. Rather, it draws from the combative injunction to "take his [the opponent's] time" – that is, to interrupt whatever one's adversary plans, seizing the tempo of opportunity from him or her (*Brief Instructions,* n.p.). The feint, used as it was as an exemplary model of superfluously elegant and risky deceit, operates in a comic mode often via the convention of crossdressing. Costuming and rhythms of movement are both non-verbal examples of misdirection both cue the audience into the comely dissimulation of Shakespeare's courtly comedies.

Jonson's comedies, with their underlying goal to both educate and delight, aggressively puncture some kinds of misdirection and promote others. He draws from the counterattack as a comic technique in *Every Man In His Humor*. When Squire Downright counterattacks the affected and half-hearted verbal attacks of Captain Bobadill with a "downright blow," Downright destroys the illusion with which the Italian misdirects Matthew. Similarly, Leatherhead reads and exploits Busy's timing. He converts the

Puritan to the theatrical good of wasting time with his own masterful counterattack in the final puppet show. The counterattack interrupts Busy's performance of piety, revealing his hypocrisy and freeing Dame Purecraft from his influence. At the same time, the dissimulatory behavior of clever, mischievous characters such as Knowell and Quarlous spring from the curative desire to expose the folly of their friends and neighbors, a potentially generative misdirection of which Jonson approves.

Alice's deception, in contrast to that of the previous examples, is more contingent and reactive than planned in advance. Where Rosalind feints to draw others to the group wedding and Leatherhead uses deliberately provocative language to draw Busy's weak attack, Alice spins off a series of attacks, any one of which might succeed. As each fails, she immediately adapts to the situation to retain her husband's trust and to deflect suspicion from herself. In this way, she draws from the tactics of the second-intention action, using a real attack rather than a feint to draw a reaction. Only when she convinces her husband to fight back against Mosby can she gain Arden's place, making time for murder in her own home.

The model of embodied time explained by fencing masters and brought alive by playwrights has ramifications beyond the structuring of dramatic plot and pace. This antagonistic rhythm of movement has phenomenological implications for further study of experiential time. It extends the work of critical temporal studies, which seeks to complicate common-sense notions of time through interventions from humanities and sciences, maintaining the heterogeneity and mobility of time and matter. This study also furthers our understanding of the work combat does as a conceptual category, which can nuance readings of Nietzsche and Foucault's tropological deployments of swordplay.

Foucault's metaphor of the duel as a metaphor for truth production, for instance, tends to narrow the figurative work of personal combat to that of verification. The ludic properties of the duel and the prize fight work to open up the signifying function of combat. To this end, I have read fencing as a figure for the encounter of the self in the other, as sport and not punishment.

The ways in which fencing masters represent temporal knowledge generation and transmission also resonates with contemporary conversations in cognitive science. The sword as a sensory prosthesis gathers information, as the process of thinking is distributed across the steel and the hand. Similarly, the intersubjective temporal zone created by the fencers' movement in relation to each other opens onto questions of joint perception and action. In the wake of a revived interest in embodiment, Paster and others have charted the ways in which meaning is generated cooperatively, across individuals and environments with porous boundaries. Fencing discourse gives an antagonistic example of this sort of meaning-making which is relevant to models of knowledge production in theatrical interaction.

These understandings of the sword as a cognitive prosthesis can also enrich the growing field of early modern disability studies. Indeed, though fencing is often cast as the activity of the normate elite male bodies, its archive has much to offer disability scholarship. Dueling codes offer a window on the medieval and early modern construction of disability. As Bryson notes, in the earlier history of dueling (prior to the sixteenth century):

> [A] disability similar to [the challenged] must be inflicted upon the challenger…if the challenged party had a defective limb, the corresponding member of the

challenger must be bound; and, if the challenged party was blind in one eye, the challenger must have an eye not merely covered but actually put out. (33-34)

In the context of the judicial duel, the necessity for fair conditions prompted systematic classification of degree and kind of impairment, as well as debate upon the proper steps to take to ensure that the encounter be as just as possible.

The embodied temporality I explore in this study chimes with other recent work in disability studies on crip time and kairotic spaces as well. Margaret Price's work on classroom *kairos* shows one way in which theories of time and space are relevant to understanding the institutional challenges faced by students with disabilities. My research has further implications for crafting hospitable learning environments because it works to illuminate the historical complexity of time and timing as experiential and constructed through its analysis of early modern judgment as a trainable, temporal process rather than a binary moment.

When James Burbage took possession of the Blackfriars Theatre he retrofitted the facility with galleries and dressing rooms, repurposing the fencing school to be an indoor theater. Players trod the boards in the instructional spaces where the Ancient Master of Defence William Joyner had previously taught English footwork and Rocco Bonetti later taught the Italian rapier fight.[88] The story of Blackfriars – a fencing school adapted to create a theatrical environment – in many way parallels the conditions of the early commercial theater broadly writ. Formally, dramatists do on the level of narrative what

[88] Aylward records that "Rocco removed to the Blackfriars in 1584/85, for there is a lease preserved among the Loseley manuscripts which shows that, in that year, he took from Sir William More premises which formed part of the former convent of the Blackfriars. They consisted of 'a hall, a chamber above the hall, a little room under the said hall, a yard, a little chamber or vault within the said yard, a cellar under the fence-school under the south end of the same'" (29). This site had been in use as a fencing school since 1563/64 by William Joyner.

Burbage did in his remodel: they draw from useful elements in fencing discourse and redeploy them to create compelling and suspenseful plotlines. Playwrights captured and managed the trained attention of early modern spectators by using familiar sights to represent temporal cunning – the counterattacks, feints, contratempo, and second intention actions of public fencing matches.

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